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THE CLUB THAT CHANGED ITS MIND

*Not even a State Supreme Court judge could
break the barrier against Jews—until community
indignation changed the fifty-six year old policy.*

by SAUL SORRIN

WISCONSIN is a state of paradoxes. It produced Senator Joseph McCarthy and Senator Robert LaFollette. It encouraged the 1964 national political aspirations of Alabama Governor George Wallace and the next year enacted a fair housing law. Its capital, at Madison, is deeply influenced by the liberal traditions of the state university, but the Madison Club, one of the city's principal social institutions, had never admitted a Jewish member since its founding in 1909.

The rigid exclusion of Jews had never been questioned. The Madison Club was considered a "private" institution—challenge of its policy was seen as an "invasion of privacy," served to insulate the club from criticism, and became the rationale for the failure of "good people" to act. So there were no Jews in the Madison Club for fifty-six years. There were, and are, high state officials, administrators of the University of Wisconsin—including its president, justices of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, and influential Madison business and professional men. The "private" institution built up a roster of 600 members and became known as a center of community power and influence.

The club's by-laws provided honorary membership for the governor and it was customary to extend the privileges of membership to Wisconsin Supreme Court justices. In 1962, Myron L. Gordon became a Supreme Court Judge. Justice Gordon is Jewish. He is a member of the Anti-Defamation League's national commission.

Mr. Sorrin is ADL's Wisconsin regional director and executive director of the Milwaukee Jewish Council.

For almost two years, at the invitation of other justices, he joined them from time to time at their weekly luncheons at the Madison Club. And although the club discriminated against Jewish members, meetings and events held there by community, civic, professional and educational organizations, were also open—without discrimination—to all those invited.

SOCIAL discrimination in Wisconsin clubs has long been a matter of concern to the ADL regional office in Milwaukee.



Judge Gordon

There is the 83-year-old Milwaukee Club, called by Jewish leaders "one of the great bastions of social bigotry." In Milwaukee, too, there is the 74-year-old Wisconsin Club, originally organized as the Deutscher Club, and described as being "almost totally closed to Jews."

In Kenosha, the Elks Club is another example of a "private" institution closed to Jews. It was the situation at the Elks Club which first called public attention to discrimination in Wisconsin clubs. Rabbi Lawrence Mahler, after consulting with the Anti-Defamation League, denounced the *judenrein* policy of his community's Elks Club. It was February, 1964, "Brotherhood Month," and Rabbi Mahler's comments were widely reported in Wisconsin newspapers. So, too, were the subsequent remarks of Fred H. Harrington,

president of the University of Wisconsin. At a meeting in Kenosha, he pointed out the link between social and employment discrimination.

The Kenosha controversy opened the way for frank discussion on the implications of "gentle bigotry"—how the so-called "private clubs" were really centers of community power and a reflection of community attitudes; how social discrimination went hand-in-hand with employment and housing discrimination.

IN MADISON, Collin Ferris, a prominent banker and a member of the Madison Club, decided to persuade Justice Gordon and Gordon Sinykin, an attorney, to apply for membership. Both men had impeccable credentials. Could they break the membership policy of the Madison Club?

The applications were made in October, 1964, withdrawn without any action having been taken, and submitted again in February, 1965. Two months ago it became known that Justice Gordon and Attorney Sinykin had been rejected—by two Board of Directors' votes out of nine. (Under the club's rules, two negative votes were sufficient to reject a membership application.)

University of Wisconsin President Harrington resigned from the club. Governor Knowles, a non-voting, non-resident honorary member, was urged by Ben L. Chernov, Wisconsin ADL regional board chairman, to "use the prestige and influence of your high office to bring constructive changes" to the club's discriminatory policy. The Governor said that he would stay within the club and work toward

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Notes



GERTRUDE NOAR (center, above) ADL director of education, was honored at an Ithaca, N.Y. community dinner after heading a teacher in-service human relations program in the city's public and parochial schools, and at the Cornell University School of Education. Pictured with her are Mayor Hunna Johns and Sister Clare Francis, director of the Catholic school program in Ithaca.

Justin Finger, League director of fact finding, addressed the annual conference of school principals in North Carolina on the implications of extremism in education. The efforts of Benjamin Feld, a member of ADL's Southwestern regional advisory board, to eliminate prejudice were told in an article, "The Quiet Man," in the *Forward Times*. A Houston, Texas, Negro publication. Some 150 Jewish community leaders from Ohio and Kentucky participated in the 16th annual meeting of ADL's regional board for the two states. Highlight of the two-day conference was an interfaith panel discussion called "As We View Each Other: Christian and Jew in 1965."

The Dade County, Florida, public schools and Joseph L. Brechner, president of WFTV, Orlando, unanimously named recipients of ADL's 1966 Leonard L. Abess Human Relations Award in recognition of their "distinguished, meaningful and constructive" service in the field of human relations. Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards, director of ADL's department of interreligious cooperation, named a member of the editorial board of *The Reconstructionist* magazine. J. Arnold Feldman appointed counsel in the League's Washington, D.C., office. Seymour Kaplan, director of the Pacific Northwest regional office, chosen to serve on the Washington State University's advisory committee for its Vocational-Technical Education Research and Development Project financed by the U.S. Office of Education.

The Providence (R.I.) College Alumni Association and the League's New England regional office are co-sponsors of a unique series of Catholic-Jewish dialogues to be held in private homes.

ADL publications have an international circulation. This month the Hong Kong Baptist Church ordered League pamphlets on intergroup relations and teacher education for human relations. *Discrimination and the Law*, based on the papers and dis-

THIS MONTH

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cussions at an ADL-University of Chicago conference of the same name, has been published by the University of Chicago Press. Edited by Dr. Vern Countryman, visiting professor at Harvard, with a foreword by Dean Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard, the book contains a series of articles by distinguished legal scholars including Alexander Bickel, Robert F. Drinan, S.J., and Jefferson B. Fordham. It is available through ADL regional offices, \$4.

Pages On History

LYNNE IANNIELLO, ADL Bulletin editor, is author of *Milestones Along The March* (Praeger), an analysis of the rapid advancement of civil rights from World War II to Selma. The "milestones" are twelve historic documents ranging from President Roosevelt's 1941 order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee to President Johnson's "We Shall Overcome" address last spring calling for equal voting rights. Each document is placed within the context of the events of the time and assessed for its impact on the course of human rights. An introduction by John P. Roche, chairman of the department of politics at Brandeis University, outlines the history of civil rights from Reconstruction to World War II. *Milestones Along The March* is available through ADL regional offices, \$3.95.

The story of the Prince Edward County, Va., Free School Association, established after the County's Board of Supervisors had closed the public schools rather than integrate them ("So Much To Learn," June, 1964 ADL Bulletin), is told in detail in *Bound For Freedom* (Little, Brown), by Neil Sullivan, the educator who was in charge of the operation. One of the most moving and significant sections of the book involves Emanuel Weinberg, the only Jew in Prince Edward County. Mr. Weinberg rented space to the Free Schools. Dr. Sullivan writes:

"Emanuel Weinberg was probably the most successful merchant in the county, and I found out more about him when we met at his store. Tall and thin, baldish, a bit stooped, Mr. Weinberg had been in business for over forty years. I asked if he had any misgivings about possible repercussions when it became known he was renting space to the Free Schools. He had a few, he confessed, but that didn't deter him."

"The Weinbergs have been in Virginia a long time," he said. "I even had a grandfather who fought in General Lee's army. We'll survive. And besides—" he nodded toward a young Negro sales clerk at the front of the store. "I just hired a Negro

salesman last month—first time in Farmville. I've lost some customers as a result, I guess. And two of my employees who had been with me for forty years walked out. So the way I look at it, anybody who plans to get upset about such things already is upset."

"Then Mr. Weinberg took a deep breath that didn't quite qualify as a sigh, but almost did, and added: 'And besides all that—somebody should rent office space to you people.'"

Emanuel Weinberg gave air-conditioners for our offices and a new refrigerator for our cafeteria. When I indicated that his generosity deserved publicity, Mr. Weinberg said he didn't want any publicity. I nodded understandingly, but he hastened to explain: "Oh, no. It's not that I don't want Farmville people to know I'm helping the Free Schools. It's just that I don't believe in advertising any donations."

"Trial By Prejudice" was the name of the article in the March, 1963, ADL Bulletin on the atmosphere of hate that culminated in the lynching of Leo Frank in 1913. The infamous case was one of the incidents that led to the founding of the Anti-Defamation League. *A Little Girl Is Dead* (World), by Harry Golden, tells the full story—the grisly rape-murder of a 14-year-old girl; the arrest of Leo Frank, her employer at an Atlanta pencil factory; his trial with enraged mobs yelling "Hang the Jew" through the open windows of the courtroom; his conviction and subsequent lynching before new evidence could establish his innocence. Much of the research for the book came from ADL files and from *The Quest For The Dream*, John P. Roche's fifty year history of civil rights written under a League grant to commemorate the agency's fiftieth anniversary in 1963.

Jewish-Lutheran Seminar



THE fourth in a series of Jewish-Lutheran dialogues was held in Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., co-sponsored by ADL and Concordia, to improve relations and understanding between the two groups. Participants included (above, l. to r.) Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards, director, ADL's department of interreligious cooperation; Dr. David R. Polish, author, lecturer, and founding rabbi of Congregation Beth Emet, Evanston, Ill.; and Dr. Walter Wegner, assistant professor, Old Testament Exegesis, Concordia.

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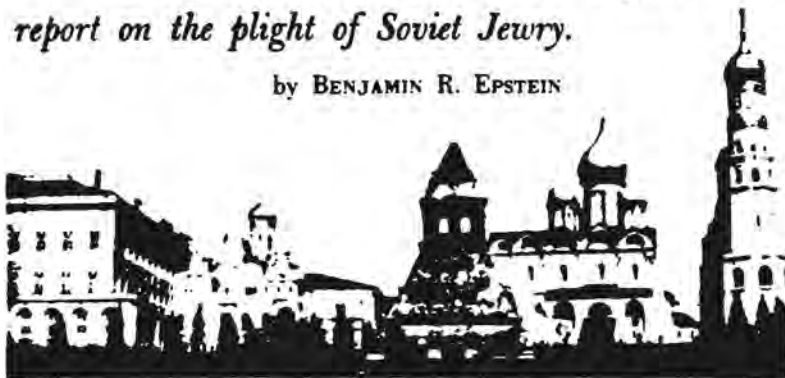
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RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

ADL's national director makes a first-hand report on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

by BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN



IT WAS THE PLIGHT of Russian Jewry that took me to Leningrad and Moscow. I had heard much of the worsening position of the Jews of the Soviet Union since 1948 when Stalin had physically destroyed all Jewish communal-cultural institutions, including publishing houses and printing presses.

I was apprehensive when I approached the synagogue in Leningrad, the first city I visited. The building was not in good repair. Elderly people seemed to predominate. Was it true that the Russian regime had alienated a whole younger generation from Judaism? Was the culture and means of identification with thousands of years of history and tradition—all that goes to create a moral and spiritual past and present—was that to be discarded?

At the beginning of the service in the Leningrad synagogue I was the first of seven to be called to pronounce the blessing over the Torah, an honor that moved me deeply. After the service, I was shown the *matzoth* that the synagogue had been allowed to bake for Passover for the first time in years. Since it was many months after Passover, the preservation of the *matzoth*, to show that Jews had just been given this right again, affected me deeply. In a country of few rights, and those that exist won against the crushing pressure of a vast totalitarian state by the protests of men of goodwill throughout the world, the baking of the *matzoth* was particularly precious.

For almost two decades there have been no Jewish schools, no Jewish books to speak of, no community centers, theaters or publishing houses in Russia. Jewish culture itself has been banned. The policy of the Kremlin towards the Jews has been

forcible assimilation, a gradual disappearance of the entire Jewish community, a slow starvation of its sense of itself through a destruction of its culture. This has seemed to be the over-all goal of the government with relation to the Russian Jewish community. Add to this other aspects of Soviet anti-Semitism, some rooted in the culture itself and some more recent such as the widespread publicity given to so-called "speculators" and "embezzlers" with Jewish names—many of whom were executed and then discovered to have been innocent—and one has a slight grasp of the desperate situation in which Russian Jewry finds itself.

On the way to the synagogue in Leningrad, the guide assigned to take me there, a young scientist, asked me a question that puzzled me:

"Will you take me into the synagogue?"

"Why?" I asked.

"My mother was Jewish," the girl said, "but I have never been in a synagogue. I would like to go with you."

Apparently the pressure of the authorities towards the objective of wiping out the cultural identity of Jews had prevented this girl from ever stepping into the synagogue. I took her in with me.

Later, this young student told me with disarming simplicity that of course there was no discrimination at the university she attended. Discrimination was "only" directed against Jewish institutions.

"Only? . . . " I said.

She looked at me for a moment and understood. Official Soviet anti-Semitism was so all pervasive, so much "in the atmosphere," she had taken it for granted.

IT IS DIFFICULT for me to write about Russia without being overcome by a sense of gloom. It is everywhere. It is in the streets, in the hotels, in the boulevards of

the cities I visited, in the faces of the people themselves. Everything seems to bespeak a system in which the norms of reward are fixed. Ambition seems irrelevant. Where wages and prices are fixed, incentive and personal improvement are not possible. Under this condition, people are like work animals. They seem to plod a weary round.

This was borne out for me by the attitude of the waiter at the hotel. It took us two hours to get through a meal. There were no smiles for the tourist. A "false" smile would at least indicate an intent to observe the proprieties of a business relationship, but even that was missing.

Perhaps there are two ways of acquiring knowledge of the people of another country, other than living for a long time among them. One can soak up facts and statistics, or one can personally meet a representative cross-sampling of them. I prefer the latter method. There is something in the shock of first acquaintance that tells the story of a people and a culture. It's like shaking hands with a man you've just been introduced to and gathering from his presence a sense of his past and personal history.

It is the same with cities. If one enters a strange city with all of one's senses alert, one can receive a powerful impression. Of the two cities I visited, Leningrad appeared the more attractive: wide boulevards, stately buildings. But an American couldn't help wondering why so many people were buying and eating oranges



Epstein

on the street. It perplexed me for a moment, and then I understood. A scarce commodity had suddenly arrived and had to be purchased just as suddenly. One had a sense of shortages, crises, mismanagement in a society from which the free market has been eliminated.

I noticed in the lobby of the hotel in Moscow that foreigners tended to "huddle" together. That is the only word that expresses their sense of unease. Invariably, the story of the foreign business man trying to do business with the government was the same. Waste and mismanagement. Red tape and inefficiency. The petty Russian officials with whom they had to deal were afraid of making a decision. Everything was referred to a "higher up."

Astonishment mixed with exasperation in the voice of an Italian business man who told me how surprised he was to see textile equipment in Russian factories that was old when he was a boy. He had

Mr. Epstein's article, as it appears here, was published in the New York Journal American.

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Participants (l. to r.): Ted Poston, Arthur Bertelson, Samuel Dalsimer, Sol. I. Littman, ADL assistant program director.

225 PROTESTERS HELD IN CHICAGO 47
175 Picket in Roosevelt 0
To Start Store Boycott
600 MARCH 2 MILES
IN CHICAGO PROTEST 203 More Seized
In Jackson Protes

THE RACIAL CRISIS AND THE NEW

An editor analyzes the "objective, unbiased standard" for racial news coverage an

by LAWRENCE S. FANNING

IF WE HAVE LEARNED nothing else in the last ten years, certainly we have learned that the man who says "I treat everybody alike regardless of race, creed or color, on a first-come, first-serve basis," is either a fool or a knave. The differences between people—and what we do about them—is what this racial crisis is all about.

The wise editor—the responsible editor, to use a worked-to-death adjective—is one who understands the differences and the unavoidable biases which flow from them and appear in the medium over which he presides. He will not speak loudly about impartial news judgment when he knows—if he cares to face himself with the fact—that his own fashion page or his own society page never or almost never shows a Negro face. Nor will he peremptorily put Negro faces on these pages. The wise editor will find out where he stands in relation to everybody else. Then he can begin to discover what he is able to do and what he ought to do. That is a far cry from the free-swinging "impartial" newsman who calls 'em as he sees 'em and lets the chips fall where they may. That kind of talk implies an objective, unbiased standard for racial news. It begs the fundamental fact that any decision to disseminate or not to disseminate news is, in itself, a partisan act. Southern sheriffs and Northern mayors are united in thinking that any racial news about their com-

munities gives aid and comfort to Negroes. In the same way, any refusal to print such news is viewed by the civil rights movement as support for what they call "the establishment" or the "white power structure." Under such circumstances, the editor who argues that he is consciously exercising non-partisan news judgment will convince no one—but he may mislead himself.

THE DECISION by many editors and broadcasters to define as the only usable race news, violence, civil disobedience, arrests and the like was a fatefully misleading decision. But it was also a natural and understandable one because it is clearly easier for an editor to defend printing stories about a man getting murdered



Fanning

than about a man dying a long death through years of exploitation. How was the decision made? Not at one sitting but over an extended period of time without anybody exactly realizing it had been made until long after the fact. It was made, as law is, by dealing with one news precedent after another, until a pattern emerged. Judges, unlike editors who process news, are required to be minutely conscious of their decisions' import. A judge must commit his reasons to paper and the scrutiny of other judges. The newspaper editor—especially after he has told himself he will handle this story as impartially as every other story—can go along day by day making policy without analyzing precisely what he may be doing.

The first result in the train of conse-

quences flowing from this decision was more demonstrations, more arrests and—probably in the ultimate instance—more violence. When officials North and South said to newsmen, "the demonstrators would go away if you would," they may not have been wildly off the mark. This is not to agree, even remotely, with the people who call the civil rights demonstrators "publicity seeking trouble-makers," but to underline the fact that a movement as poor as this cannot buy space to get its message across. It cannot buy newspapers or television stations. By the early 1960's, it was no longer certain whether demonstrations were protests against injustice or extravaganzas for the mass media.

A second consequence was the silent, but not less real, pressure by the media on the various civil rights organizations to put on bigger and better shows. Where a hundred arrests used to attract attention, news media began to look for five hundred. Unquestionably, this fact of life deflected the civil rights movement, and its energy, from other things it might have done. The quieter sorts of endeavor—which many of today's young and middle echelon civil rights leaders favor over explosive protestations—tend to starve for lack of attention. A notable example of this was to be found in Louisiana last summer where CORE's Southern Regional office wanted to concentrate on undramatic community development programs. Instead they were pushed into the Bogalusa situation. I am not suggesting that CORE should have acted or decided otherwise. The point is, as a practical matter, CORE probably had no choice.

A third consequence was that in the course of time it became apparent to the Attorney General's office and the civil rights movement that the presence of newsmen could serve as a protective shield.

Mr. Fanning is executive editor of the *Chicago Daily News*. This article is based on his address at "The Racial Crisis And The News Media" conference co-sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League and the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri.

Are Seized in March Mississippi's Capitol

100 Malverne Whites March in Protest

MEDIA alls it a myth.

Often civil rights workers would have gone into dangerous places whether or not they were being followed by newsmen, but in a few instances at least the Justice Department informally urged media to cover stories in order to protect the workers. In other instances people in the movement asked for coverage for the same reason.

Thus the mass media's role appears to range beyond the act of reporting and recording. Increasingly, the role is that of participant and the media cannot avoid participation. Are they aware of participating and are they participating as they should? For example, if—as Dr. King maintains—the protection of civil rights workers' lives in the South by the federal government is a major issue, should the waters be muddied by newsmen functioning in a capacity more appropriate to someone else—federal marshals, perhaps?

A FOURTH consequence that I suspect news media have not really faced up to was the discovery by the civil rights movement that it could use news media as an offensive weapon. St. Augustine serves as an example. A resort town cannot go through weeks of publicized violence without feeling economic effects. Although there is no reliable data on this, it appears that even whole states—as may be the case with Mississippi—can be punished by loss of revenue and capital investment. The question is not whether they should be punished, but whether newsmen are guilty of self-deception when they take the position, in response to furious southern protests, that they have done nothing but impartially report the news.

A fifth consequence was the tendency to blur the issues with so much reportorial attention and energy concentrated on the number wounded or killed, the number arrested, the number in the line of march. From Birmingham to Watts you can still hear white people ask, "What

do they want?" The question is often asked in bad faith. But not always. Particularly in the North, the question of what the Negro wants and is entitled to is not clear—and often is not clearly debated. In this connection, I think mass media are often hoist on the petard of their own ethics.

IN THE MIDST of a social cataclysm, telling both sides of the story may not always be telling the truth. If, for example, the Negroes in Selma say they are not permitted to vote, and newspapers do the ethical and traditional thing—which is to accord Sheriff Jim Clark the right of instantaneous rebuttal and then end the story—they have not advanced understanding. Sometimes, in such a situation, newspapers relent to the extent of inserting a paragraph stating that almost no Negroes are registered to vote, but I would hold that in this kind of story it is

vital to spell out the fact that the public official is simply not telling the truth.

News media in the South have begun to do this in the last several years, but are a long way from doing it in the North. Stories are still run which talk about "alleged de facto segregation in the public schools." The causes and the cures for school desegregation may be difficult to describe with precision. But school systems with 80 and 90 percent of the students going to schools with children of their own race are, de facto, segregated. And when a fact is turned into an allegation, news media are not serving the truth, although—ironically—they may be serving the ethical traditions of the profession.

Moreover, they are again acting, not as non-participant observers, but as agents. Any experienced civil rights leader knows that one of the ordeals he must go through is having to prove facts which are common knowledge. In the South, they have to go to court time after time to prove that Negroes in Mississippi cannot vote. And in the great cities of the North they have had to prove, over and over, that Negro children, by and large, go to all-Negro schools. The newspaper or television station which implies that mathematically demonstrable facts are more than unsubstantiated accusations has become—knowingly or not—an agent.

About The Conference

GEORGE P. HUNT, managing editor of *Life* magazine, was keynote speaker for the three-day conference on "The Racial Crisis And The News Media"; top-ranking journalists from all parts of the country participated. The purpose: to examine racial news coverage and to exchange problems, viewpoints and practices.

The conference, held at the University of Missouri, November 14-16, was co-sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League and the University's Freedom of Information Center. Participants, discussing coverage of Northern and Southern racial news, the changing content of racial news reporting, editorial judgment, broadcasting's role, and the Negro press, included Mr. Fanning; Martin Hayden, editor-in-chief, *Detroit News*; James Bassett, editorial page editor, *Los Angeles Times*; Benjamin Holman, assistant director for media relations, U.S. Community Relations Service; William Peters, producer, CBS Reports; Buford Boone, publisher, *Tuscaloosa News*; Hodding Carter III, managing editor, *Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times*; Hugh Boyd, publisher, *New Brunswick (N.J.) Home News*; Arthur Bertelson, managing editor, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Ted Poston, reporter, *New York Post*; Tom Jarriel, ABC News; Claude Simon, national news director, *New York Times*; William Monroe, chief, Washington news bureau, NBC; Joseph Brechner, president, WFTV, Orlando, Fla.; Samuel Dalsimer, vice-chairman of the Board, Grey Advertising Agency; Jack Craemer, editor, San Rafael (Calif.) *Independent Journal*; Louis Martin, vice-president, *Michigan Chronicle*; Thomas Young, editor, Norfolk (Va.) *Journal and Guide*; Henry Lee Moon, press secretary, NAACP; Robert Finkelstein, industrialist, Woonsocket, R.I.; Oscar Cohen, national program director, ADL.

The conference proceedings will be published to provide a working document for news media and schools of journalism.

NEWSPAPERS wear the domino of impartiality at their own peril because such impartiality does not take into account a standard of editorial judgment and it can encourage unconscious mischief, even when news media think they are being inane innocuous. But the news medium which rethinks its position and recedes from a blind belief in its own impartial, neutral role still will not have solved its problems. It must then gauge what it can do without wounding itself too badly. Some news instrumentalities like the wire services, which do not sell directly to the public, can do more than they are doing, according to the judgment of many of the men who have covered the race story. National magazines and television, least vulnerable to serious public repercussions and reprisals, have recognized their responsibility, and, to a heartening extent have abandoned stereotyped forms of reporting. Newspapers like the *New York Times*, with upper class readership, have done much the same. But the record of many daily newspapers and much non-network programming has been indifferent or even injurious.

Local mass media that cannot depend on well-educated, upper-income readers or viewers are clearly in jeopardy of inflicting self-injury if they commit themselves too deeply. But even when news media cannot do good, they are obliged to refrain from doing harm.

Negro Voter Registration: A QUALIFIED SUCCESS

ADL staff participants found "Negro apathy based on fear" the biggest obstacle to a voter registration drive in the deep South. by RICHARD E. LERNER

"Some people said 'vote for what?' and we tried to explain . . . Some promised us they would go down and register—and we knew they would. Others told us they would register—without intending to do so—because they were too embarrassed to say 'no' directly . . . Others, to this day, think we were selling insurance . . ."

THE COMMENT was part of a report from a participant in a Negro voter registration project this past summer. The participant—a staff member of the Anti-Defamation League—was one of five volunteers from various ADL regional offices who worked as part of NAACP registration teams in Mississippi and Alabama.

The League had been asked, along with other civil rights organizations, to help the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its voter registration drive. The summer 1965 project was an outgrowth of civil rights activities in Mississippi the previous year when the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had coordinated their efforts under the umbrella of the Council of Federated Organizations. By fall, 1964, however, differences of philosophy and strategy among its member agencies had split COFO. The NAACP, in particular, felt that no significant gains in the number of Negro voter registrations could be achieved unless that job got the single-minded attention it deserved and required. Any diversionary activities such as demonstrations or marches, while dramatic and attention-getters, would only detract from the task of realizing the promise of the 15th Amendment. Since the other groups did not agree, the NAACP decided to launch its own drive—planned by Roy Wilkins, the agency's executive director, Gloster Current, its national director of branches, and Althea Simmons, secretary for training and director of the project.

ADL was specifically asked to lend the NAACP some of its staff to act as super-

visors of the volunteer workers. Five League volunteers were selected from the many who offered to go. They were Barbara Coopersmith, community consultant in the League's Denver office; David Chancer, community consultant in the Wisconsin office; Arthur Spiegel, director of the Connecticut office; Robert Frankel, an assistant in the research and evaluation department in the League's national headquarters in New York; and James Bennett, assistant to the director of the fact finding department, also in the national office. Each worked on the voter registration project two weeks.

No one thought the job would be easy. Statistics compiled by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights were appalling and grim, dramatic testimony of the success of a system which had disfranchised the Southern Negro. A breakdown of voters in five Mississippi counties, for example, revealed these figures:

Chickasaw County: 72% of white persons over 21 registered to vote; .003% of Negroes over 21 registered.
Holmes County: 100% of white persons registered to vote; .23% of Negroes.
Jasper County: 82.2% of whites registered; 23% of Negroes.
Tallahatchie County: 87.5% of whites registered; .26% of Negroes.
Walthall County: 100% of whites registered; .124% of Negroes.

The NAACP project was ambitious. It sought to register 100,000 Negroes in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. The effort began in late Spring and continued through the deadening heat of summer.

ADL STAFF were accepted as people who had come to help complete an unfinished American job, and were welcomed as friends. Some learned firsthand of the squalor of "shotgun cabins"—box-like rooms, one behind the other, so named because a rifle pellet fired from the front porch could pass through successive doors and out the rear. But despite the poverty and deprivation that is the lot of most Southern Negroes, the volunteers were treated as honored guests and learned, also firsthand, the meaning of Southern hospitality—almost every one gained weight during his two-week stay.

They were warmly welcomed, too, as guest speakers in many of the Negro churches around which so much of Negro community life revolves. The message they delivered: the Anti-Defamation League, the vast majority of white America, endorses the Voting Rights Act and the goals of voter registration drives.

The reactions of the white community varied according to ideology. The animosity of die-hard segregationists was obvious—their every word and deed exemplified by the button emblazoned with one word "Never." But surprisingly, these whites were a minority. There were signs of change everywhere, often grudging acceptance of change, but at least acceptance. More and more people seemed relieved that change was coming, that a burden was being lifted. They knew that the cost of the South's dual society, in money, energy and men, was unbearably high; that there had to be an end to tension and fear. Many said, usually in confidence, that now the real problems of the region could be confronted and in time resolved. Voting, they said, was the key to the fu-



Planning: Barbara Coopersmith, Roy Wilkins, Richard Lerner.

Mr. Lerner is director of the League's race relations department.

ture—a means of achieving change peaceably.

THE VOLUNTEER workers divided maps into geographical areas and assigned teams for door-to-door canvassing to seek out every person of voting age. The teams moved from house to house, talking with the occupants—the frightened and the bold, the apathetic and the enthusiastic—explaining the importance, and legality of Negro participation in southern civic and political life. There were many reactions.

In one house a 90 year old man who couldn't read or write talked about his childhood in the cotton fields just after the Civil War. Another told how he used to listen to Booker T. Washington's speeches. A mother who had worked all her life bringing up twelve children boasted proudly about her oldest daughter who had gone to college and become a nurse. These people said yes, they would register.

But there were those who were afraid. There were the unsophisticated and the poorly educated who were not so much in fear of being physically harmed or of suffering reprisal—though these fears too were present and amply justified—but were simply afraid of leaving home to go downtown to face a white voter registrar and a long, hard, complicated test which had been designed to challenge and defeat. They didn't want to be embarrassed and intimidated.

To overcome, or at least ease the fears, the volunteers made repeated calls, and organized public meetings to demonstrate that neighbors were registering and that in unity there is strength. But some fears—deeply rooted and well founded—would not yield to reason. The terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan had been far too successful.

Yet, in many, the apprehensions implanted by the KKK led to a new attitude significantly different from the docile one of former years. These Negroes were no longer willing to obey threats backed by a gun muzzle. Instead, they were forming self-defense groups, like Louisiana's Deacons for Defense, and mustering a variety of arms to repel nighttime marauders. A frequent sight at dusk this past summer was the armed sentry guarding the voter registration office, often a church, or the homes where civil rights workers were staying. It was a sight that at first surprised ADL volunteers but after a while they too felt a sense of security in the ever present company of an armed "friend".

There is no way of knowing whether the casual resort to arms means the end of non-violence as a civil rights technique. It is certain though, that the use of arms is an index of Negro impatience with the excruciatingly slow pace of progress in most parts of the South.

The summer project, measured by statistics alone, was a qualified success—100,000 Negro registrants were sought, about 30,000 were actually registered as a result of the NAACP drive.

But the bare statistics neither tell the whole story nor do it justice. First, there is the effect on neighbors, friends and relatives of those who had the courage to confront voting registrars during the summer. Because courage builds on courage, it can be expected that as registration drives continue and the federal government sends its voting registrars to a number of Southern counties, these people, too, will decide to register. Second, and equally important, is the message of civil rights progress and a changing racial climate throughout the United States brought by the summer volunteers to hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes

and whites denied such news in their local mass media.

There are approximately 1,500,000 Negroes of voting age in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. To date only some 500,000 have been registered and are a potential challenge to the established customs and habits of the South. But as the heritage of apathy based on fear is removed, the figure will grow. This is the goal of responsible civil rights groups—to achieve the substance of the American Dream through democratic process. It is a particularly familiar goal to the Anti-Defamation League whose 1913 charter established as its immediate objective "to end the defamation of the Jewish people," and set as its ultimate purpose "to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike."

THE CLUB THAT CHANGED...

Continued from page 1

action "to correct the problem."

The Rev. G. Aubrey Young, director of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, said that the commission would investigate the problem of "semi-private clubs which have the responsibility of setting the tone of communities." He added that "we will work with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith because they have done more research in this area than any group in the country."

The Madison City Council adopted a resolution to "deny any and all privileges granted by the city" to any person or organization holding a city license if they practice discrimination. The Madison Club held a Council granted liquor license.

Cancellations of civic functions booked for the Madison Club were reported. Madison Mayor Otto Festge announced he had "an understanding" with the city committee that it would not meet at the club until the problem was solved.

PRESSURES MOUNTED, including a most significant one—one third of the 600 Madison Club members signed a petition to reverse the rejection of the two Jewish applicants. The drive to collect signatures was pushed by "member to member letters." A typical one, after outlining the qualifications of the men, said "Several of us who know these men well can only ascribe their rejection to the single fact that they are Jewish... it is about time to objectively value applicants."



Harrington

Six weeks after the resignation of the University president, the *Madison Capital Times* ran a front page story under the headline "Madison Club Bows." Justice Gordon and Mr. Sinykin had been invited to resubmit their applications. It was also announced that in the future a majority of the Board of Directors would be required to reject any applicant.

In a joint press release, the two men said that "In view of the efforts of so many people, both within and without the club, we will accept the invitation to join, despite any personal sensitivity we may have about the matter. We trust that this trying episode has served the useful purpose of making all of us more aware of the importance of judging human beings on their individual qualifications, and that the club will adhere to a policy of non-discrimination in the future."

THE APPLICATIONS of the new members have been processed and accepted. Those who voted against the men gave in to community indignation. Those who had ignored the discriminatory policy in the mistaken belief that there was nothing they could do had been encouraged to act. President Harrington's resignation brought the matter to a head. Innocent bystanders among the Madison Club members protested being forced to accept the discriminatory standards of a small minority and thus broke the habit of polite prejudice.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* ran a four-part series on "Privacy and Prejudice," exposing the general problem of social discrimination and the specific case of the Madison Club. Said the *Sentinel*, how Supreme Court Justice Myron Gordon and attorney Gordon Sinykin were finally accepted by the Madison Club "could serve as a blueprint for removing prejudice" in all social clubs.

RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

Continued from page 3

been to Moscow three times in as many years, he told me, to sell new textile machinery to the government, and he still had not been able to contact the official with the power of making a purchase.

THE sense of isolation in Russia is all-pervasive. It is frightening. One feels cut off from the rest of the world. It is impossible to obtain news that is accurate and unbiased. One has an uneasy sense of how the Russian people are literally at the mercy of their rulers and have no means of checking their absolute power. One has a frightening sense of how public opinion can be manipulated in this news vacuum. All that exists for the traveller who reads English is the *Moscow News*, a propaganda handout retailing the party line. I was reminded of my visit to Nazi Germany thirty years ago. I had the same sense then of a country sealed off from the world and governed by an unchecked minority manipulating human beings towards terrible ends.

Many of the Jews I talked to at the synagogues had no idea of the world abroad other than what they had been permitted to know. Their hunger for news was pitiful. They had not even heard that such an organization as B'nai B'rith existed. When I spoke of the work of the Anti-Defamation League, it was news to them. In fact, there is such a lack of knowledge about the United States that when I informed my guide that there were thousands of institutions of higher learning in the United States, not just one or two in the main cities as in Russia, she was dumbfounded.

In addition to the absolute control of the news media, there are severe restrictions on travel abroad. Most educated Russians live and die without ever having seen another country. Some are allowed to travel in Eastern Europe—not many. I visited the sister of a friend in New York who had asked me to look her up. She told me how desperately she longs to visit her family in America, but—permission not granted.

I had heard much of the reforms accomplished by Russia in the field of "equality for women," but I was not prepared for the number of old women seen on the street performing the astonishingly heavy labor of digging ditches, carrying stones and bricks, sweeping streets, cleaning the platforms and walls of the subway. Neither was I prepared for the number of children following me on the street asking for chewing gum. When I gave them a stick of gum, they would give me in return a medallion with a head of Lenin or the Communist Party insignia.

The one area that seemed relatively free from the oppressive poverty and



Reminder of Fascism

general shoddiness of dress and services was that of the students at the university in Moscow. The students seemed much better off. The stipend given them by the government, in addition to their tuition, accounted for their relatively high spirits.

I was not surprised to see that one of the most beautiful churches in Leningrad, St. Isaacs, had been turned into a museum. What did surprise me, however, was the work that was in progress inside the church. Beautiful old paintings were being removed when I was there and replaced by crude copies made of a sort of shiny manufactured tile.

Other impressions of the cities: few private cars; department stores in which there was lots of merchandise, but the quality was poor, the price high; the military-like calisthenics of thousands of children in Moscow's Red Square, which brought back unpleasant memories of newsreel shots of the Fascist countries before the second World War; state wedding ceremonies pathetically attempting to give color to an event from which the color had been drained by the State's insistence that it was uniting the couple.

In Leningrad, I asked my guide, a young woman, why there were no pictures on display of Khrushchev or Stalin, while those of other leaders were in evidence.

"If you want to talk politics," she said rather sharply, "then what is the United States doing in Vietnam?" Asking the same question later of my guide in Moscow, I received a more innocent, less defensive, but perhaps more disturbing reply: "Oh, we don't like them any more."

In Moscow, the gloom was lifted somewhat when I was told by Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levine of the main synagogue that 10,000 copies of a prayerbook in Yiddish would be issued and that the

Moscow Yeshiva, shut since 1962, would soon reopen to accommodate fifteen to twenty students. Fifteen to twenty students! A small ray of hope indeed. I heard too that three American rabbis from a visiting American delegation had been allowed by the authorities to preach briefly from the pulpit of the Moscow synagogue. A small concession on the part of the Russians perhaps, but it did have the very heartening effect of telling the Jews of Moscow that their American coreligionists have not forgotten them.

I asked Rabbi Levine if he had any message for the Jews of America and Israel. Rabbi Levine replied: "Tell the Jews that if there will be peace throughout the world, then it will be good for the Jews, as well as for other people."

It is difficult to describe my feeling on hearing these cautious words. Though well-meant and truthful—peace certainly is to everyone's advantage and is essential to the survival of our civilization—yet that peace must not be one of the totalitarian graveyard and the loss of the cultural heritage of mankind.

THE TRUTH was brought home to me in Russia more powerfully than at any other time of my life: without history, without culture, without a heritage which involves consciousness of man's whole struggle to achieve the moral insights that make him man, he must descend to the level of victim.

That this is the object of the Russian government, and that it shows most clearly in the attempt to obliterate the institutions and culture of the Jews, seems to be an incontrovertible fact.

There is also no doubt, however, that worldwide protests against Russian anti-Semitism have stayed the hand of the Kremlin and won grudging concessions—the reopening of the Moscow Yeshiva, the meager publication of Yiddish books, the airing for the first time in the Soviet press of Israel's viewpoint in its dispute with the Arab states. But the modest revival of Jewish culture or the publicly admitted existence of a separate Jewish entity in response to world opinion has not changed basic Soviet policy. Only the continuance of an aroused and determined protest in the West can check the sustained and consistent effort to destroy Jewish cultural and communal life.

SUPPORT THE 1965 ADL APPEAL

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WHO LET THEM IN?

Meaning the weird flock of Hungarian Nazis who as "displaced persons" found a propaganda haven in the United States • By JOSEPH L. LICHTEN

BY 1942, at the height of Nazi conquest during World War II, Laszlo Agh was military commander of a Hungarian Forced Labor Battalion. Not a bad post for a former bank clerk from the city of Gyor who had to be drafted into the army.

By military standards Agh's command wasn't much. It consisted of slave labor exclusively — harassed Jews and those Hungarian liberals who had protested too much the pro-Nazi policies of the government. Agh's and similar battalions had a political purpose far beyond their physical value as impressed labor: they were intended to effect the gradual extermination of both Jews and the liberal element in Hungary.

Agh had a favorite pastime that became well known throughout the country. When the urge seized him, Agh would direct that guards plant bayonets in the barracks' courtyard. Then he would majestically order his slave troops to fling themselves on the sharp knives.

He was a man of sadistic cruelty—as records and affidavits now prove. His defenseless victims were beaten regularly, kicked with heavy military boots until they sank in unconsciousness. On occasion he forced them to eat their own excrement. Once, in a moment of frenzy, he ordered that Dr. Ferdinand Deutsch, a prominent lawyer and liberal, be hoisted bodily and tossed out of a window. The victim died instantly.

Agh's brutalities reached such sickening excesses that the Bishop of Gyor—later murdered by the Russians—together with a group of men high in government, was forced to intervene. Agh was courtmartialled and dismissed from his command.

WHERE IS LASZLO AGH today? He is living safely and securely in the United States!

He is quite busy too, serving as the

"They pose as anti-Communists while casting the shadow of the Arrow Cross."

official representative here of the Magyar Harcosok Bajtarsi Kozossege (Hungarian Veterans Association), whose membership includes Hungarian Nazis who escaped retribution and are living in exile, mostly in Europe, marking time while they nourish the hope that a new war will open the path for their return to power in Hungary.

Our immigration regulations emphatically bar any alien with a background of moral turpitude. Just how Laszlo Agh, as an emigre to the United States, overcame

this obstacle is a question better explained by immigration authorities. How he got here and who smoothed the way for him—while thousands of genuine democrats, victims of both fascist and Communist persecution, are denied entry by the repressive McCarran law—is something of a deep mystery.

It is no mystery, however, that Agh is not a rare exception. Hundreds of others like him—not former Nazis but still active ones—have sailed into New York harbor, enough of them to make

Continued on page 7



OUR READER SPEAKS

Outlawing emotion

EDITOR: May I suggest a point to counteract the anti-FEPC argument that "you can't legislate emotions." I ask persons who use this slogan whether, therefore, we should have no laws against rape. They cannot deny that such laws deal with an emotion which is at least as deep-seated as the desire to discriminate.

Afterwards I point out that actually neither FEPC nor laws against rape legislate emotions. But, like most other laws, they legislate against those who go beyond emotions and engage in conduct which harms others.

New York. SIMEON H. F. GOLDSTEIN

Rabbi's triumph

EDITOR: Rabbi William B. Silverman deserves our salutation. The story about his battle against the "book burning" [NOW NASHVILLE HAS THE BOOK BURNERS—April issue] lifted my spirit and renewed my faith in courageous living.

I know that such an activity does not meet with universal congregational approval. Everywhere there are sha-sha Jews. One's triumph is often filled with grief and irritation. During my ministry in Wheeling I was engaged in a similar battle and the memories are still vivid in my mind. I know that Rabbi Silverman's spirit has been strengthened and lifted by his experience. I also hope that in every other way he has come out unbowed and unscathed.

Nashville. GEORGE B. LIEBERMAN
Rabbi.

Since publication of the article describing Rabbi Silverman's radio and pulpit campaign against superpatriots who tried to pressure a book-burning campaign in Tennessee schools and libraries, the young rabbi has received scores of commendatory letters for the manner in which he aroused the responsible elements in the community. The House of Representatives of the Tennessee legislature, which resisted an organized campaign to force one of its legislative committees into the book-burning business, passed a special resolution lauding Rabbi Silverman.

No shortage of bias

EDITOR: My personal experiences—I'm an insurance broker—attest to the validity of your article on insurance company hiring practices [ARE THEY HIRING JEWS?—June issue]. Even the strain of a labor shortage hasn't really eased their discriminatory policies. . . .

Philadelphia. J. J.

EDITOR: I worked for an insurance company, one of its few Jewish secretarial employees. The snide remarks and cutting glances of my supervisors was too much to take for the low pay. I quit. . . .

New York. ANN COHEN

EDITOR: . . . but banks are the worst offenders. . . .

San Francisco. DAVID BROOKS

EDITOR: Having spotlighted the situation in banks, public utilities and insurance companies—why quit? There are other quasi-public and monopoly fields where employment discrimination is the rule.

Galveston. SAM LEWIS

More exposure spotlights will shine in future issues.

the ADL bulletin

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The Contemplative Man

A BIG business tycoon, tradition has it, is a dynamic fellow with a dramatic flare, lots of salesmanship, a genius for organization and an instinctive sense for making a million. He usually accomplishes this by pushing buttons and sending myriad numbers of subordinates scurrying hither and yon.

COMMENT:

A big business tycoon, tradition further has it, rarely has any doubts about the right decision. He goes ahead and acts. The contemplative life seemingly is not for the business man. He has neither the time nor the metabolism for it.

But there comes a moment in the life of almost every tycoon when he wishes he did. At such times, he is lucky indeed to know one Jacob Alson, a philosopher and artist, who some time in his youth lost his way and wandered into strange paths where people don't have much truck with philosophy or art. He wandered into the high road of business enterprise without the usual equipment of desk-pounding dynamism, or dramatic salesmanship. He brought along with him a warm, gentle personality, an orderly mind, and a sense of the meticulous which is reflected in the scientific method and artistic flare that he has always exhibited in his work.

JACOB ALSON HUNG out his shingle as an accountant, but businessmen soon found out—bright fellows that they are—that while there are many accountants, there are few Jack Alsons, whose name today in a large part of the New York business community has become synonymous with "business counselor." Many a client who suddenly found his index finger frozen with indecision on that push button has turned to Jack Alson—the man of action seeking out the contemplative man for timely advice and sound counsel.

In time, the business tycoon would get an answer. But not until the

troublesome problem had been examined in the Alson manner, its flaws carefully analyzed, its good points touched up, the whole thing then reassembled in solvent order. The answer might be to push the button, or it might be "don't!"; but the tycoon had learned from experience that it was the right answer.

Someone once guessed that Jack Alson's particular business qualities would be comfortably at home with the complicated job of treasurer of the ADL. That was eight years ago. Alson has stuck with it ever since, to the great delight of everybody concerned.

The treasurer's art demands some basic personality attributes. It is Alson's judgment that the most important thing a treasurer must have is "anonymity." Now, there is a plot to destroy his this month, if not in Macy's window, then in the next most conspicuous spot in New York—the Waldorf-Astoria. Alson and the treasurer of the American Jewish Committee, Maurice Glinert, another sweet guy, will be honored at a testimonial dinner on September 22nd, an affair that will inaugurate the JDA's fall fund-raising campaign in New York City.

JACK ALSON is very much at home at an ADL board meeting. He finds all his skills challenged. While listening to a dozen reports, he will sit back quietly taking in all the details. He sits, say for two hours, while favored plans and pet projects are tossed back and forth. He enjoys the give-and-take among his fellow directors. A pioneer in ADL work in New York—one of the dedicated handful who helped to expand the League into a strong, national agency

—the enthusiasm of other lay leaders, many of whom he had personally won for the ADL fold, makes him feel like a satisfied recruiting sergeant. Widely-traveled and well-read (he quotes poetry and converses in French), he shares the creative thinking of the intellectuals among the board members. But when their zeal threatens the security of the purse or the stability of the League, Jack Alson speaks. Continued on page 6



JACOB ALSON

Awaru for Eisenhower

The President, 9th winner of the medallion, will accept it at ADL's 40th anniversary celebration

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER is the 1953 winner of ADL's America's Democratic Legacy Award.

The traditional silver medallion, awarded by the League each year to an American in recognition of distinguished contributions toward the enrichment of America's democratic legacy," will be accepted by the President at a dinner on November 23 in Washington.

The affair, given by the Board of Governors of B'nai B'rith, will honor ADL on its 40th anniversary. B'nai B'rith President Philip M. Klutznick will preside for the occasion and Henry Edward Schultz, ADL national chairman, will make the presentation to the President. The dinner will be the climax of a five-day celebration of ADL's four decades of service to the nation in general and the Jewish community in particular.

Mr. Eisenhower was a unanimous choice among this year's nominees for the award. The selection was made by ADL's nation-

al executive committee "not only for the President's expression of views and actions in the civil rights field since assuming the office of Presidency, but also for his long and distinguished record in the war against Nazism and in the inculcation of democratic practices in the armed forces."

Nine other Americans are previous winners of the medallion. Among them are former President Harry S. Truman (1949) for his strong civil rights program; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (1948) for her work with the United Nations Commission on Human Rights; Senator Herbert H. Lehman (1952) for his support of a Senate cloture rule to end filibustering and for his vigorous opposition to the McCarran-Walter Immigration bill and similar repressive legislation; Charles E.

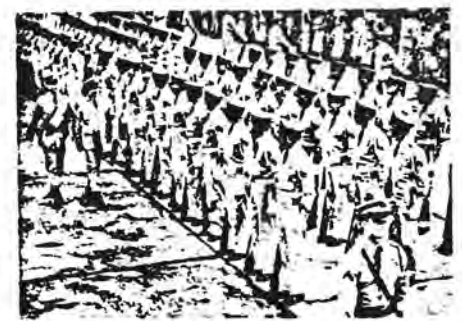
Continued on page 6



"... for his long and distinguished record in the war against Nazism." The liberator of Europe is shown examining a cluster of corpses, all that remained of inmates at Gotha concentration camp.



Eisenhower created committee for fair employment practices among government contractors.



ADL also cited President for "inculcation of democratic practices in the armed forces."

The FBI and CIVIL RIGHTS

The Governors' attack on investigations is also a sharp reminder that no official stands above the law

THE attack made on the Federal Bureau of Investigation by Governor Fine of Pennsylvania and Governor Battle of Virginia at the Governors Conference in Seattle is certainly worth a second look. The shock effect of this attack on an effective agency should not be a blind to the real object of the criticism. Because these governors have on various occasions gone out of their way to say complimentary things (and deservedly so) about the FBI, it is significant that they find the FBI a subject for criticism only when that agency seeks to enforce the federal civil rights acts.

Critics of the FBI imply that somehow it meddles in state affairs on the basis of old, dead letter laws that are no longer applicable to the times. It is true that the federal civil rights acts were passed during the Reconstruction Period after the Civil War. But they are just as applicable today as is the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which these acts are intended to implement.

Briefly, these acts are designed to implement the Amendment's guarantee that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor any person within its jurisdiction of equal protection under the law." It may be that in the Reconstruction Period the rights of Negroes were the primary concern of these acts. But the 14th Amendment was never so narrowly conceived. It was intended to protect "any person." Thus, they seek to prevent infringement of any citizen's constitutional rights by others, including state officials.

It is this principle that the two governors attacked when they attacked the FBI.

IT IS INTERESTING to note the manner in which the FBI discharges its duties

under the authority of the federal civil rights acts by investigating charges of violations of civil rights by state officials. For example, there are the so-called Ku Klux Klan cases in which state police officials who had aided and abetted the notorious KKK in acts of violence and intimidation were brought to justice and punished. State officials are often reluctant to investigate charges of brutality brought against state police and other state agencies. In such cases investigations by the FBI are frequently the only practical method for defending individuals whose rights have been invaded.

If the attitude of the two governors is to go unchallenged, the logical consequence will be a weakening of safeguards against the abuse of law by state officials. It is perhaps significant that one of the governors coupled his attack on the FBI and the federal civil rights acts with a sour remark on habeas corpus—that fundamental bulwark of individual freedom developed by Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

If any criticism is to be made of the federal civil rights acts, it is that they are surrounded by a number of legal qualifications and provisos which prevent their full utilization. Bills to close these gaps have been introduced in Congress. Their passage, rather than the restrictions of existing inadequate laws, is needed.

NO STATE OFFICIALS stand above the law and therefore no group of state officials can be exempted from the prohibitions of the civil rights acts. Any such exemption would be tantamount to a declaration that those exempted are privileged to violate the United States Constitution without redress by federal authorities. Such a situation would be a negation of the principles that ours is a government of law and not of men.

—HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

THE editors of THE ADL BULLETIN asked John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for his views on the governors' complaint. Mr. Hoover's statement follows:

THE action of several Governors in protesting against civil rights investigations in their respective states by the FBI unfortunately gives the impression that the Bureau has usurped the rightful law-enforcing functions of the states. As a matter of fact, the investigations by the FBI in the field of civil rights have been

made pursuant to an Act of Congress. It makes little difference whether the Act of Congress was passed in 1866 or 1953 so long as it is the law of the land. The Attorney General has not only the right but the duty of establishing as a matter of policy that the FBI should investigate the alleged violations of such Acts of Con-

Continued on page 8

THEY'RE P.

By EARL RAAB

I LOST my leg playing the Shado Game, just as our children are st doing. How many more legs will have be lost?"

The young man who had limped to t front of the room asked the questi angrily. The audience answered by shif ing uneasily in its seats. No one wande ing into the school auditorium that nig would have mistaken it for a PTA mee ing. The faces were tense, worried, tire seamed with the lines of men and wom who work long and hard in the sun .

One little man with white hair thru his hands in the air and said with c hopelessness: "We know, Miguel, b they won't do anything about it, so wh can we do?" Heads nodded wearily agreement and murmurs asked each oth "What can we do?"

Another young man arose. He was stranger. "You've been saying that f years," he told them quietly. "I'll t you what you can do."

He spoke for 20 minutes, softly, wit out dramatics. When he was throug there was a momentary silence. Then t little man with white hair cleared t throat.

"This is all new to me," he said, "b it sounds like a good thing. I volunteer

A girl stood up: "I'm only 18 but want to volunteer for my mother. know she'll do it." Other hands beg to wave. . . .

WHAT BEGAN THAT night in Sal Pudes was more than an experiment community self-help. It was a step fo ward in the civil rights campaign in t



Sal Si Pudes: "three-deep houses laced with s

ING the ROADS NOW in

SAL SI PUEDES

San Jose's "unorganized minority" never pulled its weight — until someone tapped its voting strength

est. The persuasive young man was Fred Ross, executive director of the California Federation for Civic Unity, an association of human relations agencies, including ADL's regional offices in the state. The "unorganized minorities" of California—unorganized and thus inarticulate—don't pull their weight in the fight to broaden civil rights and combat racial and religious discrimination. This applies particularly to the thousands of Mexicans of Mexican ancestry living in California. Only in Los Angeles (where there is some ready-made leadership) have they been able to group themselves effectively. The Federation, assisted by funds from the American Friends Service Committee, has a program for mobilizing these groups throughout the state. Sal Si Pudes was the pilot experiment. Sal Si Pudes is a long-standing nickname for the Eastside—or Mexican—

neighborhood of the city of San Jose. The phrase means: "Get out if you can." No one who has seen Eastside needs to be told why: dilapidated three-deep houses lined with narrow mud roads, dotted with cess-pools, without sanitary facilities or protection from floods or traffic hazards; without play facilities for the children; shrouded with the miasma of disease and helplessness. It is one of the worst slum areas in northern California.

In the spring Sal Si Pudes was hit with one of its seasonal floods. A small boy was photographed standing in the muddy water, helping his mother bail out seepage that ran through the floor of their home. The photo, published in local papers, elicited a few dismayed letters to editors along with the customary statements from public officials "deploring" the situation. But nothing was done. When the water receded, the men of Sal Si Pudes dis-

pose the drowned rats and life went on as usual. Children continued to play the Shadow Game, jumping over the bright patches of sun which flashed through moving railroad cars. The railroad tracks made a dangerous playground, but there was nowhere else to go. Sometimes the children played in the creek when it had dried up, but refuse dumped by the packing house made sores on their feet.

THERE WERE MORE letters to editors when an epidemic of amoebic dysentery broke out in Sal Si Pudes. One hundred and twenty-five cases were discovered on one street. But nothing was done. Sal Si Pudes shrugged it off helplessly.

It is this sense of helplessness that makes so many Mexican-American communities ineffective. Helplessness, Fred Ross figured, was the problem, more so than floods and rotting homes. He assembled a crew of four: a public health nurse, a Catholic priest, a couple of laborers. Five nights each week they canvassed homes in Sal Si Pudes. Their immediate objective was voters' registration. The ultimate purpose was to get the people of Sal Si Pudes to work together.

Only 1600 out of a possible 20,000 were registered to vote. That was a starting point for Ross. He organized the town-hall meeting, found plenty of volunteers, some of whom were made deputy registrars. Teams worked up and down the streets of Sal Si Pudes, talking to families, sending them out to a deputy registrar set up outside in the street.

"It was a hedge-hopping operation," says Ross. "As each set of block workers finished an assignment, I picked them up and took them to the next eight block swatch down the road; and they were at work there before the deputies had finished registering the people at the first location."

Much of the registration was done by automobile light. It was hard, exasperating work. The Community Service Organization, as the new group called itself, spent two and a half months and 3000 man hours registering 4000 people. Next, "Get Out the Vote" teams were made up.

RESULTS BEGAN to show almost immediately after election day. For the first time, the city sent ditch-diggers into Sal Si Pudes to dig out Silver Creek and build dikes that will halt future floods. The packing house was forced to stop dumping its refuse in the creek. Cess-pools were fixed up. But Sal Si Pudes really sat up and took notice when city hall began to pave the roads.

It wasn't only voting power that made

Continued on page 8



roads, without sanitary facilities or flood protection . . . shrouded with the miasma of disease."

THIS MONTH

SEPTEMBER

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT

THE mail brought a five-page press release ubiquitously addressed to: "The Press; my political friends and enemies; my correspondents, and especially to those kind people who have afforded such friendly interest and helpful assistance during the past difficult two years." Since it came from H. Keith Thompson, Jr., it is not presumptuous to assume that THE ADL BULLETIN is in Mr. Thompson's category of "enemies," political or otherwise.



Readers may recall a piece we ran on Thompson last November [CASE HISTORY OF A NAZI AGENT]. We reported how this personable 31-year-old Navy veteran, American-born, well-reared and Yale-educated, had dedicated himself to a revival of fascism, registering with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. He was American representative for the Socialist Reich Party, strongest of West Germany's neo-Nazi political movements. He defended unreconstructed Nazis who had been punished as war criminals and philosophized to anyone who might be listening that "the spirit of our age is the resurgence of authority, which is antithetical to democracy, liberalism and communism."

Young Thompson being a healthy physical specimen, it must be reckoned that his flesh is still willing; it is his "spirit of our age" that is weakening. His five pages of rhetoric are in the nature of a swan song in which he defends his past associations with fascism while exhibiting himself as "a political maverick" who stands four-square for civil liberties and enthusiastically endorses—in the same sentence yet—the American Civil Liberties Union and the Civil Rights Congress. The ACLU, on finding itself bracketed with the Communist Civil Rights Congress, can only respond, "Deliver us from such friends."

Mr. Thompson also wants the final record to show that he has rendered an "unalterable decision" not to run as a candidate for Congress in New York's 18th Congressional district. (In spite of the fact that nobody asked him.) On the other hand, if he were asked to nominate somebody, his choice would be—Vito Marcantonio! Mr. Thompson winds up by telling us "I am sorry if my discontinuance and disassociation from activities with which I have been publicly 'identified' is a source of disappointment to you."

We can do no less for young Mr. Thompson than ease his departure from the political nether world with the thought that his absence won't really be as unpopular as he fears.

Answer to a bigot

FLORIDA'S FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE sponsors a statewide bicycle derby as an antidote to juvenile waywardness. At the finals last month in St. Petersburg a bit of waywardness crept in for which the youngsters can't be faulted. This was strictly adult stuff—which might have left some of the kids wondering what they could sponsor to reform wayward grown-ups.

Pedaling for St. Petersburg in the 8-9-year-old class was Robert Dinkins, a kid with a toothy grin. Not so much his grin, but Robert's skin annoyed the police officer in charge of Jacksonville's entrants. "We don't want our white boys racing against niggers," this fighter of juvenile delinquency announced with finality. "It's against the rules."

St. Petersburg had Policeman Hugh Harden on hand. We have no report on Officer Harden's handling of traffic, but we're reasonably sure he never descends to "Where's the fire?" Harden won hands down when he inquired of the blundering bigot: "Do the people in Jacksonville stick as close to their Bible as they do to the derby rules."

Young Robert got to race. Won a prize, too. And Officer Harden finds himself being quoted all over town.



Former President Harry Truman received 1948 medallion from Justice Steinbrink. Others shown are ADL Commissioners Max Schneider (left) and Edmund Waterman.

Award for Eisenhower

Continued from page 3

Wilson (1948) for his chairmanship of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and Henry Ford II (1951) for his work in establishing Ford Foundation as an impetus to greater research in human relations problems.

The President will be joined by scores of other prominent Americans—government leaders, educa-

tors, UN delegates, clergymen of all faiths, labor and industrial leaders and other well known in public life—in celebrating ADL's 40-year history. The League was founded in 1913 by Sigmund Livingston, a B'nai B'rith leader and lawyer from Bloomington, Ill., who served as its first national chairman until his death in 1945.

COMMENT:

The Contemplative Man

Continued from page 2

He talks slowly and in precise terms. He quotes statistics. "Gentlemen, I estimate ADL's income this year will be so-and-so dollars. All of the projects suggested here are worthy. But we can afford only the three best, not the others."

Alson's financial forecasting is rarely challenged. Despite the unpredictable elements that go with financing by fundraising, he has a remarkable record of predicting with accuracy, good year and bad, what ADL's income will be and what it can afford to spend. It isn't easy to challenge this kind of record.

There are some people I can turn to for advice and guidance on the most difficult problems, and from my own personal experience, I know why the business executive turns to him.

JACK ALSON is a practicing Jew. The son of an Orthodox rabbi, Alson finds the modern concepts of Reform Judaism more to his liking. But, if the Reform temple has become a fountain for his spirit, it is

also a forum for his traditionalist leanings. Alson rebels out loud when Reform extremists try to widen the ritualistic schism between themselves and the Orthodox. "Tampering with some of the beautiful ancient liturgy isn't progress but desecration," insists a man, now 60, who can chant the *haftarah* of his bar mitzvah with the same ease, yet without falsettos creeping in, as he did 47 years ago.

Jack Alson's own involvement in Jewish life is demonstrated by his activities in many Jewish movements. But the one closest to his heart is B'nai B'rith. He has been a member of B'nai B'rith through nearly all of his adult life. He came up from the ranks to be president of District 1 and today is still one of its strong and devoted leaders. He served as the president of the N. Y. Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith. His major efforts have for many years now been in ADL. He finds in B'nai B'rith and the League an answer to his personal craving for making a contribution to American democratic life.

MORE than 300,000 book covers produced by ADL's Graphics Department go into distribution among the nation's school kids this month. They're split among six clever designs, each featuring a human relations theme... New director of

Bulletin

ADL's Graphics program is Martin Tarcher who previously ran the creative graphics department at the University of Denver. ... Credit Sidney Sayles, director of the League's Milwaukee office, with an exciting summertime TV panel series for WTMJ—TV that won reviewers' raves for its public service excellence. Sayles added home

audience participation to usual panel discussion and listeners phoned in their questions on housing, employment and education discrimination, getting unrehearsed answers from the panel experts. ... Morton Puner, writer and editor, departs ADL staff to become partner in Frederick Praeger, Inc., New York book publishing firm. ... Attempts to defeat Oregon's civil rights law by popular referendum failed when anti-group found it impossible to get enough signatures on petition.

Briefs

An impressive first novel, an allegorical tale of horror and tension that explores a man's struggle for possession of his soul, comes from the pen of Oscar Tarcov, a member of ADL's Chicago staff. Henry Regnery published it this month as a \$3-seller—but by arrangement with the publisher you can get your copy of *Bravo, My Monster* through any ADL office at a special \$2 price. It's a gripping nightmarish tale that you won't be able to leave until you've read the final chapter.

ADL national chairman Henry Edward Schultz sworn in by New York's Mayor Im-



Schultz is sworn in.

pellitteri to another term as a member of the city's Board of Higher Education. ... New Sigmund Livingston Fellowship established by ADL at Brandeis University for research in voting habits of American electorate. ... Appointments in New England: Gov. Christian Herter tapped Judge A. K. Cohen of Boston, longtime ADL leader, for a third term with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. ... The Governor also appointed George W. Cashman of Wellesley Hills, Mass., a member of ADL's New England board, to a special state commission investigating communism. ... That new, politically non-partisan National Issues Committee headed by Eleanor Roosevelt has B'nai B'rith President Philip M. Klutznick among its leadership.

Who Let Them In?

Continued from page 1

Miss Liberty a querulous lady indeed. They have come as displaced persons, posing as anti-Communists—while still casting the shadow of the Arrow Cross that is the Hungarian counterpart of the swastika.

How many of them? It is difficult to estimate. But the most expert observers say conservatively that at least 2,000 Hungarian Nazis have slipped through the superficial screening of American authorities in western Germany to find a haven in the United States.

It doesn't stop with Hungarians. The absurdity of our immigration policy has allowed hundreds of fascist leaders to infiltrate similarly the Slovak and Lithuanian communities in America, as well as those of other foreign-language groups.

Most shocking of all, however, is the manner in which these Nazis and collaborationists have moved into dominant propaganda spots with such important organizations as the National Committee for a Free Europe.

ONE OF THE bitterest anti-Semitic, anti-U. S., Hungarian-language publications is a semi-weekly called *Hidverok*. (*Hidverok* is Hungarian for "bridge-builder.") The title implies a bridging of the Nazi past with its present and future.) Such publications are not uncommon. But *Hidverok* is unique: it is published in Bavaria, another political haven for the Arrow Cross, and its three editors include Ferenc Mariassy, Jr., whose articles often discuss "the Jewish secret government in the United States" and the manner in which Bernard Baruch leads a double life as leader of the Communist movement here.

But Editor Mariassy doesn't live in Bavaria. His home is in Cleveland where he works as a store clerk when he's not busy writing distorted propaganda for his publication. He's been in the country since 1950. Who let him in?

The same question can be asked for Baron Peter Schell, who not only found the door to the United States open, but for a while also found employment with the Mid-European Studies Center, a division of the National Committee for a Free Europe.

The Free Europe group is an estimable organization. Its chief function is the operation of Radio Free Europe which transmits news of the democratic world to the six satellite nations behind the Iron Curtain. It is financed through public contributions made to the Crusade for Freedom and its leadership comprises many influential and dedicated Americans who

are concerned with the world-wide fight for human freedom.

Still, it is a fact, that many Hungarian emigres, hiding shady backgrounds behind their pose of being political refugees from the Kremlin, have managed to find posts of influence within the Free Europe group, primarily with its Mid-European Studies Center.

Until his death this summer Tihamer Fabinyi worked at the Center. When Fabinyi, once Hungary's minister of finance, was chairman of the board of the Hungarian General Creditbank he was entrusted by the government with the task of "aryanizing" that institution—meaning the dismissal of all Jewish personnel. He performed the job with great zeal. In a series of speeches Fabinyi ruthlessly advocated the complete elimination of Jews from Hungary's economic life. For his contributions toward that goal the government presented him a landed estate confiscated from a Jewish family.

Baron Schell has an even more distinguished background, particularly in his service as chief of the province of Kassa in northern Hungary. He was the man very largely responsible for the inhuman methods used to deport Jews from Kassa, where the Nazis operated a sort of staging area for shipping victims to Auschwitz. The baron was on hand personally to witness 80 Jews being herded into a single freight car. He made it a practice to inspect the local concentration camps. The baroness, by the way, was a hard-working member of Hungary's Arrow Cross (Nazi) Party.

LATER, AS A Minister of Interior, the baron attended a secret government parley on September 11, 1944, at which Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian regent, suggested the possibility of negotiating a truce with the Allies. The tide of war had turned by then but Schell argued violently and bitterly against any desertion from the Hitler cause.

Who let the baron in?

An "official" answer to the question might be found in the explanation that the baron and the others were "displaced persons." The fact is that, having lost the war, their exodus from Hungary was of their own making. To call them displaced persons is to defame their own pitiable victims whom they had chased from Hungary by edict and bayonet.

The Hungarian Nazis fled to Austria during the closing months of 1944 and in the early weeks of 1945. Gradually it became a two-way movement. Those

Continued on page 8

The FBI and Civil Rights

Continued from page 4

gress. The FBI is not a policy-making organization. It is a service agency. In connection with civil rights investigations, it does not make a full investigation until so directed by the Department of Justice.

In the cases about which the Governors complained, the FBI had been specifically instructed by the Department of Justice to make these investigations. In making these investigations, the FBI was merely discharging its duty. Only the Congress has the authority to repeal Acts adopted

into the law in the past, and it would appear that if the Governors are opposed to this law, their recourse would be to go to Congress and seek the repeal of the law rather than leveling their attacks upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When the FBI can enforce a law of its own choosing we will have a Gestapo, and I will not permit the Bureau to be a party to that repugnant un-American tyranny.

We of the FBI have no choice but to do our duty as best we can. This we

shall continue to do, particularly in the investigation of violations of Federal laws and particularly in those cases wherein the Department of Justice so directs us, as is the case involving civil rights investigations. The fear that the FBI will invade the states to investigate every complaint made against state officials is without foundation. When requested by the Department of Justice, it is the duty of the FBI, however, to investigate where the allegations are of a substantial nature indicating a violation of the civil rights statutes.

—J. EDGAR HOOVER

Who Let Them In?

Continued from page 7

Hungarians who had been forcibly ejected by the Germans (and were still alive) returned to their homes while the Hitler collaborationists fled westward to populate DP camps.

Were the collaborationists fleeing from the Communists? Actually it was not until the Ferenc Nagy government fell in the fall of 1947 that the Communists really began their domination of Hungary. What really motivated the escapees was their fear of being punished as war criminals.

Soon after the liberation, "clearing committees" were organized throughout Hungary. Each person had to appear to determine his innocence of war crimes. Those genuine DPs who returned to Hungary were given clean bills of health. The dyed-in-the-wool Nazis preferred to remain in the DP camps—until they found an opportunity to reach the United States.

As for the opportunistic "little Nazis" who remained in Hungary—they were among the first to join with the Communists.

Until 1947, the Hungarian Nazis in exile were politically quiet, happy to have saved their skin. But the increasing tension that arose between Russia and the United States became a tailor-made opportunity for political exploitation. They dared to reorganize, forming two "anti-

Communist" groups that retain many of the trappings and almost all of the ideology of the Hitler era.

The more important group is the aforementioned Magyar Harcosok Bajtarsi Kozossege—the veterans association. It is led by General Andreas Zako who was intelligence chief for Ferenc Szalasi, the Hungarian Quisling, and organizer of the Kopjas Movement which was patterned after Himmler's SS.

THE SECOND GROUP calls itself the Hungarian Liberty Movement. It is bossed by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak who had served as a member of the court-martial committee that sentenced to death most of the leaders of the Hungarian resistance. (It was this court which arrested and detained Cardinal Mindszenty for his part in the resistance.) The Hungarian Liberty Movement is an out-and-out Nazi group, way to the right of the MHBK. But that didn't prevent General Farkas from visiting the United States in 1952 to make an "anti-Bolshevist"

speech at Manhattan Center in New York.

The aims and activities of both groups spill over into the life of the Hungarian community in America. The fascist Liberty group meets secretly from time to time in New York and Washington.

One cannot analyze the wholesale infiltration of Hungarian Nazis into this country without wondering how they succeed in usurping important posts in American propaganda organizations, to the detriment of both the United States and those honestly democratic Hungarians who are refugees from Hungary.

To answer the question, you must consider the strange roles played by two high placed men who know their way in and out of diplomatic alleys and who, surprisingly, have some excellent contacts with the State Department and other branches of our government.

Next Month: Dr. Lichten calls the roll on the Hungarian Nazi propagandists who have found refuge in the United States.

They're Paving the Roads in Sal Si Puedes

Continued from page 5

the difference. There is a new spirit in Sal Si Puedes. For the first time the community, working together, is a meaning-

ful force. The Community Service Organization has arranged for San Jose State College to lead recreation and craft classes every afternoon and on Saturdays. It got the public schools to begin classes in basic English for Spanish-speaking people, then got 150 to enroll in the first class. This year, for the first time, this Mexican-American community applied its weight to the campaign for a state FEPC, which came closer to enactment than ever before.

The experiment of Sal Si Puedes is a success. Fred Ross and the California Federation for Civic Unity have since moved on to another depressed neighborhood in booming, populating California. . . .

Entered as 2nd class matter.
212 5th Ave., New York 10.
The Bulletin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

1003 K STREET, N. W. (1)

Executive 3-5288

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DAVID A. BRODY

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November 27, 1953

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Assistant to the Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Lou:

I have been talking with people in Army and Navy about a matter that was referred to me by our Chicago office. I haven't gotten satisfaction from them, but they are still checking. Meanwhile, I am passing on the story to you at the suggestion of Lt. Com. Pickett Lamkin.

A Marine Corps Major, Gerald Fink, who is a recently returned PW came to our Chicago office complaining about a number of rabbis. He said they had permitted themselves to be exploited by the Communists. Fink is a Jew, and he was in charge of his particular compound. His outfit, like the others, was exposed to the typical Communist atrocities and brain washing. What angered Fink in particular was that the Commies had prepared special pamphlets directed to the various racial and religious groups in the United States Forces. Jewish PW's were given a paper-bound pamphlet, 8"x10", some 60 pages in length which included among other things quotations from rabbis attacking conditions or policy in the United States. Fink was searched before being turned back to our side, and had no opportunity to take the literature out with him.

Fink's idea was that we ought to go to the rabbis and raise Cain with them about their witting or unwitting remarks. Before we do anything further, we would like to see a copy of the pamphlets so that we could have documentation for our next step. So far, Army and Navy haven't been able to dig one up, but as I said I am passing the story on to you at Navy suggestion in the hope that you may be able to suggest a further step.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Herman Edelsberg

NOT RECORDED

127 DEC 18 1953

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL
HERE

DEC 15 1953

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 2, 1953

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: PRISONERS OF WAR
PROPAGANDA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-25-81 BY [REDACTED]

7/17/81 #259,350

Mr. Herman Edelsberg of the Washington office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by letter dated November 27, 1953, addressed to Mr. Nichols, stated that an allegation had been received to the effect that the Chinese Communists and North Korean forces had prepared special pamphlets directed to the various racial and religious groups in the United States Forces who were prisoners of war in Korea. It was alleged that a pamphlet distributed to prisoners of war who were of the Jewish faith included among other things quotations from rabbis attacking conditions or policy in the United States.

Mr. Edelsberg stated that efforts to secure a copy of the pamphlets of the type mentioned above through the Army and the Navy have been unsuccessful and wondered what, if any, suggestions Mr. Nichols might have in the matter.

The Bureau has received a great deal of propaganda material published by the Chinese Communists, much of it dealing with the UN prisoners of war in Korea. However, no instance has been noted in which the material is directed to any particular racial or religious group.

ACTION:

That this memorandum and the attached communication from Mr. Edelsberg be referred to Mr. Nichols for an appropriate answer.

Attachment SE 38

NOT RECORDED

27 DEC-18 1953

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

5 5 DEC 30 1953

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
205 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Gandy	✓

January 29, 1954

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As a participant in the 40th anniversary celebration of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on November 23rd, I thought that you would be interested in receiving the enclosed report which reviews the public response to these events.

This public response has been most gratifying to us, particularly because we were able to focus public attention upon the democratic progress that has taken place during the past four decades and upon the problems which are still with us. I would greatly appreciate any comments you may wish to make.

We are planning to publish one or two other items bearing on the Freedom Forum; one is a pamphlet of the keynote address delivered by Professor Archibald MacLeish. The second is a volume which will contain a complete record of all the addresses and discussions at the Freedom Forums. These will be sent to you when they come off the press.

May I once more express to you our appreciation for your interest and participation.

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Schultz
Henry Edward Schultz
National Chairman

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INDEXED - 5
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25 FEB 12 1954
EX-126

FEB 5 1954

PORTFOLIO

1913-1953

Fortieth Anniversary

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

of PUBLIC RESPONSE

ENCLOSURE

This portfolio illustrates the impact of a message.

Reproduced on these pages is some graphic indication of the attention and response Americans gave to a big news story . . . the story of the Anti-Defamation League's fortieth anniversary.

Thousands of newspaper stories and feature articles reporting ADL's Freedom Forum . . . hundreds of editorials appreciative of ADL's four decades of "educating for democracy" . . . the precedent-shattering "Dinner With The President" television spectacle . . . radio broadcasts . . . newsreels . . . all attest to the stature and importance of ADL in the mind of the American community.

But the fortieth anniversary had greater significance than that of a grand birthday party. So, too, does this public response. For it was ADL's purpose to dramatize the progress of the past and the fulfillment of the future of man's relationship with his fellow man. And to dramatize it to as many Americans as it could reach.

That it did: to 38,000,000 television viewers . . . to 20,000,000 radio listeners . . . to 25,000,000 movie-goers . . . to more than 100,000,000 newspaper readers . . .

On its fortieth anniversary, ADL made big news. And as a consequence got across its democratic message — with impact!

“American Freedom Through Four Decades”

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 8 P. M.

Presiding

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN, *National Director,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ, *New York,
National Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith*

THE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH,
*Boyleston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory,
Harvard University*

Address: THE MEANING OF FREEDOM

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Address: *THE INTERNATIONAL
IMPACT OF PREJUDICE*

Panel Discussion:

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairman

JUDGE DAVID A. ROSE, *Boston,*
Chairman, National Civil Rights Committee,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK, *Brooklyn,*
Honorary Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

THE INSTITUTIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

THE RT. REV. ANGUS DUN,
Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of
Washington, D. C.

THE GENTLE PEOPLE OF PREJUDICE

Panel Participants:

REV. DR. JAMES H. ROBINSON, *Minister,*
Church of the Master, New York

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT, *Executive Vice-Chairman,*
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

THE REV. DR. JOSEPH N. MOODY, *Professor of History,*
Cathedral College, New York

THE REV. DR. WILLIAM F. ROSENBLUM, *Rabbi,*
Temple Israel, New York

Recorder: LESTER J. WALDMAN, *Program Director,*
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd, 2 P. M.

Panel Discussion:

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Presiding

JOSEPH COHEN, *Kansas City, Kansas,*
Chairman, National Community Service Committee,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE,
U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals

THE PROBLEM OF SEGREGATION

DR. LEWIS WEBSTER JONES,
President, Rutgers University

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
United States Senator from Minnesota

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

VICTOR REUTHER,
Assistant to the President, Congress of Industrial
Organizations

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Panel Participants:

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, *Executive Director,*
Southern Regional Council

JULIUS A. THOMAS, *Director of Industrial Relations,*
National Urban League

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, *President, Fisk University*
Recorder: OSCAR COHEN, *Community Service Director,*
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd, 8 P. M.

Presiding
LOUIS A. NOVINS,
Assistant to the President, Paramount Pictures

Panel Discussion:

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairman
HENRY EPSTEIN, *New York,*
Chairman, National Program Committee,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

DOUGLAS M. BLACK,
President, American Book Publishers' Council

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

DR. BUELL G. GALLAGHER,
President, The City College of New York

FREEDOM OF EDUCATION

JAMES H. DUFF,
United States Senator from Pennsylvania

RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Former U. S. Senator from Wyoming

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

Panel Participants:

J. RUSSELL WIGGINS, *Managing Editor, The Washington Post*

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD, *National Director,
B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations*

ROBERT MORRIS, *Chief Counsel to the U. S. Senate
Subcommittee on Internal Security*

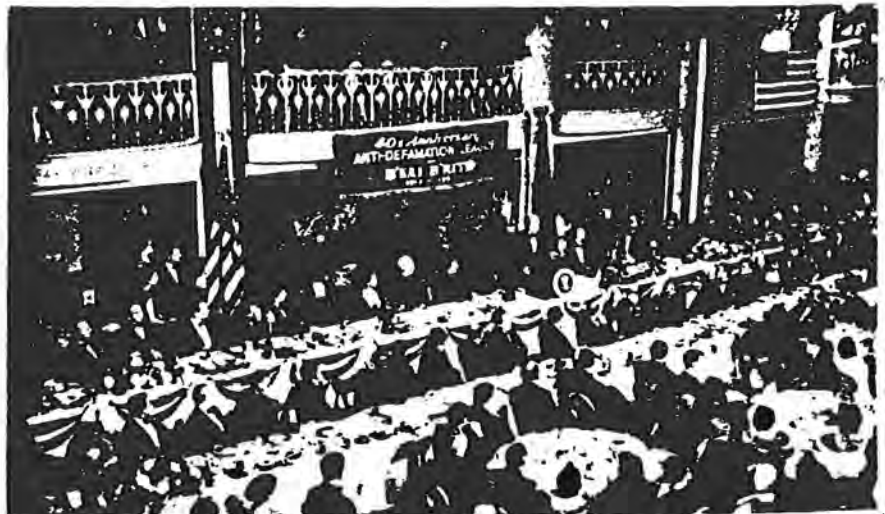
ABE FORTAS, *Former Under-Secretary of Interior*

Recorder: ARNOLD FORSTER, *Civil Rights Director,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, *Chicago,
President of B'nai B'rith*

Address: THE YEARS AHEAD

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd, 6:30 P. M.



"Dinner With The President." Camera catches part of dais and audience during President Eisenhower's speech.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

*Tendered by the Board of Governors of B'nai B'rith
to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*

Presiding

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, *President of B'nai B'rith*

ON THE DAIS

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Judge, United States District Court

MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

GENERAL MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY
Chief of Staff, United States Army

MR. EDMUND WATERMAN
Vice Chairman, A.D.L.

MR. BERNARD BARUCH

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Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

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Secretary of Labor

MR. MAURICE BISGYER
Secretary, B'nai B'rith

HON. SHERMAN ADAMS
Assistant to the President

HIS EXCELLENCY ABBA EBAN
Ambassador of Israel

HON. HAROLD E. STASSEN
Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration

MRS. PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

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Secretary of State

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President, B'nai B'rith

★ **THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES**

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Chief Justice of the United States

MRS. HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

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R. H. SCOTT, Esq., CMG, CBE
Her Majesty's Minister, The British Embassy

GENERAL DAVID SARNOFF
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Past President, B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council

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Administrator, United States Veterans Administration

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*General Director, Washington Office,
National Council of Churches of Christ*

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Past President, B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council

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MRS. ARTHUR G. LAUFMAN
*Past President, Presently National Director of
Women's Activities, B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council*

RABBI DAVID PANITZ
Congregation Adas Israel

MR. MAURICE DANNENBAUM
Vice Chairman, A.D.L.

*"DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT"

Presented by

RICHARD RODGERS AND OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2D

In Order of Appearance

THELMA RITTER	DESI ARNEZ
EDDIE FISHER	LUCILLE BALL
JANE FROMAN	JACKIE ROBINSON
WILLIAM FRAWLEY	WILLIAM WARFIELD
VIVIAN VANCE	ETHEL MERMAN
	HELEN HAYES

Narration

WALTER CRONKITE AND BEN GRAUER
REX HARRISON AND LILLI PALMER

MARTIN MANULIS, *producer*
BYRON PAUL, *director*
TECHNICAL STAFF: Columbia Broadcasting System

Award of the 1953 AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC LEGACY Medallion

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ,
National Chairman,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

RESPONSE

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Schultz,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

For such an award from such a group I shall ever be grateful. No matter how unworthy any individual may be, no matter how much he may appreciate his own shortcomings in attaining the ideals in which he himself believes, it is still a moment of the most intense satisfaction when some organization, standing as it does, as this one does, for the great human rights, chooses to present its emblem, its annual emblem, to that individual. So I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, for many years I have been served by able staffs in war and in peace. I have a staff now of which I'm intensely proud. It is composed of individuals who are capable, efficient, and they are dedicated to my welfare and to my success.

They are always anxious that I do well no matter where I appear, and tonight is no exception. I have been briefed and briefed—and briefed.

I have heard more lectures on civil liberties, the people who have stood for them, the dangers to them, and what I should say than you can imagine.

Now, from the beginning, I was aware of one thing, possibly two, I should say. First, any man who is served by staffs no matter how dedicated must learn when to say no; and, secondly, I knew that I was appearing before a body of experts and I was not going to talk about something which they knew a lot more than I do.

Tells About an Idea

And so with your indulgence I want to tell you about an idea that came to me as I was sitting here this evening. And I saw an array of artists appear on this stage when suddenly came back to me an old Fourth of July speech—speeches that men used to make on the Fourth of July.

Now I'm not going to take up your time with it—two hours that they usually spent in getting to the only punch line that they had—"I am proud to be an American."

As you looked at that array of artists weren't you proud that a

man's ability entitled him—or the lady's ability entitled her—to appear before such a body as this.

Now why are we proud? Are we proud because we have the richest acres in the world? I've heard that the Nile Valley is one of the richest places in the world. Now as a great nation, do you want to give up your citizenship for that of a nation that has merely richer ground, richer minerals underneath the soil?

I've heard that the European annual production on its acres is about double that of ours by reason of their devoted handwork on their farm. But we don't want to go and be citizens of Europe. We don't want to go any place, even if their buildings are older than ours, their culture older, they're more sophisticated. We love America.

Why are we proud? We are proud first of all because from the beginning of this nation a man can walk upright, no matter who he is—or who she is. He can walk upright and meet his friend or his enemy, and he does not fear that because that enemy may be in a position of great power that he can be suddenly thrown in jail to rot there without charges and with no recourse to justice.

We have the Habeas Corpus Act and we respect it.

The Code of a Town

I was raised in a little town of which most of you have never heard. But in the West it's a famous place. It's called Abilene, Kan. We had as our Marshal for a long time a man named Wild Bill Hickok. If you don't know about him, read your Westerns more.

Now that town had a code, and I was raised as a boy to prize that code. It was: Meet anyone face to face with whom you disagree. You could not sneak up on him from behind, do any damage to him without suffering the penalty of an outraged citizen. If you met him face to face and took the same risk he did, you could get away with almost anything, as long as the bullet was in the front.

And today, although none of you have the great fortune, I think, of being from Abilene, Kan., you live, after all, by that same code in your ideals and in the respect you give to certain qualities.

In this country, if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. He cannot hide behind the shadows, he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will inflict.

Now, you know, I must go back for a moment to what I said awhile ago. I picked up my own subject as I came here. The only responsibility I have is to watch some individual in front of me who has cards if I've used up all my time. I just noticed he says: "Go ahead; it's all right."

Must Be No Weakening

I would not want to sit down this evening without urging one thing. If we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans there must be no weakening of the codes by which we have lived; by the right to meet your accuser face to face, if you have one; by your right to go to the church or the synagogue or even the mosque of your own choosing; by your right to speak your mind and be protected in it.

Ladies and gentlemen, the things that make us proud to be Americans are of the soul and of the spirit. They're not of the jewels we wear or the furs we buy, the houses we live in, the standard of living that we have. All these things are wonderful to the esthetic and to the physical senses. But let us never forget, the deep things that are American are the soul and spirit.

The Statue of Liberty is not tired, and not because it is made of bronze. It's because no matter what happens, here the individual is dignified because he is created in the image of God. Let's not forget it.

I am not going to try to be spectacular and ask us all to rise and in imitation of Allegiance to the flag repeat the old Fourth of July statement, as I once did when I was 6 years old in the McKinley campaign. A good Republican won that year. We all said, after the speaker, "I am proud to be an American."

But if I could leave with you one thought, you not only will repeat it every day of your life but you'll say "And I'll do my part to make it always true for my children and my grandchildren."

Thank you.

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MILWAUKEE WIS.
SENTINEL

Ike to Join in Tribute To B'nai B'rith's

Eisenhower To Lead Tribute To Crusade By B'nai B'rith

NEW YORK (NANA) — A young lawyer on a visit to Chicago 5 years ago, alone and with a few hours to spare. He didn't find it enter-

NEW HAVEN
REGISTER
NOV. 1, 1953

He did, too. And partly in tribute to his determination, the top layer of Who's Who in America—headed by President Eisenhower himself—will be present in Washington next month to help a unique American institution mark its 40th anniversary. At the same time, to commemorate a series of which the press has freedom in

JOURNAL
AMERICAN
NOV. 12, 1953

ST. LOUIS
POST DISPATCH
DEC. 4, 1953

around the Town:
One Means

ONE of the definitions of "apprehension" is "to grasp with the understanding." It often happens with us that we do not apprehend about some things but do not apprehend them, and one of those things, until we had a talk with Max J. Schneider a few days ago, is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. It was Schneider who led us into understanding's grasp of what the League is all about.



J. SCHNEIDER

reason a balk en active in s. All these consuming e, of tern e, that only with intolerance cote to in-

IKE WILL GET LEAGUE AWARD OF B'NAI B'RITH

12
Eisenhower
1953
Legacy award
conclusion
anniversary celebration
Anti-Defamation League of

TIMES HERALD
WASH., D.C.
NOV. 20, 1953

Victories in Battle Against

How Anti-Defamation League Works for the Defense

By Virginia Irwin

Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

NEW YORK, Dec. 4. SHORTLY after the turn of the century, Sigmund Livingston, a quiet scholarly young man just beginning law practice in Bloomington, Ill., dropped into a Chicago vaudeville theater one afternoon to kill a couple of hours before a business appointment.

On the entertainment bill which Livingston watched were the usual acts of the day—trained dogs, jugglers, acrobats and a couple of comedians with a routine of bum jokes, told in dialect and at the expense of the Jews.

When Livingston left the theater, he decided he would try to do something about this caricaturing of the Jews.

With a handful of members of the chapter of B'nai B'rith, the world's largest Jewish service order, to which he belonged, Livingston formed a volunteer committee to protest the use in vaudeville acts of racially offensive jokes. Surprisingly, vaudeville house managers were glad to listen. They had no idea that some of the acts on their bills were offensive. Jokes about Jews and parodies of Jewish immigrant types were simply the order of the day.

Livingston moved his law office to Chicago but prosperity and the press of his practice did not lessen his crusade against bigotry.

In 1913, 10 years after Livingston began his crusade, his volunteer group became a formal organization. That organization is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary with a four-day freedom forum in Washington, climaxed by an hour-long television program, ending with a speech by President Eisenhower accepting the America's Democratic Legacy Award, presented annually by the League for "distinguished contributions to the enrichment of America's democratic legacy."



SIGMUND LIVINGSTON . . .
CRUSADE AGAINST BIGOTRY.



PHOTO OF MEDAL WHICH
WAS RECENTLY AWARDED TO
PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.



THREE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
TION LEAGUE

picture and radio producers, rabbis, artists, lawyers and clerical workers. There are 2500 community leaders from all parts of the country who serve as lay leaders and board directors; it has 20,000 volunteers who work as members of committees in every B'nai B'rith lodge and chapter and behind it is the strength of the 350,000 members of the 110-year-old Jewish service organization, the B'nai B'rith itself.

The ADL from its beginning took the attitude that prejudice is a product, not of malice but of misunderstanding and ignorance, and the organization was built on the proposition that bigotry which hurts any American hurts all Americans. "People are no longer of being anti-Semitic," Edward Schultz, New York year and educator who man of the ADL, explained responsible individuals having a feeling of. There's a greater cost that prejudice is a disease which doesn't the fabric of democracy which decent people to live with.

B'I
Cn

ADL Reviews 40-Year Progress

B'nai B'rith Notes Civil Liberties Gain

By Emilie Tavel

Staff Writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is celebrating its 40th year with renewed emphasis on its progress, and with confidence that needed reforms in human relations eventually will come.

Americans

in hotel accommodations. A survey by the ADL shows that the public is becoming more tolerant of the famous resort.

THE CHRISTIAN
SCIENCE MONITOR
NOV. 19, 1963

The ADL began 40 years ago when Sigmund Livingston, an Illinois lawyer, walked out of a Chicago theater.

Anti-Defamation League Marks Birthday Monday

By BERT COLLIER

World Staff Writer

Forty years of battle in the cause of civil liberties and civil rights will be observed Monday by the Anti-Defamation League.

of B'nai B'rith in a gigantic broadcast of Washington. President E. the star, deli after receivn tation award services to ti group unders

Three loca J. Talianoff, Greater Mar mitted

WAS: PO: NOV. 19,

Gains Reported in Campaign To End College Race Bars

NEW YORK, Nov. 18 (AP)—A four-year campaign to end discrimination in colleges and universities is beginning to bear fruit. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported

one potentially discriminatory question. The league asked the colleges to take remedial action, and most of them did. Krapin said.

The University of Delaware said it was considering the elimination of "race" from an

Florida... tending the Mayflower F... The telec max of the ti which gets u Such leader

Fight for Tolerance Marks 40th Birthday

ADL Works As an Ally of Democracy

By ROBERT H. PRALL
Staff Writer.

It's been 40 years since a quiet young lawyer, making his way in Bloomington, Ill., decided it was about time someone did something about those offensive vaudeville jokes about Jewish immigrants.

The lawyer, the late Sigmund Livingston, bought a way to an end to anti-Semitism and misconception. It was his year's ADL.

ity and expand its own... of human freedom is... cent story. "It's an... the Communists and... who try to exploit ou... shortcomings, but who... going to admit to the widespread... gress succeeding American generations have made in fulfilling their democratic heritage."

Mr. Schultz, who has the distinction of being appointed to the Board of Higher Education by three different Mayors, took over the reins of the ADL a year ago. In New York City, he feels, the overt, crackpot-type of anti-Semitism is disappearing.

"People are no longer proud of being anti-Semitic," he added. "No responsible individual boasts of having a feeling of prejudice. There's a greater consciousness, especially here, that prejudice is a weakness, a disease which is helping in the fabric of

the retention of any notion... there are areas or institut... are reserved for cert... groups, you give birth... of 'second-class c... And, from this, there c... be many, many ramifications... many directions."

Mr. Schultz recounted the story of the small New England College which accented Jewish students for the first time five years ago. "And this year," he added, "the captain of the football team is Jew. Once you get a breakdown in barriers of prejudice, people begin to treat other people as they should — on the basis of merit. And, when you see the incidents happening all over America, you know that America's heart is in the right place."

What do you do when those nasty little slurs and people of prejudice? "Think it Up: Just do it!"

SUNDAY HERALD
BOSTON, MASS.
NOV. 22, 1963

B'nai B'rith Group to Mark Year Against Hate-Mongers

By CRAIG FLEMING

is protest against anti-Jewish jokes in old-time vaude-

Prejudice American Democracy



ING POSTER WHICH WAS DISTRIBUTED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE WITH OTHER EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL.

law department of the ADL... the model anti-Ku... Klan legislation, forcing... Klay to unmask, which has... of the statute books of... southern states.

more the 10,000,000 pieces... literature issued by the ADL... in its campaign for... human relations, a pam... Primer on Communism,"... a demand for 100,000... sold for 25 cents and... Pulitzer-Prize win... called by Hodding Carter "the... for two bits you can... take today."

In the foreword to "Primer... Communism," Benjamin R... national director of

make many more American... understand and respect di... ences among men. It has... the passage of civil rights l... lation in many states, legis... which—as part of the educ... al process—may lead more... more people to accept the... ciples of equality of opport...

But these advances are s... their infancy. They can... succumb unless they are... erly fed and cherished.

"Under the present t... Communism, the spotlight... world is on American gloom... cy. Sometimes, when... it over and examine t... it's not such a prett... it's every American... show the world how



INTERFAITH GAINS HELD ENDANGERED

Anti-Defamation League Hears
'Forces of Hate and Fear'
Peril 40-Year Progress

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20—The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was told today that progress made in last forty years in fostering intergroup harmony and protection of civil rights was threatened "by the current forces of hate and fear."

The warning was contained in the annual report delivered by Henry Edward Schultz of New York, national chairman of the group. The league, educational arm of B'nai B'rith, oldest Jewish service organization in the country, opened its fortieth annual meeting. Since its inception, the league has been devoted to the promotion of human relations and civil rights.

Mr. Schultz told 1,000 delegates that the status of minority groups had "improved perceptibly in recent years." However, obstructing this progress, he said, were these points:

¶The real fear of communism combined with the inability of Americans to recognize or understand it.

¶A strong suspicion of the intellectual, "almost bordering on an anti-intellectual movement."

¶Patterns of prejudice and discrimination that were still ingrained.

¶The activities of "professional hate-mongers" who seek to exploit economic and political tensions.

¶Congressional committees that—in the process of capturing headlines—spread fear and confusion.

Mr. Schultz held that "to some degree—perhaps a greater degree than many care to admit—the Congressional investigating committees have been effective fighting communism." He added that "by successfully dramatizing the menace of communism, these committees have served a major, necessary function, of help to us all."

Investigations Criticized

However, Mr. Schultz emphasized liberals and leaders of religion, labor and education had been "mainstays in the fight against communism." He asserted that "barbs of suspicion hurled at them by those Congressional com-

mittees contributed by headline hunting hinder many of their efforts."

"Blanket condemnation of Congressional investigating committees is wrong," he declared. "But when these committees disregard the meaning and potentialities of our great democratic institutions, we can only wonder if, too often, they are not of more harm than help."

Reviewing progress in human relations, Mr. Schultz cited the extension of civil rights laws in many states, inroads on segregation in the South and easing of discrimination in education, employment and housing.

At another session, the delegates, in a series of resolutions, urged a change in Senate rules "to end filibusters"—endless talk to delay a vote—and a revision of present immigration, deportation and naturalization policies "to make treatment of immigrants and the foreign-born consistent with American principles of fair treatment and democracy."

Benjamin R. Epstein, the league's executive director, noted the development of human relations activities "from a haphazard public attitude to the status of a science." He said that forty years ago the problems of intergroup harmony were left to shift for themselves, while today "we note the existence of a vast organized movement dedicated to fostering intergroup relations."

Bishop Sends Message

In a message to the meeting, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, hailed the league's fortieth anniversary as "an opportunity to express my happiness and the joy of the Catholic Youth Organization of Chicago for your constant effort that freedom will never perish in America."

"Your unwavering work in keeping before the American conscience the exalted dignity of all men under God is worthy of deep gratitude from all of us," Bishop Sheil wrote.

Arthur J. Connell, national commander of the American Legion, in another message, hailed the league as "a champion of Americanism" and commended "the splendid work it has done."

The four-day meeting will be devoted to an examination of the problems of anti-Semitism, race relations and civil liberties.

President Eisenhower will address the league Monday night, when he will receive the league's 1953 America's Democratic Legacy award.



MACLEISH DECRIES 'DIVIDED' COUNTRY

Clash on Reds and Liberty
Bitterest of Recent Days
He Tells B'nai B'rith Unit

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21—N since the "war between the state has the American mind been divided by 'such bitterness as divides it now,'" the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was told here tonight.

The speaker, Dr. Archibald MacLeish, former Librarian of Congress, declared that this antagonism went to the root of American life. He asserted that it had created two schools of thought, represented by those who define patriotism in anti-Russian terms and those who judged patriotism by devotion to the cause of individual liberty.

Dr. MacLeish, a Pulitzer Prize winner in poetry and a professor at Harvard, keynoted the "Freedom Forum" of the Anti-Defamation League, which is holding its fortieth annual meeting. Sharing the platform were Mrs. Frank D. Roosevelt, The Right Reverend Angus Dun, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Washington; Me Steinbrink, former New York Supreme Court Justice, and Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the league.

Traces Conflict of 'Beliefs'

Stressing that the nation's condemnation of the doctrines and practices of the Soviet Union was "understandable enough," Professor MacLeish declared:

"The country, nevertheless, finds it increasingly hard to believe that American patriotism consists only in the detestation of the Soviet. Above all, we find it hard to believe that man is an American patriot who would sacrifice to hatred of Russia the heart of what America is—the freedom of the individual mind and soul and conscience."

He said that the "underlying evil" was that "there is still no substance in our enmities toward our loves; the only difference that our enmities are now directed at each other."

He then made his assertion of the division in the American mind and proceeded:

"Those who would define American patriotism in anti-Rus-

terms detest and denigrate those who measure patriotism in the United States by devotion to the cause of individual liberty. And those who judge patriotism by devotion to the cause of individual liberty detest and despise those who would admit the preoccupation with communism to the very center of our national life by making a man's feeling about communism the measure of his feeling about the United States."

He maintained that it was "an understandable bitterness on both sides," saying:

"Those who honestly believe that nothing matters in our time but the Communist conspiracy readily persuade themselves that the believers in individual freedom are, at best, political irresponsibles and, at worst, defenders of Communists, if not Communists themselves."

"The same thing is true of those who believe that the great issue of our time is the freedom of the human individual; who believe that if that freedom is lost, no matter at whose hands, America is lost. In the eyes of these men and women, the faction which would sacrifice individual liberty to the fight against communism is no better than the Communist party and may well be worse, since it is far larger, and since the means it employs are immeasurably more dangerous."

Because Americans had rejected the "worst of slaveries, which communism is," the Communist party had never been able to make use of the "Trojan Horse of pretended patriotism" as it had in other countries, Dr. MacLeish said.

But, he added, "the faction which would sacrifice American freedom to the Communist danger suffers under no such disability. It has wrapped itself in the claim of patriotism to such a point that it has all but monopolized the American flag."

Mrs. Roosevelt Stresses Ideas

Mrs. Roosevelt emphasized that hatred of the Soviet Union had resulted in "hatred of Americans by Americans," adding that "we have forgotten that when we fight an idea it must be with a better idea." She asserted that the "impact of prejudice here has great international repercussions."

As a participant in a panel, Justice Steinbrink charged that "native professional anti-Semites" were echoing a campaign by Arabs in the United States who "use the Communist smear against Judaism and Zionism, repeat all the well-worn slanders and stigmatize as disloyal all Americans who sympathize with or give aid to Israel."

He deplored what he termed "political anti-Semitism"—the injection of false "Jewish questions" into national issues. He asserted this appealed "to base instincts that have been disturbingly effective because many people, gripped by fear and frustration, have been only too ready to accept easy answers to the complex questions posed by world events."

Bishop Dun said that "one of the most tragic, unyielding problems of human relations comes from the ranks of the gentle people of prejudice . . . nice respectable people who did not approve of the rabble rousers and the ruffians."

"They also do not want to be involved in 'messy' situations," he went on. "They want to stick to company of their kind. They would not take freedom by violence, but neither would they give freedom or the restoration of violated dignities at any risk to themselves."

Mr. Schultz, who is a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education, reviewed the forty-year history of the league.

"If the evil of prejudice and ignorance is still with us," he said, "the lesson of these forty years is that it can be fought successfully, that democracy is strong and resilient and that its institutions shall survive and grow bigger."

B'NAI B'RITH FORUM SPURS WAR ON BIAS

Wider Legislation Demanded —Federal Jurist Denounces Segregation in Housing

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22—Issues that affect race relations and civil liberties in American life were discussed here today by educational leaders, jurists and law-making officials.

The discussions were in two panels of the "Freedom Forum" of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as the league continued its fortieth anniversary meeting, with more than 1,000 delegates in attendance.

Speakers declared a need for more legislation to safeguard civil liberties and an urgency in the promoting of inter-group relations. They said that current tensions and fears called for more widespread understanding of the nation's basic democratic principles.

In a panel on "Race Relations in the United States," Judge William H. Hastie of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals attacked housing segregation as "one of the most sinister breeders of bigotry."

'Strangers' in Community

Segregated housing, he asserted, did more than any other feature of American urban living "to make members of the segregated minority, and particularly Negroes as the largest such minority, strangers in what is nominally their home community."

Judge Hastie, the ranking Negro jurist of the country, expressed optimism that the end of Government-enforced segregation was in sight, because "the forces now co-operating to cause Government to stop its part in this shabby segregation business are insistent, strong and constantly growing more powerful."

The jurist asserted, however, that elimination of every segregation law "would not in itself end the segregation evil." He said that it would be only an essential step toward establishing a "legal order free of racial restrictions in which men would not be hampered by law and Government in their efforts to rid the community of racism."

In a discussion of civil rights legislation, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minne-

sota, indicated his willingness to compromise with "the new leadership of the South in working a politically realistic fair employment practices bill."

He declared that he would compromise on the necessity for Federal legislation in achieving equality of opportunity," adding:

"I will, however, compromise the terms or mechanics of legislation in the interests of basic objective."

Attacks Administration

He accused the Republican administration of failure to advance civil rights legislation. Every year since 1944, he said, had "fair employment practices bill introduced with Administration's approval—except this one."

Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of Rutgers University, said that "whatever the pressures which initially broke down the bar Negro admittance to white colleges and graduate schools, the persistence of the two races in living side by side will do more to alter attitudes than any amount of exhortation."

Another speaker at this was Victor Reuther, assistant president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Speakers in a panel on "Liberties in the United States" included Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College of New York; Senator James H. Duff, Republican of Pennsylvania; Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming; Douglas M. Black, president of the American Book Publishers Council; Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Gallagher declared the "for 'free controversy' to strengthen the nation's democratic ideal and principles. Free controversy he asserted, 'is the only mechanism known to man whereby the de hand of forced conformity may be lifted, while at the same time creative energies are released.'"

He cited two methods of averting controversy, "force and compulsion," which was "totalitarianism," and "indifferentism."

Warns on Anti-Red Weapon

Senator Duff asserted that all hazards we must be sure the weapons aimed at the destruction of communism must not be the appearance of destroying of our civil liberties." The attorney on communism, he added, must interfere "with the equal protection of every one of our citizens before the law."

He gave fullest support to Fifth Amendment to the Constitution in its declaration that "no person . . . shall be compelled in

The New York Times is typical. Here are Freedom Forum stories filed from Washington by Times correspondent Irving Spiegel. They are representative of the complete news coverage given the forum sessions by Washington correspondents of the nation's metropolitan newspapers and by staff writers of the wire services.

Here's an illuminating statistic: 73 correspondents, photographers and newsreel men covered the final session at which President Eisenhower delivered his memorable, impromptu address.

NOV.
24

EISENHOWER SCORES CHARACTER ATTACK

**Cites Code of Meeting Accuser
Face to Face—B'nai B'rith
Group Gives Him Award**

*Text of the President's address
is printed on Page 20.*

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—President Eisenhower declared tonight that one of the basic democratic principles of this nation's greatness was the right of every man "to meet his accuser face to face."

He emphasized that there must be "no weakening" of that code.

The President assailed "character assassination" from behind.

"In this country," President Eisenhower said, "if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. He cannot hide behind the shadows, he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will inflict."

President Eisenhower's nine-minute address, which was telecast and broadcast nationally, was presented at the banquet-dinner session of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. He received the league's 1953 Democratic Legacy Award in tribute to his "contributions to the enrichment of America's Democratic Legacy" and for his lifetime devotion "to the furtherance of freedom."

An overflow audience in the Mayflower Hotel heard the address, presented as the four-day fortieth annual meeting of the league ended. The presentation of the award to the President was part of an hour-long telecast that paid tribute to the league and dramatized American progress in civil rights and human relations.

In presenting the silver medalion, Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the league, cited President Eisenhower's leadership "in the great crusade to bring about the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples

of Europe." The President was lauded for his "vigorous campaign to eliminate racial segregation in the armed forces; for your efforts to end undemocratic patterns of racial discrimination in Washington, our Capital city."

"But above all," Mr. Schultz said, we honor you for your continuing leadership of the free world."

President Eisenhower told his audience that he was raised in Abilene, Kan., to prize the code symbolized by Wild Bill Hickok, who had served as a marshal in the town. That code, the President said, was: "Meet anyone face to face with whom you disagree."

Under that code, the President declared, "you could not sneak up on him from behind, do any damage without suffering the penalty of an outraged citizenry. If you met him face to face and took the same risk he did, you could get away with almost anything, as long as the bullet was in the front."

"Of the Soul and Spirit"

The President asserted "if we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans there must be no weakening of the codes by which we have lived; * * * by your right to go to the church or synagogue or even the mosque of your own choosing; by your right to speak your mind and be protected in it."

"The things," he continued, "that make us proud to be Americans are of the soul and of the spirit. They are not the jewels we wear, or the furs we buy, the houses we live in, the standard of living that we have. All these things are wonderful to the esthetic and to the physical senses. But let us never forget the deep things that are American are the soul and the spirit."

"The Statue of Liberty is not tired, and not because it is made of bronze. It's because no matter what happens, here the individual is dignified because he is created in the image of his God. Let us not forget it."

In citing the reasons for the pride Americans held in their nation, the President asserted:

"We are proud, first of all because from the beginning of this nation, a man can walk upright, no matter who he is, or who she is. He can walk upright and meet his friend or his enemy, and he does not feel that because that enemy may be in a position of great power that he can be suddenly thrown in jail to rot there without charges and with no recourse to justice."

"We have the Habeas Corpus Act, and we respect it."

The President and the Anti-

Defamation League were praised in messages from heads of foreign governments. Those who sent messages included President Vincent Auriol of France, President Luigi Einaudi of Italy, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the West German Government, and David Ben-Gurion, outgoing Prime Minister of Israel.

Mrs. Eisenhower accompanied the President to the ceremonies. Others on the dais included Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States; John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; Bernard Baruch, Justices Robert H. Jackson, Tom C. Clark, Sherman Minton, William O. Douglas and Felix Frankfurter of the Supreme Court; Abba Eban, Israeli Ambassador; Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General; J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor; Harold Stassen, Mutual Security Administrator; Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Under Secretary of Labor; Harold Stassen, Foreign Operations Administrator; Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Under Secretary of State; Admiral Arthur B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff.

A large group of Governors, members of both houses of Congress, religious, business, labor and educational leaders also formed part of an audience of more than 1,200 persons.

The telecast show, staged by Rodgers and Hammerstein, featured Thelma Ritter, Eddie Fisher, Jane Froman, William Frawley, Vivian Vance, Desi Arnaz, Lucille Ball, Jackie Robinson, William Warfield, Ethel Merman, Helen Hayes, Walter Crookhite, Ben Grauer, Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer.

The dinner was sponsored by B'nai B'rith, 110-year-old Jewish service organization that embraces a membership of more than 350,000. Philip M. Klutznick of Chicago, president of the organization, presided.

At the afternoon session, the league adopted a budget of \$2,485,000 to carry out its programs next year. Benjamin Greenberg of New York was re-elected chairman of the league's finance committee. Mr. Schultz, who is a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education and a lawyer, was re-elected the league's national chairman.

Other officers elected were Maurice N. Dannenbaum of Houston, Jefferson E. Peyser of San Francisco and Edmund Waterman of New York, vice chairmen; Richard E. Gutstadt of Chicago, executive vice chairman; Jacob Alson of New York, treasurer, and Benjamin R. Epstein of New York, secretary, and national director. Bernard Nath of Chicago was elected chairman of the executive committee.

criminal case to be a witness against himself."

He said, however, that it was an "inescapable obligation" of all those who hold "public or quasi-public position" to support the laws and Constitution of the nation and "to be able to deny affirmatively membership in any organization whose purpose it is by conspiracy to destroy our Constitution and Government."

He termed it "utterly repugnant" for any public employee to be associated with any Communist organization and declared that only by "avoiding extremism" could we keep to a "true course."

He underscored the full equality of every American citizen before the law, adding:

"Inquisitorial method must never be substituted for this equality and as long as we realize that legal process is the road by which we have come and the road by which we must go I am sure that all the very many problems that we have can be solved."

Mr. Black said that a tendency to curtail freedom of expression and the "cutting down of freedom of choice" represented a threat to American civil liberties.

Mr. Klutznick asserted that "unless the spirit manifest in the American concept of human dignity permeates the land we can go nowhere in the struggle for human liberty and freedom."

these organizations
against "Malay
and Mongolian
members grad
over the trac

POST
...ish said.

ains Publisher Say Some Russia Foes In U.S. Do Not Want What We Are Fighting For

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (U.P.)—Douglas M. Black, president of the American Book Publishers Council, suggested today that "some of the people in this country who are most conspicuous articulators of their hatred of Russia, do not live themselves what we are fighting for."

"They don't recognize that the freedoms of expression, press, assembly and worship are the very essence of our democratic life," he told the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"They don't believe that without freedom there is no democracy," Black said. "They do not understand that we will fight not only to prevent our freedom being taken from us by our enemies abroad, but we will not forfeit them to enemies within."

DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD

Black, who also is president of Doubleday & Co., Inc., said he thought one reason why "our liberties are in danger at this time and because fear is abroad in the land."

LANCASTER, PA.

INTELLIGENCE JOURNAL

"I think," Judge Hastie said, "that a great part of any comprehensive program for the elimination of racism in American life during the second half of the 20th century must be concentrated upon the breaking down of urban and suburban residential segregation."

PUBLIC FIGURES HERE DISCUSS ANTI-SEMITISM

1,000 Delegates
B'nai B'rith Session

Upwards of 1,000 delegates at the 40th annual meeting of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith heard an impressive array of public figures Saturday night in the Mayflower hotel discuss "Anti-Semitism in the United States."

The Rev. Bishop of Washington, D.C., and the Rev. Bishop of Baltimore, Md., were among the speakers.

Sick Nation

He said there is a rising revolution in the country against exploiters of "our fears and hatreds." But he added that those who would throw American standards overboard in the fight against Communism look upon defenders of freedom as fellow-travelers or Communists.

This faction, he said, "has wrapped itself in the claim of patriotism to such a point that it has all but monopolized the American flag."

MacLeish added: "Any man who defends the American tradition, the Christian tradition, of a free and responsible human spirit will be vilified as disloyal and subversive."

He said the Communists have successfully used the "Trojan horse of pretended patriotism" in other countries, but have not been able to do so in America "because the country as a whole is not so thoroughly Communist."

Before B'nai B'rith Group

MacLeish Says Red Issue Is Dividing American Mind

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (U.P.)—Archibald MacLeish, poet and former Librarian of Congress, said tonight that not since the Civil War "has the American mind been divided by such bitterness as divides it now."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Speaking before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Mr. MacLeish said the issue of Communism is a matter of our time but the Communist conspiracy, readily persuaded themselves that the believers in individual freedom are, at least, political irresponsibles and, at worst, defenders of Communists, if not Communists themselves.

individual liberty to the fight against communism is no better than the Communist party and may well be worse since it is far larger, and since the means it employs are immeasurably more dangerous."

Mr. MacLeish said America must recover its vision of the American dream—"the love of man—the love of the human possibility—the love of which Lincoln's life was the great American expression." But he said it is difficult in "such a world as the Russians have made to believe in noble things."

Another speaker, former New York State Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink, said that anti-semitism is a festering sore, if not attended to, "could poison an entire system."

He said that the great danger is that those who believe in individual freedom are, at least, political irresponsibles and, at worst, defenders of Communists, if not Communists themselves.

STEINBRINK FLAYS AT ANTI-SEMITISM

Washington, Nov. 21—Official Referee Meier Steinbrink of Brooklyn today said anti-Semitism was "a festering sore" which "if not attended to" could poison the entire American system.

Speaking before the anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the former Supreme Justice said the American Jew "is victimized when he seeks employment, when he seeks education and when he attempts to gain admittance to resort hotels."

Jews are barred, he said, from places of public accommodation and feel "the lash of discrimination in housing, in clubs and in fraternal organizations."

However, he declared, fortunately there is a wide-

matters in our time but the Communist conspiracy, readily persuaded themselves that the believers in individual freedom are, at least, political irresponsibles and, at worst, defenders of Communists, if not Communists themselves.

"The same thing is true of those who believe that the great issue of our time is the freedom of the human individual—who believe that if that freedom is lost, whose hands are raised in sacrifice to the fight against Communism is no better than the Communist party and may well be worse since it is far larger, and since the means it employs are immeasurably more dangerous."

NEW YORK BROOKLYN EAGLE

MacLeish said America must recover its vision of the American dream—"the love of man—the love of the human possibility—the love of which Lincoln's life was the great American expression."



Benjamin Epstein Meier Steinbrink

ple. They have thier free and securities. They do no prove of the rabble rousers the ruffians. They do not to be involved in messy tions. They want to stick t company of their own kind.

Discrimination Wane in U.S.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was told Friday that religious discrimination in the wane in the United States.

The opening of the league's 40th annual session in Boston, chairman of the group's

substantial gains during the past year in racial and religious discrimination in employment and other areas of American life."

Antonio, Texas News

President Honored by B'nai B'rith

Meet Enemies Face

THE
DENVER POST
NOV. 24, 1953

Voice of the
Rocky
Mountain
Empire

THE
Herald

THE
WASHINGTON
DAILY NEWS
NOV. 20, 1953

40th Anniversary

B'nai B'rith Gro Honors Eisenhower

Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith Honors Ike

At the regular meeting of the Executive Board of B'nai B'rith Women held last Monday at the Uptown Community Center with Mrs. Morris Adell, vice president, presiding, announcement was made that today is the day the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith will honor the President at a party to be given in Washington, D.C.

BAYONNE
N. J. TIMES
NOV. 24, 1953

President Eisenhower will be awarded the 1953 Democratic Legacy Award which is presented annually by the ADL to "An American who has made a distinguished contribution to the betterment of our country."

An award to President Eisenhower for making "distinguished contributions to the enrichment of America's democratic legacy" will be made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith during the 40th-anniversary celebration here today.

CHICAGO
AMERICAN
NOV. 24, 1953

Harold A. Brown, will present Mr. Eisenhower with a silver plaque.



Ike Warns: Guard Our Code

President Raps Character In Accepting Award

By MARVIN J. ARROWSMITH
WASHINGTON (U)—President Eisenhower, starting a Thanksgiving holiday today, says no one can "assassinate your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose."

That was the code of the Old West where he grew up and it is a code Americans still cherish, the President declared last night in accepting the award.

GADSDEN,
ALABAMA
TIMES

The Eisenhowers stop en route at Ft. Belvoir to pick up their daughter, Mrs. John Eisenhower, and three grandchildren. The President is making a stopover in Chicago.

President Raps "Character Assassins"

Eisenhower Presented Anti-Defamation League Award

WASHINGTON (U)—President allies an outraged citizenry will "assassinate your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose."

IOWA
GAZETTE

American people are proud of the President's acceptance of the Anti-Defamation League award. The President's acceptance of the award is a tribute to his leadership and his commitment to the principles of democracy. The President's acceptance of the award is a tribute to his leadership and his commitment to the principles of democracy.

The President

Wash. Post: last night to continue America's fight against communism. The President's acceptance of the award is a tribute to his leadership and his commitment to the principles of democracy.

40th Anniversary Of A Good Neighbor

Today is the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the world's largest and oldest Jewish service organization.

ADL began with the purpose of defending Jews against the evil of prejudice. Within two generations its work spread to a broader field—the defense of American democracy. Members of ADL clearly saw that there could be no security for any American unless there was true freedom for all.

When ADL was founded in 1913, prejudice was openly taken for granted. A great many Americans did not perceive that defamation of any person or group because of creed, color or nationality was both morally wrong and economically wrong.

Today Americans are more enlightened. They recognize that prejudice weakens a

nation's moral fiber and saps its strength. They have seen both Hitler and Stalin use anti-Semitism as a totalitarian weapon and our native Communists try to divide Americans on religious and racial lines.

ADL has been one of the potent citizen agencies that have alerted Americans to the dangers of prejudice in our shrinking world and growing cities. It has tried to spread enlightenment, believing that prejudice springs from ignorance, not malice. It has helped make Americans better neighbors, and it deserves the best wishes of all on its 40th birthday.

Boston, Mass., Christian Science Monitor

A Shield for Freedom

On Monday, November 23, President Eisenhower is scheduled to address in person a Freedom Forum in Washington, D.C., celebrating the 40th year of service by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and to receive its American Democratic Legacy Award.

The very name of this league stands as an indictment in a Christian land of the number who have, perhaps, tried Christianity but found certain of its teachings too difficult—to put it charitably. The "ADL" was founded in 1913 in Bloomington

ALBANY, N. Y., TIMES-UNION

Taken for Granted

There was a good clew to the temper of American times in a speech delivered over the weekend by Douglas M. Black, president of the Doubleday publishing house before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Mr. Black said among other things that "some of the people in this country who are most conspicuous and articulate in their hatred of Russia do not themselves want what we are fighting for."

Taking this as a text, one may go on to point out

1. That to many men (let us hope not the *average* man) freedom of speech, religion and press are mere high sounding terms orators may be expected to talk about on Independence Day.

2. That we're spoiled. We have had these freedoms so long now that we have come to consider them inviolable.

3. That our present attitude is borne out by the *McCarthyism*, an ism this newspaper has on strength of i

HOBBS, N. M., NEWS & SUN

PROGRESS

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jewish service organization, heard a report today that religious and racial discrimination is on the wane in the United States.

Judge David A. Rose of Boston, who keeps a close watch on such things, said: "The nation has made substantial gains during the past year in reducing the incidence of racial and religious discrimination in employment, education, housing and other areas of American life."

Our country is emerging from the dark ages of racial and religious intolerance.

Boston Post

Forty Years of Courage

Forty years of valiant struggle against intolerance, racial prejudice and anti-Semitism have been completed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. It is an event to be given sincere and heartfelt praise by all Americans.

President Eisenhower is to be given America's Democratic Legacy award for 1953 by the organization in Washington during the next few days. This award signifies the President's merit in his stand against bigotry, inequality and discrimination.

The ADL, however, deserves a national award of its undertaking this great, good work. Away back in the work was launched, the racial prejudice was virulent and vicious. It was more thought-

DECATUR, ILL., REVIEW

Easy Way To End Discrimination

A survey of the application forms necessary to enter 518 American colleges reveals that 92 per cent of the forms contained one or more potentially discriminatory questions.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which conducted the survey, has asked the colleges to take remedial action and most of the schools are complying.

Nearly every adult has filled out an application form or questionnaire at some time in his or her life. And nearly every application form includes a question pertaining to "Race."

Unless discrimination exists in some form within the school, factory or office which has drawn up the form, there seems no plausible reason why the university officials or employers should be interested in knowing the applicant's race.

Elimination of this damning, one-word question from all application blanks would be a progressive step toward ridding this democratic country of racial discrimination.

As a matter of fact, could not the question, "Religion?" on application blanks also be construed as discriminatory in some respects?

Mr. Eisenhower's 'Code'

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER might have delivered a stiffly formal address on civil rights at the 40th anniversary dinner of the Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith Monday night. Instead he chose to speak informally, and with simple eloquence, of a "code" which is inseparable from the American ideal of civil rights.

The Anti-Defamation league was presenting Mr. Eisenhower with its democratic legacy award for "a life devoted to the furtherance of freedom." The tradition of the league is one of profound respect for the individual and of distinguished service to the cause of civil liberties; therefore it was fitting that the President should speak, as he did, out of his deep conviction that fair play is the very essence of our American heritage.

"If we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans," he said, "there must be no weakening of the code by which we have lived; by the right to meet your accuser face to face, if you have one; by your rights to go to the church or the synagogue or even the mosque of your own choosing; by your right to speak your mind and be protected in it."

In "Wild Bill" Hickok's day, Mr. Eisenhower declared, this code forbade sneaking up on an enemy from behind. And today the same code prevails: "In this country if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. He cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalty an outraged citizenry will impose."

These are words spoken in the best tradition of B'nai B'rith and its league. And they are words which have a special forte and meaning today, when the techniques of political attack in both parties so often violate the simple rule of face-to-face.

Mr. Eisenhower's voice was being raised against the irresponsible charge made without supporting evidence, just as it was being raised against all procedures which glorify unfounded rumor, and all persons who assert the supremacy of hearsay over truth.

Let those whom the shoe fits put it on. Mr. Eisenhower did not resort to personalities in his discussion of the code; yet one does not need a magnifying glass to perceive either the code's frequent violations, or its most ruthless violators.

The President's award was richly deserved, just as his appeal for fair play was notably appropriate to the occasion. The Eisenhower administration has in fact conducted "a vigorous campaign to eliminate racial segregation from the armed forces." It has moved successfully on several fronts to attack racial discrimination in the District of Columbia. As for Mr. Eisenhower's leadership in the destruction of Nazi tyranny—the third citation basing the award—that is already part of history.

The Anti-Defamation league dinner was a brilliant and impressive affair centering around those ideals of American liberty the league has served so well. Mr. Eisenhower, then, picked a perfect setting for this statement of his "code." What better place than this to stand up, as he did, against the behind-the-back techniques of defamation?

Fighters Against Intolerance

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is currently marking its fortieth anniversary of community service with a special program of events in Washington which is to culminate tonight with the award to President Eisenhower of the 1953 America's Democratic Legacy medalion.

Since the founding of the Anti-Defamation League much has been accomplished in the struggle to eradicate religious and racial discrimination. Overt manifestations of such practices have been sharply reduced, and the less apparent types are gradually being forced back. The Anti-Defamation League has played a leading part in the struggle against this particular kind of un-American activity, and has seen many of its initial objectives attained. Yet the war against intolerance and bigotry is an unending one, waged on multiple fronts. The scope of the Anti-Defamation League's activities can be shown by a glance at the discussion topics of its current Freedom Forum in Washington. Anti-Semitism, race relations, civil rights and education all were examined closely by government leaders, social workers and officials of the league. In its first forty years the Anti-Defamation League has illuminated many dark corners and brought the meaning of America into sharper focus. All friends of freedom will wish it well as it presses home its victorious campaign.

Comment on the editorial pages of 297 daily newspapers.

Editors found substance for thoughtful expression on the 40 years of ADL service to democracy . . . on President Eisenhower's forthright declaration that "every American has the right to meet his accuser face to face" . . . on the magnificent keynote speech by Archibald MacLeish . . . on the defense of free expression by Douglas M. Black . . . on ADL's authoritative report on civil rights . . . The Freedom Forum was news with editorial impact!

TV GUIDE



Hayes



President Eisenhower

Palmer



Ball & Arrau



Harrison



Methods



Fisher

TV Tonight: Ike, Star Cast

CHICAGO
DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES

KUP'S COLUMN

Aubrey Cookman, the Chicago aviation editor who failed to crack the 'round-the-world-by-commercial-plane record, may suffer dizzy spells when he gets this news: His publisher wants him to try again in the near future, because "it was a mistake to start on Friday the 13th!" . . . The family of the late HARRY STEIN have

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN have lined up a spangled cast for their "Star-Spangled Show" on TV May 13th. . . . The family of the late Anti-Defamation League's 40th anniversary among the guests will be J. Edgar Hoover, Attorney General, Henry Ford II, Bernard Baruch and Jackie Robinson. . . . The commentary. . . . Warns of "a Broadway," in which h



**N. Y.
DAILY NEWS**

7:00—8:00 (2) (6); 11:00—12:00
11:15—12:15 (4) (5); 11:30—12:30

ETHEL MERMAN, making her first TV appearance since her smash-hit duet with Mary Martin on the Ford anniversary show, is just one of the features of this jumbo hour.

It will be carried by all networks—live by CBS, on kinescope by the others.

Produced by Rodgers & Hammerstein, Dinner with the President comes from the Grand Ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., where a dinner the nation of the 40th anniversary

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This program is a
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Before this point of reached, Max Harrison, L. Grauer, and Walter Crovel to give bridging come by means of dramatic sketches, songs, and monologues in democracy is described.

VARIETY

VARIETY

**Anti-Defamation League
Anni Hoopla Brings Out
Stars, Industry Leader**

Award For Ike . . . President Eisenhower's reception of the 1953 B'nai Brith Award for ending segregation in the U. S. Army, will highlight a star studded, one-hour show, "Dinner With the President," via ABC-TV, and probably over other networks, Nov. 23 at 10 P. M. Produced by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, the program, at the Mayflower Hotel in . . .

By **BEN GROSS**

GROSS
Toscanini III — Return Delayed
... An attack of the flu has bedded
Arturo Toscanini in the can-
cellation of his appearance
of the season
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**CHICAGO
AMERICAN**

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CHICAGO
AMERICAN

**B'nai B'rith
TV Show to
Honor Ike**

Special to The Chicago American.
WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—A
special citation will be presented
President Eisenhower tonight
during an hour-long telecast.

Televiewers Don't Need Tickets For Big Events

By NORMAN CLARK

Television most assuredly allows millions of Americans to attend important events for which it would be impossible for them to get tickets; I mean we

that the cameras should single out famous men as their names were mentioned—Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Earl

MARYLAND NEWS-POST

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY NEWS

MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT JOURNAL

"Dinner With the President" Two

Dinner With the President



HELEN HAYES

TELEVISION — Reviewed Monday (23), Washington, D.C. Sustaining via CBS-TV. Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Paul, Martin Manulis, Director, CBS-TV. Shultz, Lucille Ball, Desi Arnaz, William Frawley, Vivian Vance, Thelma Ritter, Jane Froman, Rex Harrison, Eddie Fisher, Jack Paar, Jackie Robinson, William Warfield, Ethel Merman, Helen Hayes, Walter Cronkite, Ed Bradley, other.

The magical production touch of Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein made "Dinner With the President" an exciting hour of vivid living history. The roster of statesmen, and the great cast of the act.

BILLBOARD

Television — The 40th anniversary of the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League broadcast from the Mayflower Hotel, which was carried on film by the other networks.

We Enjoy Our Fill of TV

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS STAR

We're grateful to TV for the hour and a half broadcast of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League banquet rebroadcast.

VARIETY

On The Radio and TV

The B'nai B'rith tribute to President Eisenhower last night was stirring.

Using Thelma Ritter as a lively, lowdown State Department official, the show was unusual.

RAVENNA AND RECORD & COURIER TRIBUNE



Harry Hershfield

EXPOSE OF THE "DEALINGS" of some Government appointees, for Capitol "Washington

Comments About The TV Shows

By JACK O'BRIAN

The B'nai B'rith tribute to President Eisenhower last night was stirring.

NORRISTOWN, PA., TIMES-HERALD

25

... ABOUT RADIO AND TELEVISION

How to measure the impact of the **Freedom Forum** as covered by **radio** and **television**?

"Dinner With The President" was telecast "live" by 58 stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System, later shown that same evening by kinescope on 61 stations of the American Broadcasting Company, National Broadcasting Company and Dumont network, and on 24 more stations the remainder of the week. **Estimated audience: 38,000,000.**

NBC radio and the Mutual Broadcasting System also presented a transcribed half-hour condensation on **700 stations**. Say the radio experts: at least **20,000,000 listeners**.

These figures reflect only the "Dinner With The President" program. From November 22 through November 29 ADL was "news" for local and network commentators. Edward R. Murrow, Martin Agronsky, Eric Severeid, Dave Garroway, Tex and Jinx McCrary, Daniel Schorr were among the scores of radio newsmen who reported on ADL and the Freedom Forums — for a total of more than 120 individual broadcasts!

... ABOUT NEWSREELS

Every newsreel company covered the President's speech. The story on film was shown to theatre audiences the next day. More than **25,000,000 movie-goers** saw it within the week.



November 23 was ADL DAY by official
proclamation in many states . . . and
in scores of communities



GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION
"Anti-Defamation League Day"
November 23, 1953

The Anti-Defamation League of the Order of B'nai B'rith
is now celebrating its fortieth anniversary.

On Monday, November 23, 1953, the League will present to
that distinguished American, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United
States, its America's Democratic Legacy Award.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has consistently
fought the dogmas of Communism, Nazism, Fascism, and intolerance, and
has striven for the ideal of "One America".

It has pioneered in the formation and presentation of cultural,
social and philanthropic programs for the benefit of every faith, color and
creed.

Its efforts have been dedicated to the creation of a better
and stronger America.

Therefore, in recognition of the service of the Anti-Defamation
League of the Order of B'nai B'rith, and in celebration of its fortieth
anniversary, I, Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor, hereby proclaim Monday,
November 23, 1953, as "Anti-Defamation League Day" in Maryland.



CITY OF SAN BERNARDINO
SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

GEORGE C. BLAIR
Mayor
Members of the Common Council:
San J. G. Ray Ward
Charles E. Galt Samuel Ward
Roy V. Brown Edith Ward
William F. Brown Frank Ward
A. S. Brown Edith Ward

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, the central theme in our American heritage and history
is the importance of the individual and the belief that
every human being has an essential dignity which must
be respected and safeguarded; and

WHEREAS, our American heritage also teaches that to be secure
in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be
willing to respect the rights of other men; and

WHEREAS, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, during the
last four decades, has dedicated itself to the realiza-
tion of these ideals and to promoting social progress
and institutions that strengthen our tradition and
heritage as a free and democratic people;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, George C. Blair, Mayor of the City of San
Bernardino, do hereby congratulate the Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith on the occasion of the celebra-
tion of its 40th Anniversary on November 23, and commend
it for distinguished contributions to America's democratic
legacy.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the
Great Seal of the City of San Bernardino to be affixed
this 19th day of November in the Year of Our Lord One
Thousand, Nine Hundred and Fifty-Three.

George C. Blair
GEORGE C. BLAIR
Mayor, City of San Bernardino



GIVEN Under My Hand and the
Great Seal of the State of Maryland,
at the City of Annapolis, this 19th
Day of November, in the Year of
Our Lord, One Thousand Nine
Hundred and Fifty-Three.

John P. Davis

By the Governor

John P. Davis
Secretary of State



...GATHERING THE WORLD OVER

VINCENT AURIOL
President of FRANCE

I am happy to send to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith my heartiest greetings. The task you have been pursuing in the last 40 years is fully in line with the basic aspirations of the French people. The triumph of individual liberties, the assertion of the dignity of Man, the safeguarding of human rights, the refusal to accept any discrimination on racial or religious grounds are a common heritage shared by our two countries; it is a heritage that my country has built up in the course of her national history; it is the heritage for the defense of which her children have fought many times and for which they have shed their blood. I can assure you that we will continue to fight so that this ideal penetrates deeper every day in our institutions and in our way of life. Thus shall we best contribute to the happiness of mankind and to the common understanding between nations.

KONRAD ADENAUER
Chancellor of the Federal Republic of GERMANY

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith I am sending cordial congratulations. May it be given to the order—founded in America a century ago by German-Jewish immigrants—and to its affiliated organizations to work successfully for many years to come for the ideals of "benevolence, brotherly love, and concord."

DR. LUIGI EINAUDI
President of ITALY

On the occasion of the solemn meeting held on the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I want to send to all members and participants and in the first place to President Eisenhower the assurance of my spiritual solidarity and my most fervid wishes for the successful prosecution of the activities of the League and for its even more fruitful contribution to the cause of freedom and the dignity of the human person.

DAVID BEN-GURION
Former Prime Minister of ISRAEL

Congratulations on the celebration of 40 years of spirited defence of civil liberties and for your consistent championship of human rights. As Jews we have suffered more than any other people in history from the evil result of tyranny, racial discrimination and oppression. In our own country and free to shape our lives in accordance with our Biblical heritage, we seek to rebuild free democratic society that respects the dignity of man made in the image of God. As members of the human race, we laud your brave and courageous efforts, your battles against evils of bigotry and race hatred and your vigilant defence of democracy's prized possession—the freedom and equality of man.

***More than 500 congratulatory
messages poured in . . .***

... Here is a sampling:

RELIGIOUS LEADERS

BISHOP BERNARD SHEIL

of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago

The 40th anniversary of your great organization presents an opportunity to express my happiness and the joy of the Catholic Youth Organization of Chicago for your constant effort that freedom will never perish in America. Your unwavering work in keeping before the American conscience the exalted dignity of all men under God is worthy of deep gratitude from all of us. God ever be with you.

JOHN W. HARMS

Executive Vice President, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago

We are grateful for the many constructive community services for which you have been responsible.

A. WILSON CHEEK

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

We feel confident that the remarkable record of the ADL during its 40 years of existence is a most reliable and encouraging presage of an ever growing program in the years ahead.

C. W. PETITT

Executive Director, Protestant Council of the City of New York

In recent years I have observed the fine group of young people representing your organization, who have joined with youth from our churches in annual interfaith Youth Conferences. These events surely have led to better understanding and in this program we are glad to have a part.

LABOR LEADERS

JAMES G. PATTON

President, National Farmers Union

ADL has done a splendid job in seeking to erase the scars caused by violations of civil liberties. But more important the ADL has sought to remove the causes of these scars.

O. A. KNIGHT

President, Oil Workers International Union, CIO

I commend your organization for its fine contributions to American society.

LESTER WASHBURN

United Automobile Workers of America, AFL

ADL has a long and distinguished career as a militant organization standing for human rights, not alone serving the Jews of America, but all American citizens.

JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

MRS. IRVING M. ENGEL

National Council of Jewish Women

It is a great pleasure for the National Council of Jewish Women to greet the ADL on the important occasion commemorating 40 years of service as an educational and civil rights agency.

JACOB BLAUSTEIN

President, American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee extends its heartiest congratulations to its colleagues of the ADL on the occasion of its 40th anniversary. It is our sincere wish that your great organization will have many more years of fruitful service to the nation and to the community.

MILTON I. GOLDSTEIN

President, Jewish Community Relations Council, St. Louis

Congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the ADL. Its contribution to the democratic way of life will endure as a monument in the history of our times.

SIDNEY M. SHEVITZ

President, Jewish Community Council, Detroit

As the League now observes this significant anniversary, we express our confidence that its goals of service will remain constant and that its vision of constructive community action will stay undimmed.

MORTON J. GABA

Executive Director, Jewish Community Council, Norfolk, Va.

... the sincere wish that the ADL and its leaders will enjoy many more years of successful achievement in their noteworthy effort to advance democratic ideals and practices in America.

MILLARD MAYER

Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City

May the ADL and its leaders continue for many more years their effective and unique contributions to the advancement of the democratic ideals and practices in our land.

HAROLD SCHINE

Chairman, Jewish Community Relations Council, Bridgeport, Conn.

May you continue to strengthen American freedom through decades to come.

JOSEPH H. EINHORN

Chairman, Jewish Community Council, Albany, New York

May the services of the League be available to every Jewish community for many years to come.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT

President, Atlanta University

I congratulate your organization for the real contributions it has made to American democracy.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers

Through such organizations as the ADL we must build societies and governments so strong and functionally democratic that no tyrant shall ever be able to arise to power.

MRS. SAMUEL A. LEWISOHN

Chairman, Public Education Association

PEA has developed a deep respect for the ADL as an organization of high principle and effective action in the field of human relations.

ALGO D. HENDERSON

American Council on Education

One of the most constructive action groups working in the field of human relations.

H. L. BODA

Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dayton, Ohio

The ADL has effectively furnished leadership and resources which have enabled educators to more successfully meet the challenges of this important task in the field of education.

WALTER MAXWELL

Executive Secretary, Arizona Education Association

ADL is making a great contribution to the preservation and development of the great freedoms of this country.

MYRON TAGGART HOPPER

Dean, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.

Congratulations to the League for all it has accomplished in the past 40 years and may it have increasing significance further.

WILLIAM JANSEN

Superintendent of Schools, New York City

The League is in the forefront of those organizations that seek to preserve our democratic heritage.

PAUL C. REED

Editor, Educational Screen

We hope that the immeasurably valuable work of the ADL will continue and be extended for the next 40 years.

MALCOLM S. KNOWLES

Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.

The ADL has done more than its share to preserve the very climate of intellectual freedom so essential to the existence of democracy itself.

EUGENE H. KEATING

Vice President, United States National Student Association

May the future years prove equally successful and equally rewarding to the ADL and to those who share its noble aspirations.

CHARLES COGEN

President, The New York Teachers Guild

That you may continue to work with undiminished vision and courage during the next 40 years is the sincere wish of the trade union teachers of your children.

F. E. ENGLEMAN

State Commissioner of Education, Connecticut

It is organizations such as yours which seek to extend liberty and justice and at the same time preserve all the gains for mankind with which this nation of free people is endowed.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

GOVERNOR DAN THORNTON

Colorado

The educational program of Colorado's Human Relations Commission is patterned a great deal after the fine work of your League.

GOVERNOR FRANK J. LAUSCHE*Ohio*

In the various positions which I have occupied as a public official, I was afforded the opportunity of observing the extraordinary work done by your League for the protection of the humblest civil liberties.

MAYOR GEORGE D. JOHNSON*Duluth, Minnesota*

With world conditions as they are today, we are desperately in need of organizations such as yours to advance the ideals of a democratic America.

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON*Washington*

The League has worked steadily and constructively towards respect for and liberty of every individual in our country.

SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS*Illinois*

ADL consistently recognized and fought the menace of totalitarianism, whether communist or fascist.

MAYOR GEORGE C. BLAIR*San Bernardino, California*

I commend ADL for its distinguished contributions to America's democratic legacy.

MAYOR JOHN E. GOTHNER*Racine, Wisconsin*

Permit me to take this opportunity to congratulate you for 40 years of service to our country.

MAYOR ELMER E. ROBINSON*San Francisco, California*

It is my firm conviction that the ADL will continue to hasten the day when discrimination because of race and religious beliefs is no longer a deterring factor in our American way of life.

A. HOLLY PATTERSON*County Executive, Nassau County, New York*

We are proud to add our voice in honoring ADL's distinguished leaders for their vital work in keeping alive and meaningful the American principles upon which our nation's greatness is founded.

MAYOR JOSEPH MRUK*Buffalo, New York*

The ADL through its broad educational and its legislative program has fought for equal rights for all citizens regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin.

CONGRESSMAN HARLAN HAGEN*California*

For its high purpose and notable accomplishments, my congratulations to the ADL.

CONGRESSMAN CARL HINSHAW*California*

It is gratifying to note that the League for 40 years has dedicated itself to the development of social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men in our nation, and in many ways, helping to enrich America's democratic legacy.

SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON*Washington*

To preserve America all good citizens must today combat defamation in all its abhorrent aspects, and in the forefront of this crusade will be found the ADL.

GOVERNOR WALTER J. KOHLER*Wisconsin*

Through the years the League has distinguished itself by the prudence and wisdom with which it has served its great purpose. It is my sincere hope that the League will continue to function successfully.

MAYOR HERBERT A. GIESE*Wausau, Wisconsin*

I am familiar with the fine work being done by your organization to help maintain the democratic way of life here in the United States, and wish you every success in your efforts to carry on this fine work.

CONGRESSMAN DON MAGNUSON*Washington*

The ADL has made an outstanding contribution to humanity, and I know it will continue to do so.

CONGRESSMAN HAL HOLMES*Washington*

I wish to congratulate your organization and recognize the approval it has received from men in public as well as private life.

MAYOR R. L. ROEMER*Appleton, Wisconsin*

As Mayor of the City of Appleton, Wisconsin, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you as Chairman of the ADL for the very fine work which your organization is doing.

CLARENCE SENIOR*Chief, Migration Division, Puerto Rico Department of Labor*

Warmest congratulations on ADL's Anniversary. We appreciate the League's 40 years of service and achievement.

MAYOR QUIGG NEWTON*Denver, Colorado*

I have found the representatives of your organization both wise and constructive in their efforts to eliminate social discriminations which have no place in American democracy.

WARD B. ARBURY

Chairman, New York State Commission Against Discrimination

I have been impressed by ADL's constant diligence in matters of discrimination and bigotry.

MAYOR RUDOLPH E. MENCHI

Manitowoc, Wisconsin

Your organization has contributed much to a greater understanding between peoples. Keep up your good and necessary work. It will always have our support.

MAYOR FRANK P. ZEIDLER

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

ADL has been an important agency in combatting the manifestations of prejudice and bigotry. Because of its position on many matters affecting all minority groups, it has won the respect of many citizens who know of its work.

MAYOR GEORGE FORSTER

Madison, Wisconsin

We join you in taking pride in the progress that has been made and your achievements.

MAYOR MARTIN H. KENNELLY

Chicago, Illinois

As Mayor of the City of Chicago, I join in the expression of appreciation of the League's activities.

GOVERNOR SIGURD ANDERSON

South Dakota

The work of the ADL is certainly most important to the future welfare of the American way of life.

HAROLD J. SALFEN

President, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Atlanta, Georgia

The outstanding contribution which your organization has made to this community and the world, is certainly one that deserves the highest of praise from every citizen.

MAYOR ERIC G. HOYER

Minneapolis, Minnesota

I take this opportunity to express wholehearted appreciation to you for the great service you have rendered our country and our local community.

CONGRESSMAN CHET HOLIFIELD

California

May I address my congratulations to the ADL whose tireless efforts and many accomplishments are helping the United States reach the goal of brotherhood of man.

GOVERNOR GOODWIN J. KNIGHT

California

The ADL has made great strides in helping to counteract bitterness and prejudice through constructive influences of friendship and good will.

GOVERNOR ELMER ANDERSON

Minnesota

The contributions of the League cannot be measured by words alone but its service to the cause of freedom has helped further the principles and ideals on which this nation was founded.

GOVERNOR ARTHUR B. LANGLE

Washington

May the accomplishments of the past point the way to even greater avenues of service in the years ahead.

IRVING S. ROSENBLATT, JR.

President, California Federation for Civil Unity

The ADL has done magnificent work and I know that all our affiliated and associated organizations join me in the prayer and hope that it will continue its fine work with undiminished vigor.

GOVERNOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT McKELDIN

Maryland

It has pioneered in the formation and presentation of cultural, social and philanthropic programs for the benefit of every faith, color and creed.

MAYOR JOSEPH S. CLARK

Philadelphia

The courage you have shown in your untiring efforts to further human understanding has been a splendid example to all of us.

MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

New York City

My heartiest congratulations to the ADL and its splendid record of service to the people of our country.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS**E. ROLAND HARRIMAN**

President, American National Red Cross

The ADL has brought us closer to the day when all people will be good neighbors to one another in a world of understanding and mutual respect.

AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE RESOLUTION:

ADL has always stood in the forward ranks of those dedicated to the achievement of a fuller democracy.

JOHN S. KNIGHT

Publisher, the Knight Newspapers

ADL has done its work capably for 40 years . . . as a useful force in purifying the stream of public information.

ARTHUR J. CONNELL

National Commander, American Legion

We have long been cognizant of the splendid work the League has done and extend our best wishes for the continuing success of this champion of Americanism.

WAYNE E. RICHARDS

Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

Because man's yearning for freedom demands an endless struggle against the evil forces of oppression and greed, it is fitting and proper that the anniversary of your organization should be appropriately observed.

HENRY J. MAHADY

National Commander, AMVETS

The principles upon which America was founded have been furthered and enhanced by your efforts on behalf of civil liberties and other ideals of democracy. It has been a pleasure and an inspiration for AMVETS to work with ADL.

ARTHUR A. SCHUCK

Chief Scout Executive, Boy Scouts of America

Over the years there has been a very close relationship between B'nai B'rith and the Boy Scouts of America. Your organization is doing outstanding work in promoting better human relationships and promoting democracy among all racial and religious groups in America.

MRS. ROY F. LAYTON

National President, Girl Scouts of U. S. A.

For four decades both our organizations have been working side by side to create better understanding in our communities throughout the country and promote the principles of democratic living.

LESTER B. GRANGER

National Urban League

The history of the past 40 years makes it patently clear that your method of attack on the grave social evils of the day have borne fruit. Your program of social action will continue to aid the cause of freedom and democracy.

WALTER H. BIERINGER

President, United Service for New Americans

May this anniversary conference inspire and stimulate your delegates to continue and expand the kind of exemplary leadership for which we all benefit.

DR. EVERETT R. CLINCHY

President, National Conference of Christians and Jews

The ADL has become a potent influence in the life of a nation struggling to achieve understanding, good will and brotherhood for all its citizens.

ROBERT C. WEAVER

Chairman, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

We of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing have special reason to acknowledge your insights—your techniques and the unfailing support you have given to our committee.

FRANCIS W. McPECK

Executive Director of the Commission of Human Relations, Chicago

In the many years of existence your national organization has contributed a flowing chapter of humanitarian and patriotic effort to the history of the United States.

JOSEPH TRINER and JOHN W. GOLOSINEC

Czecho-Slovak National Council of America

We salute you and wish you continued success in our common goal, the freedom and self-respect of the individual and the safeguarding of our United States of America.

CHARLES ROZMAREK

President, Polish American Congress

In the name of the Polish American Congress, I wish to extend our cordial felicitations to your organization on the occasion of its 40th Anniversary.

CHARLES LIVERMORE

President, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

ADL's creative growth, in response to the changing needs of our times is best indicated by your philosophy of concern with discrimination and prejudice, no matter what group is affected.

C. M. VANDEBURG

Executive Director, The American Heritage Foundation

It is our particular pleasure to extend congratulations and best wishes on the 40th Anniversary of the ADL and to express the hope that the American Heritage Foundation will continue to enjoy your participation in all worthy efforts to protect the rights of individuals and the preservation of freedom everywhere.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council sends its admiring greetings to the ADL on the occasion of its 40th Anniversary.

DAN A. WEST

Chairman, Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations

Over the years, the ADL has given wise and dedicated leadership in the struggle to wipe out inequalities and injustices directed towards racial, religious and national minorities.

BROOKS POTTER

President, National Conference of Social Work

I offer my congratulations on the outstanding contribution which the ADL has made in the cause of improved human relations in this country.

MARTHA F. ALLEN

National Director, Camp Fire Girls

The growth and effectiveness of the ADL over the past four decades illustrates what can be done to combat the corroding influence of malicious persecution with the superior weapons of education and active vigilance.

ERNEST A. GROSS

President, Freedom House

We salute your organization which has done valiant service to the cause of freedom for 40 years.

L. H. ADOLFSON

Adult Education Association of the United States

We share your pride in the great contributions made by your organization to the cause of freedom and tolerance in America.

LILLIAN H. ASHE

President, United Parents Associations of New York City

I extend congratulations on behalf of the United Parents Associations for a job well done.

*Funds for the Anti-Defamation League's
activities are raised jointly with the
American Jewish Committee through the*

JOINT DEFENSE APPEAL

220 WEST 42ND STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH, 212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
Chairman

MEIER STEINBRINK
Honorary Chairman

BARNEY BALABAN
A. G. BALLENGER
A. K. COHEN

HERBERT M. LEHMAN
LEON LOWENSTEIN
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
JESSE STEINHART

Honorary Vice-Chairmen

MAURICE N. DANNENBAUM
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DAVID H. LITTER
JACK MACKAY
BERNARD NATH
MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN
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I. BUDD ROCKOWER
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HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
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LESTER J. WALDMAN
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RECORDED

INDEXED - 5

EX-126

February 9, 1954

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Schultz:

I have received your very kind letter of January 29, 1954, and want to thank you for sending me the enclosed portfolio of public response commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

It was most thoughtful of you to remember me, and you may be sure that I would enjoy receiving the other items concerning Freedom Forums when they are available.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles reflect very cordial correspondence with Mr. Schultz. It is noted that the enclosed portfolio lists the Director's name on page seven which indicates that he had a seat on the dais during the fortieth anniversary dinner of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Gearty _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

ELT:row

MAILED 8

FEB 9 - 1954

COMM - FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-24-81 BY

717164 #25913

FEB 10 1954

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Miami (62-0)

SUBJECT: HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ;
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH MATTER

DATE: March 1954

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

[REDACTED] contacted the St. Petersburg Resident Agency concerning a meeting sponsored by the local chapter of B'nai B'rith, held on February 16, 1954, at St. Petersburg, and at which SCHULTZ, National Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, was the principal speaker.

[REDACTED] related that he had attended and considered the speech given by SCHULTZ to be highly inflammatory and stated that he felt the matter should be brought to the attention of the Bureau. He informed that SCHULTZ, in discussing the investigations of the Senate Committee, headed by Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, into allegations of subversion and espionage at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, made charges that McCARTHY was anti-Semitic in that thirty-nine of the forty persons supposedly connected with the subversion were Jewish and the other was a Negro. According to [REDACTED] SCHULTZ castigated McCARTHY and spoke of measures taken by the League to curb McCARTHY.

In the course of his address SCHULTZ allegedly stated that the League has 350,000 members and that no candidate running for office today would challenge the power of the Jewish people represented by the group.

[REDACTED] also advised that SCHULTZ spoke of discrimination on the local level stating that until a few years ago, no Jew was wanted in the St. Petersburg area; that Jews are not acceptable as members of the St. Petersburg Yacht Club though the club is located on property for which the club pays the city a rental of \$1.00 per year; that Jewish merchants are not acceptable in some of the civic clubs of the city.

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] there was no newspaper publicity given the meeting on the day following, and that it had not been, in his opinion, because of the nature of SCHULTZ' speech.

COPIES DESTROYED

45 JUN 8 1972

52 MAR 22 1954

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-24-91 BY [REDACTED]

7/17/89 #257,356

SCHULTZ, according to [REDACTED] made the statement that all of the records of the League were open to the FBI, and that on many occasions information is furnished to the Bureau. He stated that his reason for coming to the Bureau was that he felt that such play to class interest, or to a racial or religious group, was un-American, and that it could easily lead to disloyalty to the country if the interests of the group were opposed to that of the government.

No action is contemplated by this office, and the above is being furnished to the Bureau for informative purposes.

TO : Mr. lson *W. per D*
FROM : L. B. Nichols

DATE: March 10, 1954 *73*
AB
90

SUBJECT: *10-550*
b7c

b7c
[redacted] called. He just wanted to pass on the information that [redacted] of the Anti-Defamation League, had approached him to carry on a special investigation for the Anti-Defamation League of an individual by the name of [redacted]

b7c
b7D
[redacted] to make an investigation on H. L. Hunt, the Texas oil man who has furnished a lot of money to Senator McCarthy. [redacted] did not know whether or not he would undertake these investigations as he did not like the general tone of them. He asked what I thought. I told him that it was a matter up to him to decide.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN [redacted] *b7c*

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *b7c*

DATE 8-24-81 BY [redacted]

91986 SP8 BTJ/RBG #254,540 RECORDED - 23

INDEXED - 23

EX-129

100-530-284
MAR 18 1954 *57 b7c*

30
70 MAR 24 1954

Jack Tenney and the Arab League

WHATEVER SUCCESS State Senator Jack B. Tenney of California achieves in the circulation of his new booklet, *Zionist Network*, may be traced in large measure to the efforts of the Arab League—which has agreed to underwrite the distribution of copies to members of Congress, government officials in Washington, UN delegations and libraries throughout the United States. As part of the deal, the Arab League insists that no mention of its sponsorship be publicized.

Zionist Network was published in July, 1953, but only in recent weeks have congressmen and government officials received announcements from Tenney about the book. These were written on official stationery of the California legislature and described *Zionist Network* as "political dynamite."

The pamphlet—with an introduction by Franklin Hichborn, inveterate writer of anti-Semitic letters to editors—is Tenney's personal report on Jewish organizations in the United States. He describes their activities as un-American and as part of a world-wide network whose "hope for dominance is geared to the rapid decline and destruction of Western Christian civilization."

So far, 10,000 copies have been purchased with Arab League funds, these for distribution throughout the Middle East as well as the United States. Arab governments have already taken for their domestic use a sizable share of the purchase. Here is a list of orders received to date:

Syria—150 copies for Damascus,
50 for use in Washington and
New York.

Lebanon—500 copies.

Iraq—2,000 copies.

Saudi Arabia—350 copies.

Yemen—50 copies.

Egypt—1,000 copies (approx.).

One energetic salesman of *Zionist Network* is Iraq's ambassador to Washington, Moussa Shabandar, who urges Arab diplomats to get their governments behind a mass distribution of the book, both in the United States

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-24-81

7/17/84 #259,356

for FEBRUARY 1954

FACTS FORUM

Critics question its non-partisanship; report on West Hooker

Jack Tenney Arab League subsidizes his anti-Semitic pamphlet

Conde McGinley State legislators condemn his bigotry

Wesley Swift Testifies against Warren nomination for Chief Justice

Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense No anti-Semitic speakers this year

PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy
Page 5

Facts Forum

PUBLIC controversy surrounds Facts Forum, an organization which by force of coast-to-coast radio and TV programs and its use of other media has grown in less than three years into a formidable molder of public opinion.

It was started in 1951 as a "non-partisan, non-political project" by Texas oil tycoon Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, a comparatively unpublicized figure, although reputedly one of the richest men in America. His purpose, he said, was to educate and stimulate the American people on public issues without "carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation." Thus, insists Hunt, Facts Forum professes no opinions of its own—aside from those on communism (anti-) and soil and water conservation (pro-).

By its own figures, Facts Forum already has 125,000 persons participating in its various activities, many of them organized into local Facts Forum chapters. Its major enterprises are in radio and television. These include "State of the Nation," a half-hour radio discussion program for 315 stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System; "Answers for Americans," a similar-type production telecast by the American Broadcasting Company; and transcribed and filmed productions that are made available to local outlets. Air time is free. Other activities: maintaining a free circulating library (20,000 volumes); publishing a monthly Facts Forum News (60,000 readers); conducting a monthly public opinion poll (distributed to 1,800 newspapers, 500 radio stations and members of Congress); and furnishing discussion material to local chapters. As an educational foundation, Facts Forum has federal tax exemption. Its headquarters is in Dallas, Tex.

One of its showpieces is a radio program moderated by former FBI agent Dan Smoot which purports to present "both sides" of public issues—both sides being presented by Smoot himself. The show is carried "live" or by transcription on more than 220 stations. Lack of objectivity and political partisanship in these broadcasts are among the principal charges made by critics of Facts Forum. These, Facts Forum disputes, adding that it welcomes criticism and careful evaluation of its programs. "Truthful statements concerning Facts Forum," it says, "we accept, if critical we will heed . . ." [Facts Forum News, Jan. 1954].

100-530-285
Its objectivity questioned. Most recent critical reports of Facts Forum [Time Magazine, Jan. 11; The Reporter, Feb. 16] are carryovers from a series of eight exposé-type articles published in the Providence (R. I.) Journal-Bulletin

20 MAR 16 1954

FACTS - 5

[Dec., 1953 - Jan., 1954]. This newspaper summed up its criticism of the Smoot broadcasts as follows:

A study of Facts Forum presentations of "both sides" shows that there is a consistent approach to national issues and that this approach involves these factors:

1—Facts Forum regards as on one side in one camp, the liberal, moderate and conservative views. The "other side" is the extremist right.

2—In arguing for what it says is the viewpoint of the liberal-moderate-conservative side of an issue, Facts Forum uses dryly rational, subdued style. In arguing for what it says is "the other side"—the extremist right—Facts Forum uses highly emotional, inflammatory language.

3—Facts Forum presents what is often a fair and factual description of the liberal-moderate-conservative side. Then, in presenting its version of "the other side," it devotes much of its time to charging the liberal-moderate-conservative element in this country with subversion, betrayal and treason.

4—On Facts Forum, personalities and name-calling often dominate and facts are forgotten.

As a case in point, The Providence Journal-Bulletin cites Smoot's handling of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Of those opposing the act, he reported:

The gallant fight against the bill was led by Senators Humphrey, Lehman, Kefauver, Moody, Benton and Douglas. These champions of real democracy and international understanding would not have tried to defeat the bill if it had been a good one. . . .

Smoot also listed some of the organizations opposed to the law, saying they "include nearly all religious and racial groups, the CIO and most of the AFL affiliates." He then gave the "other side":

Those who want to destroy the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act would throw open the doors of the United States to the Socialist hordes of Europe. They are not worried about the downtrodden people of Europe. They want to flood America with people who have been drenched by the Socialist propaganda of Eastern Europe—people who would swell the tide of Socialist votes in our great industrial centers.

This is the purpose of those who know what they are doing—the Americans for Democratic Action, whose aims and ideals are almost identical with those of the Socialist Labor Party of Britain; the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, an officially-cited Communist organization; the National Lawyers Guild, another known Communist front; and the Communist Party itself.

And, of course, rallying around these is the usual clique of innocent dupes who don't know what they are doing—the gulliberal—who have always done the work of the Communist Party.

Smoot closed his broadcast on this note: "I have just given some views of conservatives who look upon the McCarran-Walter Act as one of the best and most generous pieces of legislation ever enacted in America or elsewhere—and of liberals with an opposite point of view."

Another illustration of Facts Forum's bias, says the Providence Journal-Bulletin, is shown in its approach to the FEPC issue. "Conservatives generally oppose it," says the newspaper, "because they feel it invades states' rights and employers' rights and because they feel education is better than legislation. Only the extremists have claimed that it is a subversive plot." It then quotes, for comparison, these "anti" arguments presented by Facts Forum:

In 1928 international communism started a calculated program to stir up race hatreds in America. Within a few years the campaign began to reflect itself in political agitation for race and class legislation, and in riots and civil strife all over the nation. . . . Before the Communist race agitation began in 1928 we had achieved more harmony and mutual understanding among our racial groups. . . .

Facts Forum also interposed, the Providence Journal adds, "what it presented as the 'conservative' view of Negro anthropology":

Remember that the Negroes, when first brought to America by Yankee and English merchants, were not free people reduced to slavery. They were merely transferred from a barbaric enslavement by their own people in Africa to a relatively benign enslavement in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

Think of the condition in 1865. A large, illiterate and economically dependent population—a primitive people only recently removed from savagery with no cultural or racial traditions of their own had to be assimilated.

and abroad. In a circular letter he described it as a "golden opportunity" for Arab diplomats to "join efforts and buy hundreds of thousands of these books." He also expressed the hope that it might be possible for the Arab League to purchase the reprint rights to the Tenney book to spare "this patriotic American" from embarrassment.

Tenney has traveled steadily downhill in his political career. In the last presidential election, he ran for Vice-President on Gerald Smith's Christian Nationalist party ticket. Smith was a distributor of Tenney's earlier anti-Semitic pamphlet, Zion's Fifth Column.

Latest defection among Tenney's political supporters is the Los Angeles Times, which declared in an editorial [Jan. 9, 1954] that Tenney's reelection to the state Senate would not be in the public interest. Said the editorial:

Because it feels the incumbent Senator Jack B. Tenney, whom the Times has supported with growing misgiving in recent years, has lost a proper sense of balance and is in association with influences inimical to maintenance of good public understanding, the endorsement of Tenney by this newspaper will not be renewed in the coming primary election.

Tenney, who served as chairman of California's Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, was identified in his earlier political life with left-wing elements.

But he shifted abruptly to the extreme right with the agility of a political opportunist.

McGinley: Denounced in state legislatures

STATE LEGISLATORS who were included in the huge mailing of the Oct. 1, 1953 issue of Common Sense [reported in FACTS, Jan., 1954] are angry about it—and officially so. Here's what some of them did:

New Jersey—This is the home state of Common Sense publisher Conde J. McGinley. A resolution introduced by

FACTS

is a monthly report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meier Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, A. K. Cohen, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, Benjamin Samuels and Jesse Steinhart, honorary vice-chairmen; Maurice Dannenbaum, Jefferson E. Peyser and Edmund Waterman, vice-chairmen; Richard E. Gutstadt, executive vice-chairman; Jacob Alson, treasurer; Benjamin R. Epstein, secretary and national director. David A. Rose, chairman of Civil Rights Committee.

Edited by Arnold Forster, Civil Rights Director. Reprint in whole or part is not authorized.

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Assemblyman Frank Thompson (Meeker County) and unanimously adopted by the lower house Feb. 2, 1953, expressed "abhorrence of [Common Sense's] organized campaign of prejudice and bigotry" and castigated McGinley as a "bigot who is anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Jew."

Rhode Island—A resolution (H 572) "condemning and deploring" Common Sense was introduced by six members of the state's House of Representatives, adopted by that body Jan. 20, 1954. The resolution asked for "appropriate investigation" of McGinley and his publication by the Post Office and the FBI.

New Hampshire—Gov. Hugh Gregg circulated a statement to members of the legislature denouncing the hate sheet.

Massachusetts—Speaker of the House Charles Gibbons distributed a "fact sheet" on McGinley's background to members of the General Court [Dec. 18, 1953].

Maine—Rep. David W. Fuller (Bangor), state Americanism chairman for the American Legion, addressed a letter to his 185 colleagues in the legislature urging "a united front against these spreaders of hate and disunity" [Jan. 29, 1954].

McGinley also mailed his sheet to American Legion post commanders. The Legion retaliated with a statement in *The Firing Line*, bi-weekly report of its National Americanism Commission, which said: "Legionnaires are warned that such propaganda has no place in the fight against communism and subversion. The use of any such material by any Legion member is to be carefully avoided. Communism will never be defeated by inciting religious or race hatred. Those who do so are but assisting our common enemy—world communism" [Feb. 1, 1954].

Wesley Swift Opposes Warren for Chief Justice

WESLEY SWIFT, Gerald Smith's chief lieutenant, appeared before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee early this month [Feb. 2] to register opposition to the appointment of former Cali-

lated into a civilization which had taken the white man 5,000 years to develop. . . .

A careful listener of Facts Forum's own creeds, the Providence Journal says, would possibly assume "that 'the other side'—the isolationist, McCarthyite side—is the Facts Forum side . . . that when Facts Forum refers to 'pro-Soviet' and 'un-American' it includes the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and the people who supported them . . . that when it refers to 'American freedom' it means, among other things, a total absence of government regulation in business, and a withdrawal from the United Nations."

Facts Forum says an overwhelming majority of the American people want to preserve the individual freedoms which made America great, but the Journal-Bulletin declares it is sometimes difficult to be sure just what classes of people—by Facts Forum standards—are against "individual freedoms." In the Providence paper's words:

Facts Forum's usual method is to place collectivism, planned economy, and social developments like social security and the Securities and Exchange Commission . . . in a single camp, opposed to the "individual freedoms which made America great." . . . One must assume from Facts Forum's own words that it regards those who supported such moves as SEC and other agencies for planning as "responsible for all of the first rate achievements of Communism in the United States."

In addition, Facts Forum in presenting its own views appears to place intellectuals, universities, artists and educators in a context of treason, betrayal or stupidity.

And here, the newspaper quotes from Facts Forum's declaration of its own creed:

The Communist parties of the world, in large part, are led and staffed . . . by middle-class intellectuals. This is particularly true in the United States.

. . . By 1940 they had infiltrated the fields of science, art, education, entertainment and communications.

Again, it was the middle-class intellectuals who step by step, or were deceived by, communism. The powerful forces against Wintaker Chambers when he first began to testify were marshalled, not by the Communist themselves, but by American respectables, the certified gentlemen and scholars of the day, dripping with degrees."

In support of this creed, continues the Journal-Bulletin, Facts Forum has broadcast many indictments against our universities and has alleged subversion in the public schools. It has printed in Facts Forum News its personal damnation—"pro-Soviet" and "un-American"—of the Roosevelt and Truman eras. Dan Smoot is quoted in Facts Forum News with his personal observation that "for 20 years it was fashionable in the United States to be un-American and pro-Soviet. When something like this happens, it is very late in the night of history and in the life of nations" [Dec., 1953].

West Hooker. Wittingly or not, Facts Forum attracts known race-hate agitators. Avowed anti-Semites at one time or another have entered into its activities and tried to hitch their own programs to it.

A case in point is West Hooker, a voluble exponent of anti-Semitic propaganda, who last spring organized a Facts Forum group in Larchmont, N. Y. Present at its first meeting were two prominent anti-Semites, Eustace Mullins and the ubiquitous Benjamin Freedman. Mullins, a frequent contributor to the lunatic fringe press, was discharged from a job with the Library of Congress as a result of his acknowledged authorship of racist material.

At Hooker's second session, Keith Thompson, former registered agent for the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party (now outlawed by the West German government), joined Mullins and Freedman as invited guests and speakers. Under Hooker's gavel, the meeting degenerated into a forum for anti-Semitic slurs, with frequent allusions from the chair to the "world Jewish conspiracy," and "commie Jews." Hooker also exhibited "It Could Happen Here," a film produced by Myron Fagan (Cinema Educational Guild), who once shared an intimate working relationship with Gerald Smith and has been an active collaborator of other anti-Semites.

A third meeting of the Larchmont Facts Forum group followed the same pattern. Speakers were Mullins, anti-Semitic pamphleteer Omar Azoni and Enid Griswold of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council. Most vocal in the

audience were Freedman and Fagan. The scheduled topics—Eisenhower's cabinet appointments and current immigration problems—never came up for discussion. They were cast aside for a more urgent matter—the "world Jewish conspiracy."

These facts brought to its attention, Facts Forum immediately disavowed Hooker and his Larchmont group. Robert H. Dedman, Hunt's attorney and the president of Facts Forum, issued a statement of policy that the organization "shall never be used against any race, creed or class."

Anti-Semitic source material. Facts Forum has been criticized for including and recommending in its free circulating library material which is either clearly anti-Semitic propaganda or was written by men long associated with the extreme fringe of racial bigots. Among these: "Iron Curtain Over America," by John O. Beaty (described as one of the most extensive pieces of "racist propaganda in the history of the anti-Semitic movement in America"); "Traitors in the Pulpit," by Kenneth Goff, one-time Communist who switched to Gerald Smith's team; "We Must Abolish the United States," by Joseph Kamp (who also wrote, "Hitler Was a Liberal"). Facts Forum withdrew the Kamp and Beaty books when interested friends protested the use of such material.

On Merwin Hart, whose publications it uses as "authoritative" source material, Facts Forum News says its group "only knows of Mr. Hart as a quite effective anti-Communist . . ." [Jan., 1954]. This is a curious statement in light of Hart's well-publicized notoriety as a professional anti-Semite.

Moderator Jimoot devoted a recent broadcast to answering Time Magazine's criticism of Facts Forum. Parts of the script were inserted in the Congressional Record [Feb. 8, 1954] by Representative J. Frank Wilson of Texas. Here are some extracts:

Time reports: "Facts Forum has used its platform as well as its own free circulating library . . . for known race-hate agitators. One of the original library books, withdrawn after protests, was 'We Must Abolish the United States,' by Joseph Kamp. . . . Kamp was jailed for contempt of Congress after refusing to reveal the backers of his Constitutional Education League." . . .

Facts Forum did circulate Joseph Kamp's "We Must Abolish the United States." The book vigorously presents a strong argument against the United World Federalists. It has nothing whatever to do with any kind of race problem." . . .

Time reports: "Facts Forum tells its members how to get on the mailing list of such organizations as Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, described by the Buchanan Lobbying Committee of the 81st Congress as a group that attempts to disparage those who oppose its objectives by appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

Isn't Time here implying that Facts Forum is anti-Semitic? Facts Forum does subscribe to the Economic Council Letter. We also subscribe to Time Magazine and some 75 other periodicals. Whenever we use information from any of them in a broadcast, we list them as sources in a bibliography. . . . Both Time and the Economic Council Letter have been so listed. Facts Forum has never, however, told its members how to get on the mailing list of any publication, except the Facts Forum News. . . .

Time Magazine's innuendoes have pinned quite a list of labels on Facts Forum: isolationism, ultra-conservatism, McCarthyism, anti-Catholic, race-hate agitators, anti-Semitic, fascist. I wonder why Time didn't call Facts Forum communist? Do you suppose Time Magazine knew that the Communist Party's Daily Worker had already used on Facts Forum the same labels of hate that Time published?" . . .

Hunt defended his group's radio-television programs at a private luncheon for newspapermen in New York [Feb. 17, 1954]. He denied that he or Facts Forum is pro-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro or anti-labor. He said Facts Forum "presents facts impartially on both sides of public issues and tries to stimulate the public to seek out further facts for themselves from whatever source they chose."

But critics recall a speech Hunt delivered in Dallas in 1951 which, they say, reflects his basic social and political outlook. In that speech, Hunt described what—to again quote the Providence Journal-Bulletin—"he believed would be a struggle to the death in this country between two schools of thought—the far right and the far left." The moderates, or "middle-of-the-roaders," as Hunt called them, would amount to nothing. The struggle, he said, will be between what he called the "liberals" and what he termed the "constructives"—his own kind of conservative.

FACTS — 8

California Governor Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States. Warren is now serving under an interim appointment, awaiting confirmation by the Senate.

Swift said he represented the Christian Nationalist Crusade and that his organization is opposed to Warren principally because the latter, when governor, had vetoed bills to require public school teachers to take a loyalty oath.

Sen. Tom Hennings, Missouri Democrat, asked Swift whether the Christian Nationalist Crusade was the first group which tried to flood the Republican National Convention in Chicago with "scurrilous" literature attacking Gen. Eisenhower. The witness replied he did not know what sort of material had been sent to the convention. He complained that his organization's opposition to Eisenhower's candidacy was not an issue at a hearing concerning the qualifications of Warren to be Chief Justice.

Sen. Hennings answered, "It is important to bring out such information to show the background of an organization that sent you here to oppose an appointee of President Eisenhower."

No anti-Semites at Women's Conference

FOR THE FIRST TIME in three years the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, convening in Washington, D. C., Feb. 6 for its annual meeting, had no notorious anti-Semites among its invited speakers. Two years ago, Joseph Kamp was guest speaker, a fact which caused many delegates to withdraw from the proceedings. Last year, Robert H. Williams was listed as a speaker. As a result of the widespread publicity given to Williams' background as an anti-Semitic propagandist, other scheduled speakers quit, including Congresswoman Katherine St. George of New York.

Some anti-Semitic literature was clandestinely circulated at this year's meeting. But it was unauthorized and deplored by the conference. The Women's group said steps are being taken to avoid any repetition of such an incident.

REC'D BELMONT
FBI - JUSTICE
JAN 20 1954

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/13/54

FROM : SAC, New York (62-6755)

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-24-81 BY [REDACTED]

The following is being submitted for the information of the Bureau.

[REDACTED] have been afraid to contact the Newark Office of the FBI because they believe the U.S. Attorney in New York has been passing on information he receives from the FBI to the ADL. There has also been gossip to the effect that former SAC Sam McKee left the FBI because of pressure being exerted on him indirectly by the ADL.

In regard to the ADL, [REDACTED] believes it has too great an influence and control in Government and supports this belief with the fact that a group from the [REDACTED] contacted Congressman Velde and attempted to influence his activities. In addition, IRA CATCHEM, an agent of the ADL published an article in the Christian Science Monitor 4/24/54, attacking JENKINS as counsel for the Senate Committee Hearings regarding the McCarthy-Army controversy. CATCHEM, according to [REDACTED] represents the 33 individuals suspended at Fort Monmouth.

In addition, [REDACTED] a man working with the ADL has a photostatic copy supposedly of FBI credentials showing he was a former FBI Agent which he used to obtain information and access to places. His name is unknown.

RECORDED-54 100-530-29

EX. - 105

It is recommended that, unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau, New York Office should interview [REDACTED] for specific information concerning the allegations set forth above.

2 CC Newark

2 to Newark
6-2-54

b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

DATE: June 2, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *b7c*

DATE 3-24-81 BY *[redacted]*
7/11/89 #254356

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Mims

Arnold Forster, one of the staff directors of the Anti-Defamation League, called. He stated that some of their top people are confused as to what the Anti-Defamation League should do with security problems generally; that several had asked if there would be any possibility of me meeting with a select group of 25 to 30 top people in an off-the-record session and speak to them on the problems which confront not only them but all of us, with particular reference on what the problems are with reference to Jews and what Jews can do. They would assign no topic. I could talk to them along any line that I desired. He stated those present would consist of the top leaders of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League.

I told Forster this was a tough one; that I quite frankly doubted the propriety of anybody in the Bureau speaking on what a private agency should do. He then stated it did not necessarily have to be this; it could be a frank evaluation on the problems that confront all of us as citizens. He asked if I would not mull it over before giving it a flat turn down. I told him I would think it over but I seriously doubted the propriety of a Bureau representative injecting himself into a matter such as this.

I can think of several objections to doing this. I can also think of some good that could result from it. There is no question but that some missionary work needs to be done with these groups.

cc: Mr. Boardman, *I think*
Mr. Jones, *this is OK*

LBN *b7c*

RECORDED

INDEXED - 10

13 JUN. 7, 1954

I think it would be unwise to do this. They would inevitably quote Nichols later & we would then be embarrassed.

*Forster
advised
6/4 1954*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

June 22, 1954

DATE 8-24-81

7/17/89 #259,356

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. NICHOLS

Washington DC
Yesterday, I saw Judge David Rose, in charge of the Eastern District of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith; Mr. Arnold Forster, National Staff Director of the Anti-Defamation League; Judge Meier Steinbrink of New York; Mr. Bernard Nath, a Chicago attorney; and also David Litter of New York City.

These gentlemen were meeting in Washington as part of the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League. Judge Steinbrink and Mr. Nath acted as spokesmen for the group.

Mr. Nath stated that the National Committee of the Anti-Defamation League had asked that this group call to express to me their congratulations upon my thirty years of service as Director of the FBI. He also stated that the Anti-Defamation League would like to know in what respect they could be of assistance to the Bureau. He also discussed the prejudice which prevails in some circles to the effect that Communism is largely participated in by members of the Jewish race. I discussed all these matters with these gentlemen and expressed my appreciation for the assistance and cooperation which we have received from the Anti-Defamation League.

Upon leaving, they stated they have a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League in Washington two or three times a year and they hoped that sometime this coming winter I might informally meet with this group of approximately twenty-five outstanding leaders of the Jewish groups in the country and discuss, off the record, any subject that I might desire to.

Tolson _____
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Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
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Judge Steinbrink, whose address is now 510 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York, requested to be placed on the mailing list to receive any material sent out by the Bureau and he asked that there be sent to him copies of any recent articles or speeches which I have written or made. Please see

52 JUN 30 1954

INDEXED

JUL 24 1954

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100-530-295

b7c

that Judge Steinbrink's request is promptly handled.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.
John Edgar Hoover
Director



Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Gearty _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
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Holloman _____
 Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED* June 18, 1954FROM : M. A. Jones *HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED* b7c

DATE 8-25-81 BY [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: HERMAN EDELSBERG; HENRY E. SCHULTZ;
ARNOLD FORSTER; JUDGE DAVID A. ROSE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
MEETING WITH DIRECTOR 10:30 A.M., 6-21-54Tolson —
Ladd —
Nichols —
Belmont —
Clegg —
Glavin —
Harbo —
Rosen —
Tracy —
Mohr —
Winterrowd —
Tele. Rm. —
Holloman —
Miss Gandy —

Edelsberg advised Mr. Nichols that the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) will meet in Washington, June 21, and that captioned individuals, all high officials in ADL, would like to pay their respects to the Director. The Director has indicated he would see them at 10:30 a.m., June 21, 1954.

Set out below are thumbnail summaries of information in Bureau files which will identify captioned individuals.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ: Summary

Henry E. Schultz was born in 1906 and received his LL.B. degree at New York Law School in 1929. He has offices in New York City. He is the national chairman of ADL. Bureau files reflect considerable correspondence with Schultz, particularly in connection with ADL matters. On several occasions he has commended the Director for the Bureau's fine work. (100-530-238)

"The ADL Bulletin" for September, 1953, contains an article by Schultz entitled "The FBI and Civil Rights," which defends the Bureau's position with regard to the attack on the Bureau by Governors Fine of Pennsylvania and Battle of Virginia. The Director's statement re civil rights appeared in the same issue.

Arrangements were made for the Director to see Schultz and Benjamin Epstein, also of the ADL, on September 28, 1953, concerning the ADL dinner on November 23, 1953, at the Mayflower Hotel, honoring President Eisenhower, which the Director attended. Schultz was detained in New York and did not accompany Epstein to see the Director as scheduled. (100-530)

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Holloman

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45 JUN 6 1972

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 18, 1954

ARNOLD FORSTER: Summary

Forster was born in 1912 at New York City, received his LL.B. degree in 1935 from St. Johns University, New York City, and was admitted to the New York Bar in 1936. He is believed to have become connected with the ADL in about 1940 and is now a national staff director in charge of the civil rights section.

b6
b7c
b7D

Forster has, on numerous occasions contacted the Bureau in connection with ADL matters and in most instances has talked with Mr. Nichols or Mr. McGuire. Both the Director and Mr. Nichols have had cordial correspondence with Forster, who was helpful in defending the Bureau's position in civil rights matters after the attack on the Bureau by Governors Fine and Battle in August, 1953. Forster was in contact with the Bureau in connection with the ADL Freedom Forum held in November, 1953, which the Director attended.

On June 2, 1954, Forster called Mr. Nichols and inquired if Mr. Nichols could talk with 25 or 30 top leaders of ADL concerning security problems and what the Jews could do in this regard. Mr. Nichols on June 4, 1954, advised Forster he would be unable to do this. (100-530 and 100-367944-1)

JUDGE DAVID A. ROSE: Summary

Who's Who in American Jewry 1938-39 reflects Rose was born in 1906 in Massachusetts and attended Boston University School of Law in 1927 and Georgetown University Graduate School of Law in 1928. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1935-1936, and has been a justice in the Dorchester, Massachusetts, Municipal Court since 1936. This publication reflects Rose's membership in the National Lawyers Guild.

Bureau files contain a limited number of nonpertinent, nonderogatory references to Rose. He has had no contact with the Bureau.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 18, 1954

One Judge David A. Rose is listed in the 1944 Dies Committee Report as a member of the National Committee of the Greater Boston Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation in 1948. The National Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation was cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities Report of 1948. (61-7582-1298, page 1302)

Rose is listed as a member of the National Commission and is the boss of the Eastern District of ADL.

HERMAN EDELSBERG: summary

Edelsberg was born in New York in 1909 and is director of the Washington, D. C., office of ADL.

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b7D

Edelsberg has not been the subject of a Bureau investigation. The fact that he at one time was in Senator Kilgore's office may account for some of his above-mentioned contacts.

EDELSBERG'S CONTACTS WITH BUREAU RE ADL MATTERS:

Edelsberg has on numerous occasions since October, 1949, contacted the Bureau either telephonically or by letter and in most instances has talked with Mr. Nichols or has directed letters to Mr. Nichols. Some of these contacts during 1949 concerned ADL's objection to the word "Jewish" on a

* attached

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 18, 1954

St. Louis Police Department form. Edelsberg has submitted numerous ADL printed pamphlets to the Bureau some of which contained specific commendatory remarks re the Bureau or the Director, while others reflect the anti-subversive activities of ADL. Edelsberg has been friendly and cooperative.

Under date of March 15, 1954, Edelsberg inquired if the Bureau would process fingerprint cards if the race of the person were not included. The Director's letter of March 24, 1954, advised him the designation of race was unnecessary. (100-530)

Technical surveillances have revealed that as of May, 1950, and January, 1951, Edelsberg was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950 as the legal bulwark of the Communist Party. (100-7321-481, page 146; 100-57453-546)

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

JSH
[redacted]
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✓

[redacted] b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 24, 1954

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JUDGE MEIER STEINBRINK
 DAVID LITTER
 BERNARD NATH
 ○ ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Tolson
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 Nichols
 Belmont
 Clegg
 Glavin
 Harbo
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 Tracy
 Gearty
 Mohr
 Winterrowd
 Tele. Rm.
 Holloman
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 Nease

You will recall that four individuals connected with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith were scheduled to meet the Director at 10:30 a.m., June 21, 1954. A summary memorandum concerning these four individuals was prepared in the Crime Records Section on June 18, 1954.

Two of the four individuals who were scheduled to meet the Director at the above indicated time and date did not appear but three other individuals who were not expected did come in and did meet with the Director. 62-72802-3

The three that were not scheduled to come in but did were Judge Meier Steinbrink of New York, David Litter of New York City, and Bernard Nath, a Chicago attorney. There are attached summary memoranda concerning these three individuals. It is pointed out that the memorandum on Judge Steinbrink was originally written on November 20, 1953, and has been brought up to date.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Attachments

RECORDED - 69

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EX-130

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-25-81 BY [redacted]

7/17/89 #259,356

RE: DAVID LITTER

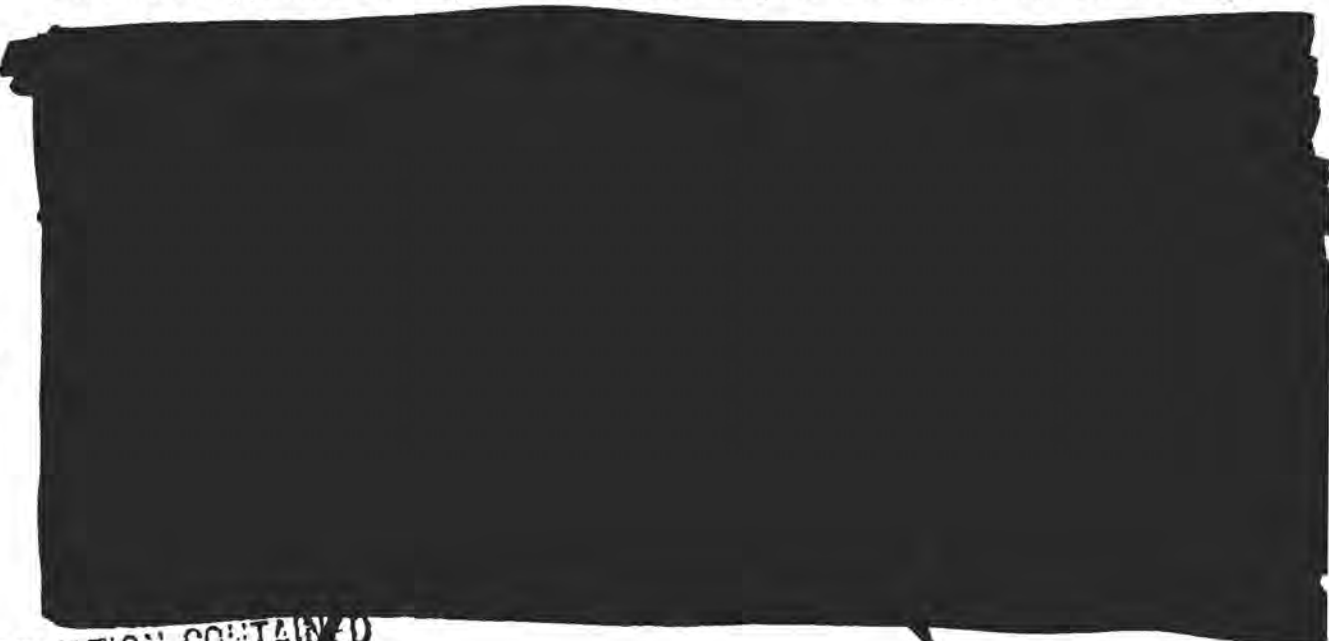
~~David~~ Litter is not definitely identifiable in Bureau files. *Summary*

Who's Who in American Jewry for 1938-39 reflects the following concerning one David Hiram Litter. He is classified as a merchant who was born in Odessa, Russia, on November 12, 1897. He came to the United States in 1891 and received an LL.B. degree in 1912 from New Jersey Law School. *LC*

He was a clerk in the office of Robert Grant, New York City, from 1901 to 1903 and was Chief Clerk of the Central Railroad of New Jersey at Elizabethport and Newark, New Jersey from 1903 to 1910. He was a traveling agent for this railroad, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1910 to 1914.

He was Director of purchases for the Calco Chemical Company, Bond Brook, New Jersey from 1914 to 1921. He has been president of the D. H. Litter Company, Inc., dealers in raw materials for paint, varnish, lacquer, rubber and collateral industries since 1921.

He resides at 136 South Center Street, South Orange, New Jersey, and has offices at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/17/89

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[REDACTED]

In 1947 David H. Litter, President of the D. H. Litter, Company, New York, New York, was very active in the Institute for Democratic Education, Inc., which we investigated under an Internal Security-C character. A folder of the Institute for Democratic Education which had offices at 415 Lexington Avenue, New York City, reflected that David H. Litter, President of D. H. Litter Company, was on the Board of Governors of the Institute for Democratic Education. (100-352783).

The Institute for Democratic Education, Inc., was incorporated in New York City in 1944. It was a nonprofit corporation with the ostensible purposes of giving the United States people a better understanding of democracy, stimulating devotion to democratic ideals and promoting good-will and cooperation among all races and religions. It sponsored a series of 13 radio programs which partially followed the Communist Party line and a number of the sponsors of the organization were members of Communist front groups.

RE: BERNARD ~~NATH~~ Sonnenstein

The Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory for 1954 reflects that Bernard Nath was born in Chicago, Illinois, on February 23, 1899. He received his Ph.D. degree and his J.D. degree from the University of Chicago and became a member of the Bar in 1921 in Chicago, Illinois. He is a UC member of the American Bar Association.

He is a member of the firm of Sonnenschein, Berkson, Lautmann, Levinson and Morse with offices at 77 West Washington Street, Chicago 2, Illinois.

He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Order of the Coif. Martindale-Hubbell gives Nath a very high rating.

The only pertinent information appearing in Bureau files is reflected in a copy of the Anti-Semitism in the United States in 1947 report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This report reflects that Bernard Nath of Chicago, Illinois, was on the Civil Rights Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. (100-530-131).

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-25-81 BY SP-6BJA/ord

100-530-299

July 7, 1954

RECORDED - 10
INDEXED - 10

100-530-302

Mr. Bernard Nath
Sonnenschein, Berkson, Lohmann, Levinson & Morse
77 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nath:

Your very kind note was received at this
Bureau on July 1, 1954.

It was a real pleasure for me to chat with
you and the other representatives of the Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith who called at my office on
June 21, 1954. I enjoyed your visit and am most grate-
ful for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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FBI

Note: THE VISIT WAS ON JUNE 21, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-25-81 BY [redacted]

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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

419
JUL 19 1954

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
JUL 7 7 43 PM '54

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 10 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-26-81 BY [REDACTED]

7/17/89 #259,356

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

WI 175 LONG DP-S1 NEW YORK NY 10 237PME-

J EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR-FBI-

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH EXTENDS TO YOU
ITS HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON YOUR 30TH
ANNIVERSARY WITH THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.
ALL AMERICANS ARE PROUD OF YOUR OUTSTANDING WORK IN THE
DETECTION OF CRIME AND SUBVERSION WHILE MAINTAINING THE
HIGHEST STANDARDS OF FAIR PLAY. WE ARDENTLY WISH THAT AS
ONE OF OUR GOVERNMENTS GREAT SERVANTS, YOU CONTINUE YOUR
TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO OUR NATION FOR MANY, MANY MORE
YEARS-

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

RECORDED - 22

EX-123

190-530-
29 OCT 25 1954

G. I. R. - J

May 17, 1954

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
Suite 601
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED b7c

DATE 8/25/81 BY [REDACTED]
7/17/81 #259,3

RECORDED - 22

Dear Mr. Schultz:

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EX-128

I want to take this means of expressing my sincere thanks to you and your associates for your telegram of May 10, 1954, extending congratulations on my Thirtieth Anniversary as Director of the FBI. I am very grateful for your kind words and best wishes.

It was also thoughtful of you to send me a copy of the book "The Love of This Land." You may be sure that I will read it at the first opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Note: Salutation and address per previous correspondence. Bureau's relations with Mr. Schultz have been cordial.

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Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 17 MAY 1954
DATE _____
BY _____ b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 Att: Central Bureau

DATE: 11/24/54

FROM : SAC, New York (100-0)

SUBJECT: "B'NAI B'RITH, An International
 Anti-Christian, Pro-Communist
 Jewish Power", By John Merrick Church

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the above-entitled pamphlet which was received by this office from the Detroit Office 11/12/54.

Detroit indices contain no information on JOHN MERRICK CHURCH and the NYO indices are also negative concerning this individual.

It is noted that B'Nai B'Rith is the largest Jewish fraternal organization in the US.

Enc.

RM

RECORDED - 30
 INDEXED - 30

13 NOV 30 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/24/87 BY

DEC 8 1954

7/17/84 #259,356

B'NAI B'RITH

**An International Anti-Christian,
Pro-Communist Jewish Power**

By John Merrick Church



"B'nai B'rith Represents Jewry"

"B'nai B'rith represents Jewry throughout the world", declared Ludwig Lewisohn at a B'nai B'rith banquet (B'nai B'rith Magazine, July, '37 issue, page 352). "There are more than 450 lodges in the United States and Canada . . . B'nai B'rith serves Jewry", says the June, '38 issue (page 398).

If the claim of B'nai B'rith, Jewish fraternal order, that it represents Jewry in thirty countries including the United States and Canada is justified, then Jewry is to be pitied, either for misrepresentation by B'nai B'rith or for anti-Christian and radical sympathies bound to result in anti-Semitic opposition.

A reader of the official organ of B'nai B'rith, "B'nai B'rith Magazine, A National Jewish Monthly", who knows the radical movement in detail, cannot but be struck by the consistent praise of Socialists and Communists in its columns, the complete absence of criticism of Red revolutionary activity, the virulently anti-Christian sentiment and activity of the Order, and the huge funds at its disposal to purchase the services of preferably Gentile religious fronts to defend such Jewish activities.

They are even securing Fundamentalist Christian ministers as their propagandists, which is more clever on their part than on the part of the sincere Christian who unwittingly betrays his Lord for thirty pieces of silver.

Opposing the Scriptures and Passion Play

Presumably, Christians must be forced to change the Bible to suit B'nai B'rith and to cease giving the Passion Play in accordance with the Scriptures. The Gospel says (see Matt. 27:15-27 and other Gospels): "Now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would" and Pilate said, "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?" We are told how Pilate washed his hands of condemning Jesus as he saw no fault in Him but that the Jewish "chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas and destroy Jesus" and "when Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing . . . then released he Barabbas unto them . . . then answered all the people, His blood be on us and on our children."

St. Paul said (1 Thess. 2:14-15): "For ye brethren . . . have suffered like things of your own countrymen even as they have of the Jews who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men."

A picture of an Austrian Passion player's beautiful representation of Jesus Christ appears on page 333 of the July 1937 issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine in an article denouncing "The Austrian Passion Play" as "one of the most vicious anti-Semitic diatribes I have ever witnessed . . . comparable only to the world famous and greatly-to-be-deplored Passion Play of Oberammergau" (which is purely Scriptural).

To quote Nov. '37 issue, B'nai B'rith Magazine, p. 86: "Park Board Cooperates in Passion Play Cause":

"How B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League succeeds in enlisting the sympathetic cooperation of responsible officials in matters of harm to the Jewish people may be seen in connection with the Passion Play". It relates that after the complaint by B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, a Park Board official answered B'nai B'rith servilely, saying, "I am really very glad that you called

the matter to my attention. . . . Should occasion arise where anything similar to the Passion Play comes up again, you may be assured we shall take advantage of your kind offer to help us steer text and action away from any possibilities of contributing to an anti-democratic development of ill-will or racial misunderstanding." Presumably, the official had the Bible story changed to suit B'nai B'rith.

Continuing under the sub-heading, "Publisher Sees the Light" is this: "Typical of very many similar cases is the following: A portion of a newly published book contained an account of the life of Jesus. One sentence read: 'But when he began to be well known, certain leading men among the Jews grew jealous and persuaded the Roman governor to let them crucify him.' The League immediately brought this to the attention of the publisher and pointed out that 'the great weight of scholastic opinion denies that Jesus was crucified by the Jews . . .'. After a friendly correspondence, the publishers agreed to change the offending sentence in future editions, to 'But when He began to be well known, certain leading men among the Jews opposed His teachings, and He was crucified by order of the Roman Governor.'"

To quote the report of the Anti-Defamation League's work including 23 Passion Play cases in the March '38 issue, p. 239: "He" (the Secretary) "reported that the League had handled 750 cases of anti-Semitism during 1937, in the following categories: books, 51; education, 28; employment, 41; investigations, 200; magazines and pamphlets, 74; movies and stage, 56; PASSION PLAY, 23; propagandists, 115; radio, 33; resort, hotels, real estate, 44; miscellaneous, 85."

Colossal Propaganda

"League Spreads 700,000 Pamphlets and 12,000 Books; 5000 Talks" is the heading of the article (Nov. '37, p. 86) telling of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League work of 1937, and enumerating some of the titles of pamphlets, etc. distributed. Among these are books by Everett R. Clinchy of the Federal Council of Churches; by Sinclair Lewis,*† "It Can't Happen Here", also sold at Communist Party bookstores (Lewis was appointed to the Presidium of the Communisto' "International Writers' Association for the Defense of Culture" with leading Communists before writing this anti-fascist book); by Lee J. Levinger, whose son was honored by B'nai B'rith for dying fighting for the Spanish Reds; etc.

Banning "The Merchant of Venice"

Editorially, the Feb. '33 issue, p. 131, rejoices that: "We read of this community and that yielding to the persuasive arguments of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League and similar bodies, banishing 'The Merchant of Venice' from their high schools. Last month the schools at West New York, N. J., ejected him; Baltimore, Md., and Paterson, N. J., have dropped him from their curricula".

*Means: Listed in "The Red Network", by Elizabeth Dilling.

†Means: Listed in "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background", by Elizabeth Dilling.

These books may be obtained from the author, 53 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill., at \$1.00 and \$1.15, respectively, postpaid.

Opposing Christmas

Editorially, any observance whatever of the Christmas season is denounced by B'nai B'rith Magazine. To quote the Dec. '37 issue, p. 122: "We know Jewish ladies who effuse secularly over Christmas . . . 'O,' they say, 'It's not the religious implications of Christmas that appeal to us. It's the sentiment . . . kindness, justice, charity and all that.'" They are urged to observe Jewish Chanuka instead. The Dec. '32 editorial had similar admonitions.

This Is Not a Christian Country?

In an editorial advising the Jewish minority not to go into politics frankly as Jews (March '34 issue, p. 226) is this: "How we protest when any public official so far forgets himself as to call this 'a Christian country!'"

Jewish Kehillahs Oppose Christian Festivities

"In Palestine, Babylon, Egypt and Spain, and for centuries in most of the countries of Europe, there has always been some sort of organized Kehillah" (Community Council of Jews), says the article headed "20 Experiments in Unity" (June '38 issue, p. 351) and sub-headed, "Jewish Community Councils in a Score of Cities Serve Local Jewries in Many Important Ways". Among the twenty different "experiments in unity" of Jewish Kehillahs in the United States described, is this (June '38 issue, p. 351):

Eliminating Easter and Christmas Celebrations

"11. Elimination of Objectionable Religious Practices in Schools: In Bridgeport and Cleveland, the councils persuaded public school officials to stop Easter and Christmas practices which had been embarrassing to the Jewish children and had found serious objection among Jewish parents who had hesitated to deal with the matter individually."

Although there is a large body of law upholding the view that the United States IS a Christian power** and B'nai B'rith Magazine even admits this on page 151 of the Feb. '33 issue, yet American gentile children must be denied the pleasure of singing Christmas carols or enjoying Easter festivities if B'nai B'rith has its way.

Hillel Foundations Against Christianity

An article in the Jan. '34 issue, entitled "Saving Students from the Missionaries", is a plea to "the Jews of America to aid B'nai B'rith morally and materially, not only to make it possible to continue this splendid service" (of establishing Jewish student centers at universities called B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations) "but to enlarge it . . . A further answer to this conference is the continuous growth and development of Jewish Community Centers", etc.

The subject of the article was a report of a missionary conference "on the Presentation of the Christian Message to the Jews" held at Budapest and Warsaw at which it was said that now that Jewry was free and out of the ghetto, they were "gloriously reachable." To this the article replied, "It is lamentable in the writer's opinion that Jews in America permit to go unchallenged such statements".

**That Christianity is a part of the Common Law of the United States has been held in many cases. Following are a few of them: *Vidal v. Philadelphia*, 2 Howard (U. S. S.) 127, 198; *Shover v. State*, 10 Arkansas 259; *State v. Chandler*, 2 HARR (Del) 553; *State v. Bott*, 1 La. Ann. 663; *State ex. rel. Nevada Orphan Asylum v. Hallock*, 16 Nevada 373; *Luedemuller v. People*, 33 Barb. (N. Y.) 548; *People v. Ruggles*, 8 Johns. (N. Y.) 290.

This subject is handled with vigor and with great clarity in the case of *Holy Trinity Church v. United States*, 143 U. S. 457, 468 (1891). The court in part said, on page 470: "While because of general recognition of this truth, the question has seldom been presented to the Courts, yet we find in *Updigh v. The Commonwealth*, 11 S. & R. 394, 400 (Pa.), it was decided that 'Christianity is, and always has been, a part of the Common Law of Pennsylvania.'"

In the *State v. Rosenstrausch*, 5 N.J.L.J. 186, Woodruff, Judge, said that a person guilty of blasphemy could be punished under the Common Law.

Jewish Radicalism Noted

But the writer goes on to say, "The Conference warns that wise people will be chary of laying too much stress on the fact that many of the younger enfranchised Jews have cast aside religious beliefs and sanctions, and have embraced revolutionism in religion and politics . . . now turning to materialism, agnosticism or communism."

Hillel Director Red-Supporter

The Hillel Foundations of B'nai B'rith should be successful in "Saving Students from the Missionaries", since the national director is Abraham L. Sachar, an official sponsor of the communist American League Against War and Fascism congress held in Pittsburgh, Nov. 1937. (For the treasonable activities of the American League Against War and Fascism, now called American League for Peace and Democracy, its formation by the Communist International, its Communist officers, its promised role under Communist Party leadership of turning any war of this country into Red civil war for the overthrow of the U. S. government and the establishing of a Soviet America, the appearance of Communists within our armed forces at one of their previous Congresses pledging their aid to the Red revolution and the overthrow of our government, see "The Red Network" by Elizabeth Dilling, page 124, and "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background" by the same author, page 61, with documented citations.)

Rabbi Mann Same Type

The acting national director of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations in 1933 was Rabbi Louis L. Mann* (Feb. '33 issue, p. 155) of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union (which from coast to coast springs to the legal defense of all phases of Communism, atheism, rioting, and obscenity), etc., etc.

Half Million for Anti-Defamation League

The fifteenth General Convention, 1938, authorized "the raising of an emergency budget of \$500,000 for B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League and \$100,000 for the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations" to carry on such work as the above (June '38 issue, p. 340).

No wonder, with such funds, that the March '38 issue could report (Page 238) that "OUR ANTI-DEFAMATION WORK IS BEING PROSECUTED ON A SCALE AND IN A WAY UNKNOWN IN THE PAST".

B'nai B'rith Praises Soviet Russia and Jewish Communists

"Is Judaism Doomed in Soviet Russia?" is the title of companion feature articles in B'nai B'rith Magazine (Mar. '33), one author saying "NO!" and the other "YES!", but both praising the Communist Soviet regime!

To quote the "NO" man (Norman Bentwich):

"It is certain that the principal prophet of the proletarian movement was the German Jew, Karl Marx, whose picture hangs in every public institution and whose book 'Kapital' is the gospel of the Communist creed; that another German Jew, Ferdinand Lasalle, whose heroic statue adorns the Nevski Prospect of Leningrad, was one of the inspirers of the early revolutionary parties; that Jews have, from the beginning to the present day, played a part in the creation and the maintenance of the Revolution; and that for no community has the Revolution brought about a greater change of status than for the Jews." (They dominate Russia now.)

"The essential feature about their community is that the Jews, and particularly the younger generation, feel at home and part and parcel of the new order. They are proud of their share in the councils of the Revolution of Trotsky who organized the Red Army (though among non-Jews he is in disgrace and his name is not mentioned) and of the Jews holding high positions in the Foreign Office and other ministries, in the Army and the Navy, in the economic councils and academies.

Jewish Pride

"When we landed in Leningrad, our interpreters and guides from the State Tourist Organization were usually Jews and Jewesses. It is the function of the Jew to be the interpreter of Soviet Russia to the world and of the world to Soviet Russia; for he forms the principal element in the proletarian society which has close touch with the Western European culture and languages. In the trains and on the ships we continually met Jews proud of their people. They hold up their heads and say 'I am a Jew', though they do not add, in the words of the Prophet Jonah, 'I fear the Lord' . . . In the towns such as Kiev, Odessa, Berdichev, where the Jews are a quarter or more of the whole population, there are Yiddish law courts and Yiddish codes of law, and Yiddish is an official language. But the Rabbinical law that used to regulate Jewish family affairs may not be applied. . . . Many of the younger Jews are anxious to get rid of the slender survival of separateness, the Yiddish language. . . .

Jewish Racial Pride

"Yet Jewish pride of race is still strong, and ardent Communists talk proudly of the equality which has been won for Jews and of the achievement of the Jews in the political and economic movement. They are conscious Jews in spite of their Communism; and if they are opposed in theory to the Jewish national home in Palestine, they are eager to learn what is happening there . . . we may expect that the Jewish mass of Russia will not die, nor will it be merged with the Slav peoples. . . . There had to be destruction before there could be new life, as well in the Jewish body as in the body politic of Russia. The spiritual motive of the Revolution goes back to the principles of Socialism in the teachings of the Hebrew prophets, even though the Communist denies the rock from which he is dug."

"YES!" Man Praises Communism Also

To quote the author who says "YES!" (Pierre Van Paassen): "Yes, it was true, I was told the new life had a strong de-Judaizing tendency. Not because anyone forced the youth into new channels. Nobody interfered with a young man if he wanted to be a Talmudist. . . . It was the new life itself that was drawing Jews irresistibly into new channels. But were they happy, these old ones? . . . 'You still feel yourself a Jew then?', I asked."

"'Still a Jew? I am more of a Jew than ever! Now, under the new regime, it is at last possible to be a real Jew. My father can't . . . because his spirit is imprisoned by all the old traditions. But I am free and my sister is free and we go the new way!' . . . Ninety percent of the Jews of Russia are heart and soul in the upbuilding of the new world."

More Praise of Godless Communism

An article praising the state of the Jews in Soviet Russia headed "Judaism Is Dead in Russia" (May '34 issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine, p. 270), says: "Children were forbidden formal religious instruction until they reached the age of eighteen." And the author wonders if Jews will get along without God, but reflects that: "Judaism has always been concerned with more than God. Jews have been held together not only by what is called religion, but also by the bond of peoplehood culminating in the hope of Zion restored. . . . Russia was the very fountain head of Jewishness before the revolution. . . . Accompanying the destruction of Judaism and Zionism has come a freedom Jews have never experienced anywhere else in the world. . . . Stalin's second in command is Lazurus Kagonowich, a humble Jewish leather worker, who through sheer ability has placed himself in line to succeed Stalin as the Communist leader of Russia. . . . Russia is the only country in the world where anti-Semitism is a crime. . . . If I were to sum up what has happened to

the Jews of Russia under the Communist regime, I should say—new opportunities and an intensified social idealism, but the destruction of all specifically Jewish spiritual values."

50,000 Jews Laud Soviet Russia

Bearing in mind that Biro Bidjan is a Soviet territory, purely Communist, and is represented and aided in the U. S. A. by the Communist Party's organization, "Icor", the article in B'nai B'rith Magazine (May, '38 issue, p. 309) is significant. To quote:

"More than 3,000 persons who filled Manhattan Opera House in New York, heard Alexander Troyanovsky, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, denounce 'international reaction and anti-Semitism.'" (Any opposition to Communism is called "reaction", these days, or "fascism".) "The occasion was the 10th anniversary of the granting of Biro Bidjan to the Jews by the Soviet Union. The meeting was sponsored by Icor. A golden book of friendship, signed by 50,000 Jews, was presented to Mr. Troyanovsky, expressing appreciation for the establishment of Biro Bidjan." (50,000, take note.)

B'nai B'rith Praises Radicals

An idea of the B'nai B'rith attitude toward Socialism-Communism can be gleaned from the pages of its own organ. Note the following characteristic items.

A Jersey City Rabbi who had been denounced as a Communist by certain Jews is defended editorially and the anti-Communist Jews reprimanded and warned that they should have stood up for him instead, "since our safety is in saving democracy." (July '38 issue.) "Democracy" is the camouflage word now used for "Communism".

Deplors Burning Red Books

The burning, in Germany, of books by the following Reds was denounced as "Nazi terrorism": Upton Sinclair* (world Socialist-Communist leader whose writings have been published by the Soviet Government); Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, French Communist leaders; Heinrich and Thomas Mann of the Communist International Writers' Association in Defense of Culture (see p. 61 of "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background"); Karl Marx, "father of Communism"; Lion Feuchtwanger, of whom B'nai B'rith Magazine, itself, says in an article of praise (Jan. '33 issue, p. 103), "he sympathizes with Communism"; Eduard Bernstein, German Jewish Socialist; etc.

Jewish Medal for Red Holmes

John Haynes Holmes, who endorsed an atheist pamphlet and whose communistic record is one of the longest and most outstanding in "The Red Network", was, like Roosevelt, awarded the Jewish Zeta Beta Tau fraternity Gottheil Medal "for the American who has done most for Jewry during the preceding year. The recipient is selected by a committee of editors of the Anglo-Jewish press of the country." (June '33 issue, p. 267).

Justice Cardozo was praised for his "defense of the right of Communists to hold and expound views he believes to be erroneous" (the old Communist-defending and blame-dodging line) and his backing of the Communist-backed and written Child Labor Law, really "child-control" law (May '33 issue, p. 249).

Red Jewish Activities in Germany

An article on "German Anti-Semitism" (May '33 issue) says: "The revolution overthrew the imperial regime of Germany, passed through a storm in which, as in 1848, the Jews more than ever came to the fore. A Jew drafted the Weimar Constitution. A Jew, Kurt Eisner, was elected President of the Bavarian Republic. On the corpses of Ballin, Rathenau, Rosa Luxembourg

and Kurt Eisner, the Brown Shirts began their fatal march."

Kurt Eisner was a Socialist leader and Rosa Luxemburg with Karl Liebknecht* was killed in trying to Sovietize Germany under Lenin.

Hitler is thanked by B'nai B'rith's President for "those who have come and enriched the culture of their new homeland." He named such discarded Jewish Reds, whom we now have, as Frieda Wunderlich, Max Wertheimer, Arthur Feiler, Arnold Brecht, Karl Brandt, all of whom are now on the faculty of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research (on whose board Mrs. Roosevelt served), where the sex filth of Freud is wallowed in so extensively, with lecture after lecture on degenerate and unnatural sex subjects. Of course, Communist Einstein and Red Thomas Mann, etc., he also welcomes. (Jan. '38 issue, p. 175.)

B'nai B'rith and Epstein

A long eulogy of Abraham Epstein* with the statement that he never forgets that radical Isaac Max Rubinow, late National Secretary of B'nai B'rith (on the board of communistic Commonwealth College, etc.) was his teacher and they worked together for socialistic social insurance. Epstein's radical connections include being on the board of directors of socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, etc. He is best known as executive secretary of the radical American Association for Old Age Security* (name altered now), with Nicholas Kelley, son of the translator of Communist Engels, as treasurer, along with Glenn Frank, etc.

Wm. E. Dodd and His Red Son

B'nai B'rith's President praises (Feb. '38 issue, p. 206) Wm. E. Dodd of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, who since his return from Germany as Ambassador has been making speeches for numerous Jewish groups and under Communist auspices. His son, now being backed by Pres. Roosevelt as a Virginia Congressional candidate, is on the staff of the communist American League for Peace and Democracy, according to "Fight", official organ of the American League for Peace and Democracy, 5/38, p. 57, and 1/38, p. 28. (American League against War and Fascism,*† was its former name.)

The April '38 issue denounces the arrest of the communistic sex specialist, Sigmund Freud (p. 266).

Red Jew Fights Anti-Semitism

A long eulogistic article about the Russian-born Socialist, Prof. Morris R. Cohen (sponsor of Brookwood Labor College*, committeeman of red American Civil Liberties Union, etc.), appears in the Feb. '38 issue, saying that after 35 years he is retiring from teaching at the College of the City of New York to give his full time to fighting anti-Semitism.

After telling of the tributes paid him by such radicals as John Dewey*, Felix Frankfurter*, Bertrand Russell* (communist, atheist, free love exponent), Judah L. Magnes* (of the communist Garland Fund), the article concludes that "His new day cannot fail to be as brilliant as the old."

French Reds Favor Exiled Jewry

Recognition that Communism and Jewry are linked together is shown in the B'nai B'rith comment (Dec. '37 issue, p. 131): "France regained her traditional mood of generosity to refugees" (German Jewish Reds) "from persecution when the Popular Front won its electoral victory last year."

Full page ads for the books of the militant, atheist Red, Haldemann-Julius, with order blank to order directly from B'nai B'rith Magazine, appear in the March and April '34 issues. Haldemann-Julius is noted for his atheist, sex, birth control, Socialist publications. He is on the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.

Einstein Approves B'nai B'rith

Albert Einstein's endorsement of B'nai B'rith work and his photo are featured prominently. Einstein*† is quoted as saying at a B'nai B'rith conference in Newark, N. J.: "The most effective influence is that which is done quietly. I do not know another organization which can do this work as well as B'nai B'rith." Einstein's property was confiscated in Germany because he is a Communist. His Communist connections, with the communist Workers International Relief, revolutionary World Congress against War organized by the Communist International, etc., are partly covered in "The Red Network". He has recently been supporting a student, Paul Beeck, at communistic Commonwealth College (Commonwealth College Bulletin, 1/1/35) and been on the board of sponsors of a Roosevelt socialistic Federal Subsistence Homesteads Project, Paradise, N. J., etc., etc.

B'nai B'rith Joins with Zionists

A B'nai B'rith "Unity Dinner" brought together the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and B'nai B'rith, in celebration of the 94th anniversary of the founding of B'nai B'rith, with the three presidents of these organizations as speakers. Cyrus Adler (member of the council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, author of "Jacob H. Schiff, His Life and Letters", etc.), Rabbi Wise*, the Zionist leader and outstanding radical, and Alfred M. Cohen, B'nai B'rith president. A Joint Council of these three organizations was announced (Dec. '37 issue, p. 125).

B'nai B'rith A. C. L. U. Executive Praised

Rabbi Philip David Bookstaber of Harrisburg, Pa., was called "one of the most active B'nai B'rith workers in District No. 3" and his Boy Scout (1) work was cited. (April '34 issue, p. 256.) Bookstaber is chairman of the Pennsylvania State Committee of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which is on the battle line legally for every phase of Communism all over the U. S. A.

Rabbi Edward L. Israel* eulogizes B'nai B'rith, and its Anti-Defamation work, particularly, in the May '37 issue (p. 284). His numerous Red affiliations listed in "The Red Network" include the national Council of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, two of whose sections are combined with the Communist Party's organizations, etc.

Estelle Sternberger B'nai B'rith Editor

Estelle Sternberger*† of the radical Conference for Progressive Political Action campaign committee (composed of Socialist and Communist supporters), etc., edits the woman's page of B'nai B'rith Magazine.

She devoted her page (May '38 issue, p. 312) to praise of Red Leon Blum, author of the filthy sex, anti-religious book "Du Mariage"; she praises Salmon O. Levinson*, president of the Communists' meeting place, Abraham Lincoln Center (Chicago), etc., also Theresa Mayer Durlach, a wartime radical and chairman of radical World Peaceways, with which Estelle Sternberger is also connected, along with Norman Thomas and other leading radicals (July '37 issue, p. 346).

B'nai B'rith and Sex Teachings

While Christians are deploring the Red insistence on sex talk and teachings, and the resultant trend toward changed and loosened sex relations, the B'nai B'rith article, "Made in Heaven?", says: "While the press of the country is currently studded with articles about the organized movement for changed attitudes toward marriage, little note has been made of the important part Jews have been and are taking in the new development". It tells how marriage institutes devoted to sex were first introduced ten years ago by Rabbi Landman, as a B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation director at the U. of Wisconsin, and says: "Today, such institutes are held in leading universities throughout the country."

The radicals, Dr. Hannah M. and Dr. Abraham Stone, who are connected with John Haynes Holmes' Red Community Church in New York, running a sex Marriage Consultation Service, are praised, as is Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein* for his work along this line.

Dr. Hannah Stone is a contributor to the Communist press, sponsored the 1937 communist International Labor Defense drive for funds for jailed Communists, was a sponsor of the Communist Party's birthday celebration for the much-jailed Ella Reeve Bloor of the Communist Party Central Committee, etc.

Goldstein's Red connections include the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, National Religion and Labor Foundation which distributes outright Communist propaganda and atheist cartoons, etc.

Glenn Frank Contributor

Glenn Frank†, who, as president of the University of Wisconsin gained it the nickname "Little Moscow", writes an article praising B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations in the Feb. '33 issue. Frank has been complimented by radicals for his "liberal" views on sex. He was a protege of the Socialist Jewish capitalist Edward A. Filene† who financed the N.R.A. and Socialist co-operatives.

A long article (Dec. '37 issue, p. 132) praises Rosika Schwimmer* and tells of the tributes paid her by Sylvia Pankhurst*, (organizer of the British Communist Party), Communist Einstein*, Communist Romain Rolland*, and Margaret Sanger* (who started her Birth Control work with the Anarchists), and recounts also her revolutionary activities in Hungary, and how she was denied U. S. citizenship—all in a tone of highest admiration.

B'nai B'rith Defends Communist Party

"Jewish Leader Defends Boston Communist Party at Hearing" is the heading of the account in the Communist Party's Daily Worker (Nov. 1, '37, p. 7). To one knowing that the principles of the Communist Party are the organization for bloody revolution, mass murder, mass theft, and enforced atheism under iron dictatorship, with the Soviet Russia dictators as examples and leaders, the account is revealing:

"Before recessing last week, the Committee investigating minority parties heard Judge Rose, B'nai B'rith leader in Boston, testify that his organization believes the Communist Party has the right to agitate peaceably for its principles. Another Jewish leader, Maurice Goldsmith, recommended a thorough exposure of anti-Semitic and Nazi organizations in Massachusetts.

Thus Jews Link Themselves with Communism

Defending the Communist Party and fighting anti-Semitism are habitually linked. Judge David A. Rose, according to his own "Who's Who", has been president of Amos Lodge of B'nai B'rith since 1936, and is a Zionist and a member of the Zionist administrative board of the New England region.

B'nai B'rith Dissolved as Subversive

Some understanding of what made the anti-Semitic Nazis in Germany "that way" may be gleaned from the statement of B'nai B'rith that, before its German lodges were dissolved as subversive organizations, in 1933 in Germany, B'nai B'rith, to quote, "constituted, with their families and relatives, it is safe to say, not fewer than 100,000 of the less than 600,000 Jewish people in Germany." (June '37 issue, p. 321.) Of course, Cordell Hull, representing the pro-Communist Roosevelt regime and Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary of the radical clique controlling the Federal Council of Churches which cooperates closely with B'nai B'rith and receives financial support from it (see Federal Council Report for 1936, p. 212), protested the banning of B'nai B'rith in Germany (B'nai B'rith Magazine, May '37 issue, p. 252).

Zionists Defend Communist

The Communist Party's Daily Worker heralded on its editorial page, March 8, 1938, the following:

"Jewish Liberal Religious Organ Assails Tory Attack on Gerson".

"The Reconstructionist, a Zionist and liberal Jewish religious bi-weekly publication, in its current issue took a strong stand against the present reactionary campaign to remove Si Gerson from the staff of Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs. Gerson is a member of the Communist Party." The Zionist editorial is then quoted as saying, "Today it is the Communist Party that many would outlaw; tomorrow it may be the Socialist Party, and the day after the C.I.O." (For, indeed, all three have the same Marxist principles and objectives.)

B'nai B'rith for Spanish Reds

B'nai B'rith appealed for aid for the Communist-controlled Loyalist forces of Spain through the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (May, '37 issue, p. 262).

The June 1933 issue (p. 264) praised Inacio Bauer, president of the Jewish Kehillah of Madrid, and berated the fact that "Spaniards everywhere still spoke of the Jew as though he were . . . a cancer in Spain."

But anti-Communists might also berate as cancerous the honors paid to Jewish fighters for the church-burning, anti-Christian, Communist-controlled government of Spain by B'nai B'rith, editorially, Dec. '37 and the B'nai B'rith account (Mar. '38 issue, p. 234). To quote:

"Some of America's most prominent Jews united in sponsoring a memorial meeting in New York City in honor of Samuel Levinger, 21-year-old Jewish youth who was killed in action a few months ago while fighting with the Loyalist government forces in Spain against Fascist rebels. Speakers included Dr. Stephen S. Wise* (Red Zionist leader), "James Waterman Wise" (his son, and director of the American Students Zionist Federation; associate editor of the communist People's Press; member of the national bureau of the communist American League against War and Fascism, etc.) "and Dr. Lee J. Levinger, Samuel's father." (Author of B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation literature.)

Raising Funds for Spanish Communists

"The New York meeting was held to raise funds with which to buy an ambulance for the Spanish Loyalists in memory of those heroic American Jews who gave up their lives in Spain in the struggle against international Fascism." (By "Fascism" they mean, in Spain, "anti-Communism".)

"Dr. Israel Goldstein" (pres. of the Jewish National Fund to which B'nai B'rith donated \$100,000), "Dr. Solomon Lowenstein, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise* were sponsors of the committee, which included Rabbi Milton Steinberg, Dr. Salo Baron, Morris Carnovsky, Prof. Morris R. Cohen" (Socialist now retiring to fight for Jews against anti-Semitism), "Felix Frankfurter"† (a Roosevelt Red advisor and power), "Dr. Jacob S. Golub, Ben Zion Goldberg, Hayim Greenberg, Dr. M. J. Karpf, Max Lerner" (editor of "The Nation", who formerly was a functionary of the Workers' Party of America (Communist), working out of the office of the District Organizer in Pittsburgh in 1923; acting as National Circuit Lecturer in 1925, running as its candidate for Attorney General of Mass. in 1926, and serving as member of its Central Control Commission in 1927 (Daily Worker, Sept. 8 and 9, 1927)), "Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Dr. David de Sola Pool, and other outstanding Jewish leaders."

Jews Fighting in Spain for Communism

"Jewish Life—published monthly by New York State Jewish Buro, Communist Party" (Jan. 1938 issue, p. 16), in an article entitled "Jewish Fighters in Spain", says:

"Jews from practically every corner of the earth are fighting in the Loyalist trenches of Spain today. . . .

The American boys who came back were most impressed by the broad distribution of Jews in practically every International Brigade. The article goes on to describe the Jews from Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., boasts that more than half of the Americans in one battalion were Jewish and that Yiddish was the common language and, to quote: "We are beginning to publish a bulletin of the International Brigade in the Yiddish language."

Biblical Prophecy

Such rigorous Jewish efforts for racial solidarity as are seen in every walk of Jewish life in every country, the anti-Christian, atheistic Red revolutionary activities of so many Jews abetted by their capitalistic Jewish allies, are paving the way, even now, for the punishments and fulfillment of prophecy. God's word will be fulfilled.

A Christian's Duty to Jews

A Christian's duty is to try to have some part in converting the "remnant of Israel" which God says will be willing and worthy to be saved, but it is not to condone Jewish anti-Christian activities and cover over with "good will" the Jewish race as such, for, racially, in this age, the Jew is under God's curse, and, like the Gentile, the Jew can, and can only, be saved by faith as an individual. God's ultimate promises were not to the whole Jewish race by any means but only to a "remnant of Israel", who will look upon "Him whom they have pierced" and be finally restored to grace after Armageddon (Zech. 12:10; Rev. 1:7).

Jews Still

A B'nai B'rith article telling how the Jews of Majorca were forcibly Christianized (Mar. '34 issue, p. 189) says: "Wander up and down that tragic street, look in at the shop windows. Linger not too long or you will be urged, in the politest Spanish manner tinged with an undefiled Semitic insistence, to enter the shops and buy. Observe closely the faces which you see and there will be no doubt that they are Jews. . . . They are Jews, racial Jews, however, even though they are the most devout Catholics in all the island."

As the Bible Prophesied

This is so in keeping with the word of God in the Bible, which states that the Jews would remain a separate race, to be dealt with separately, exiled without a King or scepter as they have been, punished, driven back to Palestine finally and that all but a third of them would be destroyed for the sins denounced by God through all Biblical Jewish prophets and Jesus Christ. Anyone knowing the Bible prophecies knows that, although the Arabs have the legal right to Palestine, still the Jews will get it, and the beginning of their most awful punishments will take place when they think they are enjoying the greatest material felicity.

Amazing Power of Jewish Kehillahs

As previously quoted from "20 Experiments in Unity" (B'nai B'rith Magazine, June '38 issue, p. 351): "In Palestine, Babylon and Spain, and for centuries in most of the countries of Europe there has always been some sort of organized Kehillah".

Some idea of the political power and racial solidarity and submission enforced by these Jewish Kehillahs can be gained by this report (Dec. '37 issue, p. 138): "Three Jewish-owned firms in New York City, charged with violating the boycott against German goods, declared their readiness to abide by the decision of an arbitration committee. The committee was composed of representatives of the firms and the Joint Boycott Council and an impartial chairman. That committee found the firms guilty, and fined them \$75,000, to be paid over to charities. They were accused of selling large shipments of furs from Germany." Can one picture any legal court of law extracting such huge fines so readily?

Again, editorially (r. '38 issue, p. 227), B'nai B'rith announced: "The 'excommunication' that has been decreed by the Budapest Kehillah bans all Jews engaged in illegal financial transactions and in other business activities that bring dishonor upon the Jewish community."

In all countries racial solidarity is encouraged. The affiliation of the Seville Kehillah with the Barcelona Kehillah was announced in the April '33 issue, p. 203.

Jewish Catholic Betrays Christianity for Jewry

Editorially (Jan. '38 issue), B'nai B'rith Magazine rejoiced: "The happier news of the past month had to do with one Archbishop Franz Cohen. . . . The Jews of Kromeriz in Czechoslovakia were observing with special exercises the 50th anniversary of the death of Archbishop Cohen. . . . Archbishop Cohen was no convert to Catholicism but was born a Catholic of Jewish descent. Archbishop Cohen was a man renowned in the church and, of course, was buried with all the distinction becoming a great leader of the hierarchy. Yet his will brought the effect of a startling announcement. . . . He had left his entire estate including a castle to the Jews of Kromeriz. It is not clear by what inspiration the archbishop was prompted at his death to convert all his earthly estate to the religion of the people of his descent. His castle became the Kromeriz synagogue and to this day most of the Jewish undertakings in Kromeriz are supported by the revenues from his estate." (Donated by Christian believers!)

Martin Luther's Opinion

Incidents like this of racial fidelity to Jewry and betrayal of Christianity perhaps prompted Martin Luther to say that if he baptized a Jew he would want to hold him under until he drowned, to be sure that he would not recant.

Numerous Biblical prophecies, such as Zechariah 4:8, tell us that after that long punishment and the final reckoning at Armageddon only a third of Jewry will be allowed to survive by God. These prophecies are interestingly paralleled by the Zionist report that two-thirds of the Palestinian Jews vote for Socialist (atheistic) delegates.

Zionism Is Socialist

That Zionism is Socialist is related in the "Jewish Frontier", organ of the League for Labor Palestine (June 1936 issue, published from 1225 Broadway, N. Y. City), in an article entitled "Is Palestine Socialist?":

"The discussion of the last Zionist Congress in Lucerne left one with the impression that Palestine is now altogether controlled by the socialists, that essentially, Palestine is already a socialist state. . . . a right-wing speaker, pointing an accusing finger at the socialist delegates to the Congress. . . . concluded his speech with an emphatic appeal to the Congress: 'Deliver us from the new bondage which the Histadrut has put upon us!' (Jewish Socialist Labor Organization.) 'Just how much truth is there in these words? Actually socialist influence in Palestine is unusually strong. One meets socialist institutions everywhere. Nearly all the bus lines of Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem are operated by socialist workers' cooperatives. They also serve most of the inter-city land-transportation. The socialist building-trade guilds erect numerous houses. The beautiful modern amphitheatre on Haifa's 'main street' belongs to the Histadrut. Nearby, to the left, there is a modern building housing a magnificent restaurant, spacious meeting hall and library, all of which is the property of the Histadrut. Flanking its right is the sick-insurance building, also belonging to the Histadrut. Near the Bay of Haifa a gigantic garden-settlement in construction will accommodate seven thousand families. It, too, is a project of the Histadrut. One comes across branches of the Workers' Bank, and is immediately informed that it is the second largest Jewish bank in the country. The stores of the 'Tnuva' offer for sale milk, butter, honey

and eggs which were produced by socialist communes and cooperative farms. They are enterprises of the Histadrut, the largest trading organization of the country.

"The same is true of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and the smaller cities. They all are honeycombed with workers' clubs, cinemas and libraries, fine workers' settlements and schools . . . The most remarkable contribution of the Histadrut, however, consists of the socialist-communist farming settlements, the kvutzot. . . They are the real fulfillment of a socialist utopia . . . More than 80 per cent of the industrial workers, office workers and farm laborers belong to the Histadrut trade unions. Two-thirds of the Jewish population voted for socialist delegates to the last Congress. Thus the Histadrut has a specific influence on the Zionist executives. It is the bearer of the Jewish renaissance.

Jewish Revolutionary Heritage

"What is the secret of the unusually powerful pressure exerted by the socialists in Palestine? . . . It is the tradition which the early pioneers have established in Palestine. They were the turbulent restless revolutionaries and socialists of the uprooted, capitulated Russian and Austrian dynasties. They rebelled against the old order and wished to realize in Palestine their national and social dreams and aspirations. Out of this spirit arose the Kvutza and the Histadrut. . . If the European village is dominated by ultra conservative mores and traditions, the Jewish Palestinian village, on the contrary, breathes the air of a living socialist tradition. If the European village is fundamentally counter-revolutionary, the Jewish Palestinian village is revolutionary.

Marxism Jewish

"Perhaps the origin of this unified thinking and feeling may be traced to the deep-rooted social heritage of the Jewish spirit. Bialik has remarked that 'The finest and most exalted features of socialism are a product of the Jewish spirit, the fruit of the all-embracing philosophy of life, of our prophets.' . . . Weizmann came to the very same conclusion at the Congress: 'Perhaps there seems to be something in Marxism which personifies the teachings of the Jewish prophets. And in the Histadrut I find the only harmonious synthesis of these teachings, which were realized not in empty space but on the ungrateful soil of Palestine.'" The article concludes with: "The socialists will administrate the cities of the future Palestine."

Among regular contributors to this Zionist Socialist magazine is Leon Blum, leader of the recent Socialist-Communist Red Front government of France, who wrote the filthy anti-religious book "Du Mariage" in which he recommends not only the typical Socialist principle of free love, but recommends that middle aged men seduce young girls so as to fit them to take care of the boys of their acquaintance in an experienced way; he sees nothing wrong in incest and thinks marriage should be deferred until late in life when one is tired of promiscuous sex adventures, which he advocates. He thinks children could be cared for somehow by the families of promiscuous couples until the state is ready to take care of them (as in Russia).

Blum a Zionist

Blum's article headed "Leon Blum Salutes the Histadrut", a salutation and endorsement of the work of the Histadrut on its fifteenth anniversary, appears in the same issue as the article above, and to quote the magazine's comment on him: "Leon Blum . . . has been associated with Zionism since after the World War. . . . He was one of the sponsors in the making of the League for Labor Palestine. He is a member of the Pro-Palestine Committee of the Socialist International", etc.

B'nai B'rith Salutes Zionism

B'nai B'rith Magazine, editorially, heads as "Hopeful News from Palestine" the news that "the Labor Maritime Company has been organized by the Histadrut. Already \$100,000 has been subscribed by the Histadrut and \$150,000 more will be sought by sale of shares in the United States." The encouraging words of Communist Albert Einstein are also quoted. (May 1937 issue, p. 251.)

Irreligious Zionism Deplored by Jew

An article on Adolph Ochs as a Jew (Jan. '33 issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine, p. 220) shows awareness on his part of the nature of Zionism, its anti-religious Socialist character. To quote: "His chief objection to Zionism was not on the political or economic score. It was this: the Jewish religion had but a small part in the Zionist program. A number of leaders were atheists, agnostics, irreligious. It irked him that the proposed Hebrew University did not include a department of theology. 'A culture center', he called it, 'without religion.'"

A photograph of Judah L. Magnes as Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Palestine, with 14 members of the faculty who had been exiled from Germany, appears in the March '34 (p. 193) issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine. Magnes* was chairman of the executive committee of the Kehilla (Jewish Community) of New York from 1909-22, according to his own sketch in "Who's Who in America" (1934-5). He was a director of the red Garland Fund*, which supplied the Communist-Socialist-I. W. W.-atheist revolutionary movement with sustaining funds. He was an organizer of the infamous "People's Council"* during the war, barred from several states, which, according to its own literature, was "modeled after the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, the sovereign power of Russia today", and which widely distributed the Soviets' proclamation appealing for Red revolution everywhere. He was exposed in the Congressional exposure of radicals and has more recently been acting as Palestine correspondent of the National Religion and Labor Foundation which distributes outright Communist revolutionary literature and propaganda and atheist cartoons.

B'nai B'rith Supports Zionism

At B'nai B'rith's Supreme Lodge Convention, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Jewish National Fund (see "The Red Network" for his Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, National Religion and Labor Foundation, and other Red connections), praised B'nai B'rith for undertaking "to make available through his Jewish National Fund a \$100,000 tract in Palestine", and to plant the memorial forest "to honor the memories of two great secretaries of B'nai B'rith, the late Dr. Boris D. Bogen and the late Dr. I. M. Rubinow." (June 1938 issue, p. 359.) The donation is to purchase 4000 dunams of land for a "B'nai B'rith Nachlath Alfred M. Cohen" colony (Jewish Sentinel, 1/13/38, p. 31).

B'nai B'rith and the "Jewish Frontier"

B'nai B'rith Magazine (June '38 issue, p. 365) carried an advertisement with special blank for B'nai B'rith members to subscribe to the "Jewish Frontier" (in which the article quoted above "Is Palestine Socialist?" appeared). Praise for this radical Zionist magazine is cited from Ludwig Lewisohn (a contributor himself), Felix Frankfurter†, whose 100 "Hot Dog" boys stationed in key places in the Roosevelt regime are said by General Hugh Johnson to wag their tails furiously at the mention of "Moscow," and by radical Rabbi Stephen S. Wise*, Zionist leader.

B'nai B'rith Claims Blum as Jew

On p. 367 of the same issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine appear favorable reviews of two books. To quote the

one on "Leon Blum, Man and State": "In the work we are considering now, we have the first authorized definitive biography of this unusual man and Jew, whose work and influence are far from waning in France. . . . According to his biographers, 'as Leon Blum's life unrolls itself before us, we see the Jewish strain in him never faded. He grew up in a Jewish household, he was nurtured by a Jewish mother; for years he ate Jewish cuisine in the Jewish way. He breathed a Jewish atmosphere.'"

Socialized Palestine

To quote the other review on "Palestine Collectives", called "Deep Furrows": "It mirrors most effectively the struggles, the ideals, and the achievements of Jewish youth in the socialized colonies of the Holy Land. As the author indicates 'Our goal is the creation of a new society in our old land so that we may take our place among the races struggling for a better world.' (For a Socialist Red world.)

B'nai B'rith Secy. on "Jewish Frontier"

Among others listed as regular contributors to the "Jewish Frontier" was the late Isaac Max Rubinow, national secretary of B'nai B'rith, in whose honor they are now planting a Palestine memorial forest. He was on the board of the notorious little communist Commonwealth College† at Mena, Arkansas (financed by the communist Garland Fund, by Justice Louis D. Brandeis (Zionist), by the Jewish socialist International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and other radicals). A legislative investigation revealed the atheism, nude bathing and free love activities accompanying the training of Red agitators there.

In Red Company

Others listed as regular contributors include Communist Albert Einstein*, who has been supporting a student at Commonwealth College and whom B'nai B'rith Magazine praises continually; Sigmund Freud*, one of the official sponsors of the communist World Congress Against War (which was barred from several countries), whose text books of anti-Christian sex filth, put out under the guise of science, have, perhaps, most stimulated the worse-than-barnyard literature and brazen immoral college teachings of modern times; Norman Thomas*, Socialist Party head; radicals E. C. Lindeman*, Louis Adamic, Edward L. Israel*, Chas. A. Beard† (of the communist American League Against War and Fascism*, Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, etc., etc.), Sidney Hook* and Horace Gregory* (who served on the same Communist Party campaign committee); C. Hartley Grattan* of the communist John Reed Club group; and Thomas Mann, who was appointed to the World Presidium of the "International Writers' Association for the Defense of Culture" (Red culture), set up by the communist Writers' Congress held in Paris in June 1935 (along with Sinclair Lewis, Communists Maxim Gorki of Russia, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse and Andre Gide of France, etc. See page 62 of "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background.").

B'nai B'rith Welcomes Mann

B'nai B'rith editorially (June '38 issue) says enthusiastically: "To the citizenship of the United States we welcome Thomas Mann."

Roosevelt Sends Son to B'nai B'rith

On the next page is the account of James Roosevelt bringing in person his father's greetings to the B'nai B'rith convention, and on the next page is reproduced President Roosevelt's effusive letter greeting and praising B'nai B'rith.

Communism and Zionism One

How supposedly hostile Socialist Zionism and Communism intermesh, as Socialism and Communism always

do, for they have the same Marxist stem and aim, is shown in a eulogistic article headed "Reuben Brainin at 75" (Aug.-Sept. '37 issue of B'nai B'rith Magazine). He worked for both Zionism and Communism. Brainin is called a "pioneer Zionist whose interest in and activity for the Jewish homeland antedates the first World Zionist Congress, is one of the builders of Hebrew literature, and the courageous exponent of Jewish colonization of Soviet Russia". . . .

It relates how he, born in Russia in 1862, edited various Zionist journals, advocated the Hebrew University in Palestine, which idea "bore fruit when Chaim Weizman took up the university idea and carried it to completion" (with Red Judah L. Magnes heading it), at the fifth Zionist Congress; how he was honorary vice-president of the Zionist organization of America and returned to New York in 1917, where he has lived ever since, how he visited Palestine and Russia and toured South Africa in 1929 in enthusiastic behalf of Jewish colonization work in Soviet Russia.

As there is carried on a jealous brotherly dicker between Jews over the degrees of importance between settling Palestine and colonizing Biro Bidjan, Soviet Russia's Jewish state, Brainin was accused of "assisting the Jewish section of the Communist Party", and of "failing to deny reports in the Communist press quoting him as having made anti-Zionist speeches". His accuser was Bialik, who called him a traitor to the Zionist cause, and finally there was a Jewish Zionist Congress all-night trial held in Berlin in 1929. To quote: "The verdict of the court was that Bialik was justified, but as a sop to Brainin, Bialik was rebuked for using intemperate language. Brainin forgot his personal differences when Bialik died, and hailed him as 'the personification of modern Hebrew culture'. . . ."

Brainin Worked for Both

"Since then (Brainin) has championed the Biro Bidjan" (Soviet colony) "project in season and out without renouncing one jot or tittle of his Zionism. As guest of honor at a huge massmeeting in Madison Square Garden in celebration of the proclamation of Biro Bidjan as an autonomous Jewish territory, Brainin, then 72, received a tumultuous ovation . . . Brainin said . . . 'I declare that any Jew who ignores his duty to help in the upbuilding of Biro Bidjan is guilty of a sin against his people' . . ."

"His contribution to Jewish life", concludes the B'nai B'rith article, "is his adherence to the principle that the fate of the Jewish people comes first, whether partisan slogans for the solution of the Jewish problem agree or not."

B'nai B'rith for Jewish Solidarity

And this is the continual refrain of the B'nai B'rith-racial solidarity policy. Regardless of religion, politics, principle, nationality—always the Jew is urged to keep himself separate and in a solid front against everyone else. B'nai B'rith Magazine (Jan. '33, p. 90) took the same attitude in an editorial headed "Certainly, He Was One of Us", concerning Baruch (Benedictus) Spinoza, who was excommunicated from the Jewish religion; yet B'nai B'rith pointed out "he is one of us", and said, "Jewry may well acclaim his life", for it doesn't matter that Jews "see the world" through different mental "windows"—all are Jews.

B'nai B'rith Tries to Fool the Public

A growing awakening on the part of the public of the extent of Jewish radicalism evinced the defensive announcement by the B'nai B'rith president at the 1938 convention, "that in every country there are very few Jews in the Communist movement". Because the reverse is true, the statement in the same issue is pertinent, that \$2,000,000 had been raised for B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, Hillel Foundations, and the junior

B'nai B'rith "A.Z.A." in the 1927-29 "Wider Scope Campaign" of B'nai B'rith. Also (June '38 issue, p. 345) "the convention endorsed B'nai B'rith's decade of co-operation with the National Conference of Jews and Christians for the promotion of good will." Millions would not have to be spent for "good will" work if there were not some real cause for ill will.

Putting Christians to Sleep Through B'nai B'rith's National Conference of Jews and Christians

Beverett R. Clinchy, author of a B'nai B'rith article (Jan. '38 issue), entitled "A Decade of Good Will", has been director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians since 1928, and was secretary of the Committee on Goodwill between Jews and Christians of the Federal Council of Churches, and secretary of the Federal Council itself, 1928-33. The radically-controlled Federal Council of Churches is financially supported by B'nai B'rith and works closely with it, as may be seen from the following from Clinchy's article:

B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council

"Ten years ago the National Conference of Jews and Christians was born. For four years before that the Federal Council of Churches and B'nai B'rith had pioneered, gingerly, yet bravely on the Committee on Goodwill between Jews and Christians. Today the National Conference is the only effort of the kind in the world aiming on so vast a scale to transform the attitudes of individuals and religious groups to each other. . . . The immediate struggle concerns itself with the preservation of democracy". (A present Communist Party slogan, in line with Lenin's admonition that best through a democracy could Communists work for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Also the Soviet government and all forms of Communist-Socialist dictatorships are now being called "democracies", which thoroughly misleads unsuspecting Americans.)

"Since the beginning, B'nai B'rith has cooperated with and advised with the National Conference of Jews and Christians. In the days of the Federal Council's Committee on Goodwill between Jews and Christians, Dr. Boris Bogen" (National Secretary of B'nai B'rith) "was an inspiration, guide and friend. As years went on, the scientific genius of Dr. I. M. Rubinow" (succeeding National Secretary of B'nai B'rith) "influenced the practices of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Dr. Rubinow took an active part in many of the seminars and institutes of the National Conference and advised with Dr. Landis, our research secretary" (who helps issue the radical Federal Council propaganda that has shocked all informed Christians who oppose the modernistic, atheistic Red movement). To continue quoting:

Red Heads Chicago Branch

"Moreover, B'nai B'rith has been helpful in the promotion of Brotherhood Day celebrations in many cities and towns. . . . The Anti-Defamation League has been in close cooperation with the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference, as well as with the New York office." (The Chicago Round Table is managed, as executive secretary, by the Communist-supporter, James M. Yard*, who speaks at Communist headquarters, sponsors the Communist Workers Theatre, etc., and was even dismissed from Northwestern University for his open Communist activities.)

Religious News Service

"B'nai B'rith has helped in the promotion of the Religious News Service. Lodges helped enormously in the compilation of signatures of 50,000 clergymen which were published in 1937 and posted in every town in America. . . . Radio broadcasts is another area in which B'nai B'rith has aided this movement of which it is an integral part." (Emphasis supplied.) "85 normal schools

and teachers' colleges have extended to us an invitation to present the program and aims of the National Conference to their institutions. . . .

Propaganda on 600 Campuses

"Another endeavor is to organize the round table method on 600 college campuses. . . . And we must continue to reach the high schools. . . . The usefulness of the news service of the National Conference of Jews and Christians is being recognized increasingly. . . . To increase its scope and value the name of the service has recently been changed from the 'N.C.J.C. News Service' to 'Religious News Service'. . . . The service at present supplies 200 daily newspapers and religious journals with its news of feature material."

A Half Million to Color Your News

Read that over and reflect how your news is being colored in the press. With a fund of \$500,000 for the coming year, how many Christian-front propagandists can be purchased to do their bit to prevent opposition to Jewish radicalism? Of course, one can count on all informed radicals to defend Jewish brother-Reds without payment, but as B'nai B'rith Magazine stated (June '33, p. 266) in connection with a Jewish anti-Hitler demonstration staged in New York, in which they refused to participate: "B'nai B'rith favors protest meetings called by non-Jews of prominence."

Radio Propaganda for Jewry

A report of the nationwide "Good Will" broadcast, featuring as speaker Red Rev. Ernest F. Tittle* (of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, of the revolutionary League for Industrial Democracy, two of whose sections, unemployed and student, are amalgamated with the Communist Party, etc., etc.), appears in the Nov. '37 issue.

"Los Angeles Lodge (B'nai B'rith) reaches an estimated 10,000 persons each week in good will radio broadcasts. These broadcasts are heard each week throughout the Pacific Coast region from the Warner Bros. Motion Picture Studio in Hollywood, and all are on the general subject of good will. Los Angeles Lodge has been doing this work for five years, with increasing recognition." (Nov. '37 issue, p. 98.)

Photos of "The Three Co-Chairmen of the National Conference of Jews and Christians" appear in Clinchy's B'nai B'rith article (Jan. '38 issue), entitled "A Decade of Good Will". Two of these are: the Jewish representative, Roger W. Strauss, and Newton D. Baker*, who called himself a practical Socialist but who stayed in the Democratic Party to get things done, according to the communist Daily Worker, and who served to the day of his death as a vice-president (with Mrs. Roosevelt) of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported National Consumers' League which was led by Florence Kelley Wischniewsky, translator and disseminator of the teachings of Communist Engels (co-author with Marx of the Communist Manifesto, the "Bible" of Communism-Socialism).

Hayes' Revolutionary Course

Carlton J. H. Hayes* is another of the three. The most illuminating bit about his work is to be found in the autobiography of the Russian-born Jewish Communist, Joseph Freeman, "An American Testament" (pages 119-20). Describing Hayes' course at Columbia University, which he took, Communist Freeman says: "Half of it was devoted to the industrial revolution. Required reading included the Communist Manifesto, Proudhon's book on the nature of property, the works of Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Kropotkin" (the Anarchist) "and Walter Lippman, then emerging as a radical publicist with his 'Preface to Politics'. Rich students from Riverside Drive, Flatbush, Chicago, Des Moines and points west crammed nights for exams in

the agitation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels . . . While it lasted, most of the students, regardless of their social origin, professed to be anarchists, socialists or syndicalists. There were practically no apologists for capitalism. Students from the most conservative families found rational explanations of the war-shaken world in the writings of the various revolutionary schools. Some of them talked openly of renouncing the money, factory or estate they expected to inherit . . . In my own socialist circle, the Communist Manifesto was an old guide; but now we read certain passages with renewed attention, underscoring those which bore out our increasing dislike of money culture and our growing disappointment in the pro-war attitude of the bourgeois intellectuals." (Page 122) "Prof. Hayes strengthened our belief that the war was the result of imperialism and militarism and nationalism, the struggle for markets, colonies, spheres of influence." (The Communist-Socialist line.)

Hayes Dismisses Class for Red Protest Meeting

Communist Freeman tells (p. 107) how when Professors Dana and Cattrell were expelled from Columbia for their Red agitation, to quote: "Dr. Beard protested against the expulsion by resigning from the University. . . . The radical students on the campus called a demonstration to express sympathy for Dr. Beard. . . . The college authorities warned us that any student cutting classes to attend the meeting would be punished. Professor Carleton Hayes . . . circumvented this prohibition. On the morning of the demonstration he came early to our class on the Causes and Origins of the Present War, then probably the largest in the college with almost two hundred students. In a voice tense with feeling, he said:

"Gentlemen, we have lost today in this university one of the most intelligent, honest and courageous men who ever lived. There is nothing I can say to you in my course today as important as Dr. Beard's resignation. The class is dismissed." We rushed to the library steps. Among the speakers who protested against the expulsion of Professors Dana and Cattrell, approved Dr. Beard's resignation was an anarchist lecturer on philosophy named Will Durant."

He then tells of the riotous meeting and the speeches of the radicals, himself included, which followed.

Jews Foremost in Communist Party

The Congressional Committee investigating Communism, which issued in 1931, House Report 2290, stated (page 14): "A large percentage of all the Communist district organizers are of Jewish origin." "Composition of Communist membership of foreign origin in the United States, estimated from foreign language press and evidence submitted before the committee, on membership strength and not on percentage, is as follows: Jews, Russians (Slavs)," etc.

"The largest daily Communist newspaper is the Morning Freiheit, published in Yiddish, in New York City" (page 20).

U. S. Chamber of Commerce Knuckles to Jewry

Evidently B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League reached the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, for the first edition of their booklet about Communism was cancelled, and re-issued, after being re-written so as to omit mention of the Jews and of the Communist Jewish Freiheits from quotations from House Report 2290, leaving, as a result, a lie.

B'nai B'rith Gives German Jews Away

The only difference between the Socialist and Communist parties is one of leadership. Both are founded on anti-religious, class-struggle Marxism. The Social Democratic Party in Germany was the Socialist Party. The "American Hebrew" (June 3, 1938) quotes B'nai B'rith's

Anti-Defamation League secretary as saying in his speech "unmasking the lie of Jewish Communism," that in Germany "most of the Jews were Social Democrats. Yet Hitler has continuously labelled the German Communist as the Jewish Communist."

Meant to fool the ignorant, this is in reality a damaging admission substantiating Hitler's label, for those who know the Red movement know that the Marxist Socialist principles of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and of the Communist Party, were identical, both being Marxist. "Most of the Jews were Social Democrats" was letting the cat out of the bag!

B'nai B'rith Fiction

A growing knowledge about Communism, and consequently about the prominence of Jewish participation, drew forth the defense at the 1938 B'nai B'rith convention that they were for "democracy" and opposed to communism as well as fascism and, to quote: "Sigmund Livingston, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, examined carefully the accusations that a disproportionately large number of Jews are communists, or vice versa. The facts and figures which he cites are impressive and will carry conviction to the disinterested observer. There is not, for example, a single Jew among the leaders of Communism in the United States," according to Mr. Livingston." (B'nai B'rith Magazine, July '38 issue, p. 391.)

Significantly, right above this is the heading "Pres. Monsky Makes Unity Plea at No. 1 Conclave," saying, "Let there not be a division in Israel in times of crisis." And on page 371 of the same issue appears this excerpt from the B'nai B'rith Constitution written in 1843: "B'nai B'rith has taken upon itself the mission of uniting Israelites in their own best interests and those of humanity."

Is Jewry Communistic?

Let us see what proportion of Jewry in the U. S. A. is affiliated with some body furthering the Socialist-Communist movement, according to Jewish sources. "Jewish Life" (April 1938 issue) states: "Three federated Jewish bodies encompass between them the majority of Jews; the American Jewish Congress, controlled by the Zionists and representing the majority of Zionists; the Jewish Labor Committee and the Jewish People's Committee, both of which have had national conventions in the past months, at which their respective positions were very clearly stated."

The American Jewish Congress (Zionist)

We have seen that Zionist Palestine is 70% Socialist (and besides has a Communist Party), that Socialist-Communist communes operate a large part of its industry. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who heads the American Jewish Congress, and Zionism, like most Zionist leaders, has a long Red record. He has served on Socialist Party campaign committees, aided actively the Communist's "Lesson in revolution", the Passaic Textile strike, served on the executive committee of the notorious Red-aiding Civil Liberties Bureau, now the American Civil Liberties Union, right arm of the Communist movement, and more recently has been on the executive committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, which distributes Communist literature and atheist cartoons, etc., etc. His son, also a Zionist executive, is an out-and-out Communist writer.

**See "The Red Network" for the Communistic records of such Jews as: Carl Brodsky, Joseph Brodsky, Moissaye J. Olgin, Joe Potash, Jay Rubin, Max Schactman, Isadore Schneider, G. Siskind, Maurice Sugar, Maurice Becker, Phil Frankfeld, Mike Gold, Ben Gold, Wm. Schneiderman, Gil Green (berg), Israel Amter, Morris Childs, Emanuel Levine, David Levinson, Louis Budenz, Melvin P. Levy, Dora Lifschits, Jay Lovestone, Lester Cohen, Max Eastman, Abe Feinglass, Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Si Gerson, Albert Goldman, Abe Harfield, Louis Hyman, Nat Kaplan, Alex Trachtenberg, Seymour Waldman, Louis Weinstein, Wm. Wolf Weinstein, Albert Weisbord, Rose Wortis, Phillip Aronberg, Rose Baron, Nathan Bass, Herbert Benjamin, Sidney Bloomfield, etc.

The Jewish Labor Committee

The Jewish Labor Committee is headed by B. Charney Vladeck*, Russian-born, list, of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, red Rand School, left wing pro-Soviet Amalgamated Clothing Workers (hon. mem.), manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, Socialist paper printed in Yiddish, etc., etc. The convention held by his group in 1934 was hailed by B'nai B'rith Magazine and will be discussed later.

The Jewish People's Committee

The Jewish People's Committee is headed by Communist Wm. Weiner, head of the Communist Party's fraternal insurance society, International Workers' Order*. Its convention held in Washington Nov. 19-20, 1937, is of interest as reported in "Jewish Life" (Jan. 1938).

To quote: "Close to 1000 delegates representing HALF-A-MILLION American Jews" (emphasis in original) "participated in the National Conference and the anti-Polish Pogrom march on Washington under the auspices of the Jewish People's Committee. . . . Practically every walk of Jewish life was represented. . . . A spokesman for Jewish reaction, Dr. S. Margoshes tried to pooh-poo the whole conference by saying: 'About a thousand delegates, representing mostly Left and Communist-controlled Jewish organizations, assembled in Washington over the week-end.'" But, the article goes on to say, "Half a million Jews constitute a significant cross section of American Jewry." Great praise of the policies of President Roosevelt, the formation of the Red People's Front and eulogy of the address of Rep. John M. Coffee of Washington (who was honored by the Communist Party's "Sunday Worker") follow.

S. Margoshes, referred to as "reactionary" above, is vice president of Rabbi Wise's American Jewish Congress, and editor of the "Day".

Weiner Soothes Wise

However, Communist Wm. Weiner, head of the Jewish People's Committee, in another article, apologizes to Rabbi Wise, saying that his purpose is "To speed up the unification of the Jewish people so that they can take their rightful place in the army of democracy" (the new name for Communism), and that "if certain words and expressions occurred in our discussions which offended individuals we are profoundly sorry. Least of all are we desirous of conducting a personal campaign against Rabbi Stephen Wise who may have been offended by certain of our expressions which occurred in the heat of polemics. We are aware of his courageous stand in support of Spain and China, of his progressive position against reaction in the United States." (In other words, his radicalism is appreciated.) But he accuses the American Jewish Congress of being "anxious not to antagonize the anti-Semites in the United States" and so it opposes the Dickstein-O'Toole Resolution to admit Jewish refugees to the extent of all unused quotas during the past year—about 125,000 Jews to enter immediately. Weiner's Jewish People's Committee is backing this resolution. Weiner points out that his appeal in the name of the "hundreds of thousands of American Jews affiliated with our Committee" had bearing on President Roosevelt's proclamation concerning the "refugee problem a few days later". (Communist Midwest Daily Record, June 20, '38.)

The Jewish Labor Committee

B'nai B'rith Magazine (April, '34) hailed the conference held by "the very large and important Jewish Socialist or labor element" with regret that it was not a part of the Joint Council formed by B'nai B'rith, composed of the American Jewish Congress (Rabbi Wise's), American Jewish Committee, and B'nai B'rith, but said, "it is comforting to know that labor is, under

whatever circumstances, ready to be of service to the oppressed and oppressed in Israel."

To quote further: "With the leading Jewish Socialist organizations, large trade unions and other labor bodies represented by over one thousand delegates, this recent conference equalled in size and resembled in character the one that was held at the outbreak of the war.** It was estimated that the delegates acted and spoke for more than a half a million organized Jewish toilers, and spoke for them in behalf of specific JEWISH INTERESTS, but from a distinctly labor point of view. . . .

"To show the world that we have great armies of labor is a very good thing, but to have the same world note that these hosts are largely of a radical frame of mind, is something about which we have in the past been somewhat squeamish. . . . The radical labor view was, at any rate, fully represented at this gathering where a lengthy preamble to the main resolutions affirmed a number of principles relating to the rule of labor in the struggle for the maintenance of full rights of Jews. I summarize one or two of these points. 'It is clear to us . . . that the attacks upon us' (Jews) 'of the present day are, after all, closely bound up with the general social struggle, which is gradually encircling the entire world as a conflict between capital and labor . . .'" (Communism-Socialism). "It is not the intention of Jewish labor to interfere with the constructive efforts in Jewish life carried on by other groups" (Racial solidarity). "On the contrary it is our aim to strengthen and enforce every important general step through energetic and planned support . . ." Represented at this conference was also a group of other labor organizations espousing another view of Jewish life, a philosophy which is a composite of both Socialism and Zionism."

Labor Committee Officers, Sponsors

Among officers elected to head the Labor Committee for Jewish Affairs formed there, were: B. C. Vladeck*, President; I. Baskin; David Dubinsky*†, who was exiled to Siberia for Russian revolutionary activities; Joseph Schlossberg*; Max Zaritsky*; etc. Sponsors of the conference included The Jewish Socialist Federation, the Workmen's Circle* (Socialist Jewish), the United Hebrew Trades†, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers*, etc.; and "The Jewish Socialist Party Poale Zion, the Jewish National Workingmen's Federation, the Pioneer Women from Palestine and the Young Poale Zion, sent delegates to the conference. . . ."

Yes, Jewry Admits It Is Radical

American Gentiles are as innocent as kittens of the large number of Red organizations that have been functioning for years among the Jews, carried on in Yiddish, which Gentiles can neither read nor understand.

If the three federated Jewish bodies just described (American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, and Jewish People's Committee) "encompass", as Wm. Weiner said, "the majority of Jews" in the United States, the extent of Jewish radicalism and the need of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League to prevent awareness of this is apparent. The Jews, being so largely radical, with good cause habitually fight anti-Communism as anti-Semitism. The Communist Party's Daily Worker, Apr. 27, '38, p. 6, column 4, under the sub-heading, "Stalin's Statement", says, in an article on Jews in America:

Stalin's Statement

"There the great and universally progressive features of Jewish culture have made themselves clearly

**See "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background", page 158, for the account of the 1915 Convention Representing 500,000 Jewish Radicals, as reported in the "Jewish Communal Register" for 1917-1918.

felt: its internationalism, its responsiveness to the advanced movements of our times (the percentage of Jews in democratic and proletarian movements is everywhere higher than the percentage of Jews in the general population)." (Emphasis supplied.)

British Paper Denounces B'nai B'rith

The Free Press, issued by the Militant Christian Patriots (93 Chancery Lane, London, W.C2), heads its article on B'nai B'rith (July 1938 issue) "An International Jewish Secret Society". To quote:

"One of the most powerful Jewish societies in the world is the 'Independent Order of B'nai B'rith'. B'nai B'rith means literally (in Hebrew) Sons of the Covenant, the Covenant being circumcision. Founded in New York in 1843, the order was not established in England until 1910, but since that time it has succeeded in gaining a controlling influence over all Jewish organizations in Great Britain. Among the members today are Chaim Weizmann (the Zionist leader), Dr. J. H. Hertz (the Chief Rabbi), Mr. Neville Laski (President of the Jewish Board of Deputies), and Mr. Israel Moses Sieff (well known Zionist and communal worker, and chairman of P.E.P.). (P.E.P. is a socialistic scheme that has been likened and peculiarly linked to the New Deal.)

Pressure on World Governments

"A short history of the B'nai B'rith in England written by Paul Goodman, a Past President, for private circulation among members, gives a clear insight into the way in which pressure is put upon governments throughout the world in Jewish interests . . ." "B'nai B'rith is Zionist—'In Palestine, the B'nai B'rith played a unique part before Zionism laid there the foundations of the Jewish National Home', says Goodman, and 'In the United States, the order is clearly 'the power behind the President'".

Alliance Israelite Universelle

Goodman writes, (p. 15) "In political cooperation with the ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE and other national and international Jewish bodies, the B'nai B'rith has for many decades been recognized as representative of American Jewry and as specially enjoying the confidence of the American Government in the protection of Jewish interests abroad. . . . B'nai B'rith was instrumental in ultimately securing the abrogation by the United States of the commercial treaty with Russia owing to its refusal to visa the passports of American Jews visiting that country." The article states: "In view of the part played by Jewish organizations abroad in the arming of Russian Jews to fight against the Russian monarchy this refusal was not surprising." The intrigue and pressure exerted within the British Government by B'nai B'rith is pointed out.

Schiff Financed Soviet Revolution

In connection with the above statement about Jews abroad arming the Russian Jews to fight the Russian monarchy is the revealing account concerning Jacob Schiff in the "Jewish Communal Register" issued by the New York City Kehillah in 1918 (from 356 Second Avenue). On p. 1018, under the "Who's Who" of Jacob Henry Schiff, is this: "Mr. Schiff has always used his wealth and his influence in the best interests of his people. He financed the enemies of autocratic Russia" (the Bolsheviks) "and used his financial influence to keep Russia from the money market in the United States." It also relates that he was born in Germany in 1847, came to America in 1865, "where he joined the staff of a banking house. In 1873, he returned to Europe where he made connections with some of the chief German banking houses. Upon returning to the United States, he entered the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and

Company, New York, of which he later became the head. . . . The firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. floated the large Japanese War Loans of 1904-5, thus making possible the Japanese victory over Russia. . . . When last year Mr. Schiff celebrated his seventieth birthday, all the factions of Jewry in the United States and elsewhere united in paying tribute to him."

Schiff's Son-in-Law

"A PRINCE WHO CHOSE TO BE A SERVANT OF ISRAEL" is the title of the eulogy of Felix M. Warburg, son-in-law of Jacob Schiff, after his death (Nov. '37 issue, B'nai B'rith Magazine, p. 83). To quote: "Felix Warburg was always, par excellence, the Jew . . . he married the daughter of Jacob Schiff who in his time was the great figure in Jewish life that later Felix Warburg was to become. Indeed, it may be said that Felix Warburg became the spiritual heir of Jacob Schiff. . . . In the year 1896 he joined the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. and quickly rose to eminence in the field of finance . . ." (so he had a part in the financing of Russian Reds and the Japanese war loans). "He might not believe in Zionist ideology but he could go with Zionists to help build a good homeland for Jews; and he went with them. His heart was as eager as Weizmann's. He thought of himself not as a servant of one portion of Israel but he was of the whole house and wherever Jewry needed to be served he served."

Those who are mystified at Jewish financiers supporting the Communist movement may well read that over again.

B'nai B'rith and the Alliance Israelite Universelle

The "Jewish Communal Register" of the New York City Kehillah, just referred to, says (p. 886): "As one of the few great Jewish international organizations, the Order B'nai B'rith was in a position to exercise considerable influence in favor of Jews the world over. . . . The order has close affiliation with all great Jewish bodies, such as the ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE, the Jewish Colonization Association, the American Jewish Committee, etc. . . ."

Jewish Messianic World Power

B'nai B'rith, in an article praising radical Ludwig Lewisohn, reveals that racial solidarity and striving for Messianic world power, instinctively Jewish (May '33 issue, p. 245), when it commends his books as "Messianic therefore characteristically Jewish in their motivating force." Again, Mike Gold, Russian Jewish columnist for the Communist Party's Daily Worker, is referred to (May '32 issue, p. 233) as one in the revolutionary movement symbolic of the Jewish literary renaissance and of "the Jew, not solely as a theological entity but as a national, international and esthetic selfhood." That capitalist Otto Kahn financed Mike Gold (Kahn admitted this in a personal letter seen by the author), fits in with the following analysis.

Adolph Cremieux

The ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE, with which B'nai B'rith is affiliated, was founded by Adolph Cremieux. "The life of Adolph Cremieux and the activities of his Jewish contemporaries, belonging to widely divergent social spheres, illustrate forcibly the concerted plan of Judaism to reach its secret Messianic hope of world domination," says Lady Queenborough (Edith Starr Miller) on page 415, volume 2, of "Occult Theocracy" (printed in France). To continue: "Whereas in Gentile life, there is an unbridgeable abyss between Conservatism and Anarchy, Religion and Atheism, there is no such chasm in the Jewish mentality. There, all currents, no matter in what direction they may seem to flow, are finally united and channelled in one unique direction. . . . Adolph Cremieux

man Paul Koppleman, Adolph J. Sabath, Henry Ellenbogen.

Emanuel Celler: Member of B'nai B'rith, of the American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, etc., who introduced a bill for the right of asylum for aliens (H. R. 10013), also a bill in behalf of Red revolutionists Ferrero and Sallito (H. R. 8631) sponsored by the communist American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born of which Celler is a member of the advisory board. (Letterhead, 1/24/38.) He is featured in the Communist press and was chairman of a committee in behalf of Communist Tom Mooney (Daily Worker, 5/6/38); speaker at a rally sponsored by the communist American League for Peace and Democracy at Brooklyn Jewish Center (Daily Worker, 5/6/38, p. 5).

Samuel Dickstein: Russian born B'nai B'rith member, listed as a defender of the foreign born in Congress by the communist American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (3/4/38). Private papers seized by his Committee from anti-Communist Harry Jung were photostatically reproduced promptly in the communist New Masses and Daily Worker.

William I. Sirovich: To quote the New York Telegram 10/17/33: "Representative William I. Sirovich (D., N. Y.), who just returned from Soviet Russia and reported his observations to President Roosevelt, today declared that he expected recognition within a month. He said that the President's name had been cheered in Leningrad when he mentioned it in a speech."

The Chicago Tribune 7/14/33 stated: "Representative William I. Sirovich (Dem., N. Y.), doctor, playwright, and congressman, and Sam G. Lamport, textile expert working with former Senator Smith Brookhart*, who is now the department of agriculture's Russian specialist, are going to Russia on an unofficial visit, looking toward recognition. Already convinced themselves that Russia should be recognized immediately, they said today that they were sure their 'study' would win over the president."

He was listed by the communist American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as a defender of the foreign born in Congress. (3/4/38.) He introduced the Communist and C. I. O.-backed bill to establish permanently a government supported Bureau of Fine Arts, under the Department of Interior (Daily Worker, 5/27/38, p. 3), and endorsed the Communist Party's Unemployment and Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827 (Daily Worker, 2/15/35). He supported the Communist-backed Schwelienboch-Allen Resolution.

Sol Bloom: Accused of capitalizing on the Sesqui-centennial celebration of the U. S. Constitution; supporter of the Communist-backed Schwelienboch-Allen Resolution (Washington Post, 8/18/37).

Adolph J. Sabath: Born in Czechoslovakia; pledged his support of the Communist Party's Unemployment and Insurance Bill (H. R. 2827), (Communist Daily Worker, 2/16/35).

Herman Paul Koppleman: Born in Odessa, Russia; member of the American Jewish Congress and of the Zionist Organization of America. He was one of the 60 Congressmen greeting the Red Spanish Parliament (Daily Worker, 1/31/38). He supported the Red-backed Schwelienboch-Allen Resolution; is a committee member of radical World Peaceways* of which B'nai B'rith editor, Estelle Sternberger, is a leader, and was one of the House members to ask aid of Roosevelt for Com-

munist Mooney, others being, Caroline O'Day† (Mrs. Roosevelt's close associate), Ernest Lundeen, Maury Maverick, Communist Vito Marcantonio, Thomas R. Amlie, etc. (New York Herald Tribune, 5/2/35).

Henry Ellenbogen†: Born in Vienna, Austria; supported the Communist-backed Schwelienboch-Allen Resolution; "received his first prominence in Pittsburgh as a lawyer representing the communistic American Civil Liberties Union"†; was the attorney representing the communist International Labor Defense* and communist National Miners Union* defending Pat Toohy (now District organizer of the Communist Party in Pennsylvania and member of the Party's Central Committee) and John Brophy* (Daily Worker, 12/20/28). When Ellenbogen was elected in 1932 he had been a citizen only six years and five months, but the House Elections Committee allowed him to be seated holding that he had been a citizen the required seven years when sworn in. (Pittsburgh Sun Telegram, 5/2/34.)

Note the activities of 7 out of 10 of these Jewish Congressmen.

B'nai B'rith for Aliens—Jews

When the Michigan alien registration law, backed by patriots, was enjoined or barred, B'nai B'rith (Feb. issue), editorially called this "an act in behalf of civil liberty" and commended radical Patrick H. O'Brien* for his opposition to this law before his election and, afterwards, his going before the Federal Court at Detroit with attorney Theo. Levin seeking a permanent injunction against it.

Filene "Carried Prophets' Mantle"

Editorially, of the radical Jewish capitalist, Edward A. Filene*, who gave a million dollars to Socialist cooperatives to undermine private business, and was honored by the Kremlin itself in Moscow, B'nai B'rith says (Nov. 1937):

"There are ways of being Jewish. One Jew serves the faith in the synagogue, another gives his Jewish devotion to Palestine, or he conceives a Judaism that has to do with social service.

"Edward A. Filene carried our prophets' mantle in the world. He was the type of ideal Jew conceived by those who believe in the prophetic mission of Jews as bearers of a teaching of justice, righteousness and peace to mankind. . . . He founded the \$2,000,000 Twentieth Century Fund† . . . to chart the way to social justice." (To Socialism!)

Filene financed the unconstitutional NRA, according to press reports, until Congress appropriated funds. The board of the Twentieth Century Fund is composed of outstanding radicals, seven of the eleven having records in "The Red Network" (see page 9, "The Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background").

Father Coughlin, in Social Justice (7/18/38), says the Protocols of Zion, for which Jewry denies responsibility are "preeminently a Communistic program to destroy Christian civilization. The best rebuttal which the modern leaders of Zion can offer to the authenticity of the Protocols is to institute a vigorous campaign against Communism. Jews as a whole oppose Nazism and Fascism.

"When will they begin their campaign against Communism?"

Copies of this pamphlet on "B'nai B'rith" by John Merrick Church may be secured from Robert Edward Edmondson, P. O. Box 19, Trinity Station, New York City, for 10c each.

SUBJECT Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

FILE NUMBER 100-530 Sec. 11
(1958)

2v

ADL Bulletin 2/58 has article by
Milton Ekrim "The Man Who Never Was"
re: Israel Cohen

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 13, 1958

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

On March 11, 1958, Herbert Nice, Chief, Intelligence Branch, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), advised that the captioned organization has distributed a film showing INS in a very shabby and untruthful light. He explained that a TV station in Vermont ran a film depicting an Immigration officer as a very unkempt individual. He further advised that the film left the impression that INS personnel had a "police state mentality." The film pertained to the subject of refugees who are endeavoring to enter the United States. One scene showed a little girl pleading with an INS officer to unite her with her family. The officer reportedly refused in a very highhanded and inhumane manner. Nice inquired if the Bureau had ever conducted an investigation of the subject organization. He was told by the Liaison Agent that the Bureau has not conducted any investigation of the Anti-Defamation League. It was pointed out to Nice that the captioned organization is well known and that he might desire to check his own files.

ACTION:

If you approve, no letter of confirmation will be sent to INS concerning the above inasmuch as Nice did state that he was not submitting a name check request as such.

- (5)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Nease
 - 1 - Liaison Section
 - 1 - [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-22-81 BY [redacted]

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Tele.
Mr.
Miss

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Chairman

MEYER STEINBERG
Honorary Chairman

DAVID BALABAN

A. G. BALLINGER

ROBERT H. LITMAN

LEON LOEWENSTEIN

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FRANK ROSENMAN

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PHILIP RUCKEL

ALAN S. ROSEN

WHALEY ROSE

EDWARD ROSENBERG

DAVID A. ROSE

EDWARD ROSENBERG

MRS. ARTHUR S. ROSENBERG

EDWARD STANLEY

EDWARD L. STANLEY

MRS. DAVID STANLEY

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April 9th,
1958

Anti-Defamation League
OF B'nai B'rith

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I did not want to write to you about "Masters of Deceit" until after I had read it carefully and thoroughly. I have done this.

May I say that it is a magnificent document which once again should make all Americans proud of their wisdom in placing and keeping you in a most strategic position in American life.

My heartiest congratulations, best wishes and gratitude.

Sincerely,

Arnold Forster

af/sgf

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APR 22 1958

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DATE 8-27-81 BY

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"for ref. only"

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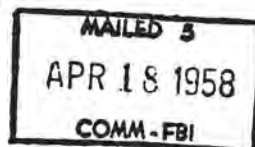
April 16, 1958

Mr. Arnold Forster
Anti - Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
615 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Forster:

It was a pleasure to receive your kind letter of
April 9, 1958, commenting so generously on "Masters of Deceit."
I am grateful for your congratulations, and your thoughtful remarks
are indeed encouraging.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover



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DATE 8-27-81 BY [redacted]

229,356

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *W*

DATE: April 29, 1958

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *auth*

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - [redacted] *b7c*

SUBJECT: *b7c* [redacted]

INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

[Large redacted block of text]

The ADL is an anticommunist organization. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning [redacted] "Free Enterprise" is edited by Harry J. Everingham, who Bufiles reflect is a Chicago publisher and prolific writer of ultraconservative material.

Enclosure *sent - 4-30-58*

100-16285

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

52 MAY 9 1958 *7/24/87 #259,356*

100-1530-*✓*
NOT RECORDED
76 MAY 6 1958

MAY 15 1958

Memo to Mr. Boardman

RE: [REDACTED] b7c
100-16285

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. It is recommended [REDACTED]

✓
WJH/jk

2. It is recommended [REDACTED] be furnished
b7c the Chicago Office with instructions for it to search its files
b7D concerning [REDACTED] and thereafter be guided by current
Bureau instructions pertaining to security investigations. If you
agree, there is attached a letter to Chicago.

b7c

✓
b7c

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

Mr. Tols
Mr. Boas
Mr. Beln
Mr. Moh
Mr. Nea
Mr. Part
Mr. Rose
Mr. Tan
Mr. Tye
Mr. Cla
Tele. Ro
Mr. Hol
Miss Ga

April 25, 1958

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MEIER STEINBRINK
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J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have already expressed to you our
reaction to your excellent book.

I think you will be pleased to see
the attached April issue of The ADL Bulletin, the
first pages of which are devoted entirely to an excerpt
from "Masters of Deceit." Our publication has a circula-
tion of 130,000.

With every best wish.

Sincerely,

Henry Edward Schultz

b7c [redacted] hes/sgf
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APRIL, 1958

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The Communist Attack ON JUDAISM

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
exposes the lies behind the Communists'
efforts to infiltrate the Jewish community.

By J. EDGAR HOOVER



THE COMMUNIST propaganda machine with its tactics of infiltration and division has long fostered the false claim of widespread influence in the Jewish communities of America. One of the most malicious myths that has developed in the United States is that persons of the Jewish faith and communists have something in common. The people who gave the world the concept of our monotheistic God and the Ten Commandments cannot remain Jews and follow the atheism of Karl Marx and the deceit of the communist movement.

It is a matter of record that numerous Communist Party leaders call themselves Jews and claim a Jewish origin. This does not, however, make them Jews, any more than William Z. Foster's Catholic background and Earl Browder's Protestant background give them any standing in present-day Catholic and Protestant communities in the United States.

The reasons for the extensive activities of the Communist Party in seeking to infiltrate and make extravagant claims for its work in some Jewish organizations and those of other minority groups are readily apparent. In the Soviet Union, the proving ground for Marxism-Leninism, communists are confronted with a

minority problem of staggering proportions. Only 58 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union is Russian whereas 42 per cent is non-Russian and consists of 168 national minorities.

A more important reason for communist interest in minorities in the United States is, of course, the opportunities they provide for exploitation and propaganda. The large number of communist fronts using the word "Jewish," as well as publications that the communists dominate, is for the obvious purpose of conveying a false impression of strength among those who embrace the Jewish faith. This also accounts in part for the literary interest communists devote to the problems of Jews. Prior to issuing the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx, the atheist, wrote a treatise called, "On the Jewish Question" which sets forth his views regarding Judaism and Jewish culture.

From that time to this in dealing with those of the Jewish faith, the Communists invariably do so in terms of discussing "the Jewish question." In fact, by this propaganda technique the Communists deliberately try to make the Jews a "problem," which is denied by the record of good citizenship and civic respon-

sibility of adherents of Judaism in the United States.

A true follower of the Jewish faith, like those of other religions, cannot embrace communism. Marxism-Leninism is irrevocably opposed to all religious beliefs and all forms of worship, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Moslem. One of Lenin's basic teachings is, "We must combat religion—this is the A.B.C. of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism... The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion..." In theory and practice the Communists make no distinction among any of the world's greater religions.

The Communist propaganda line directed to Jewish people follows three general themes:

1. The Soviet Union offers the Jewish people complete freedom. As one apologist put it: "There is one spot on the earth where the Jewish people are not under increasing pressure, one spot where the Jews have full equality... That is the socialist Soviet Union."

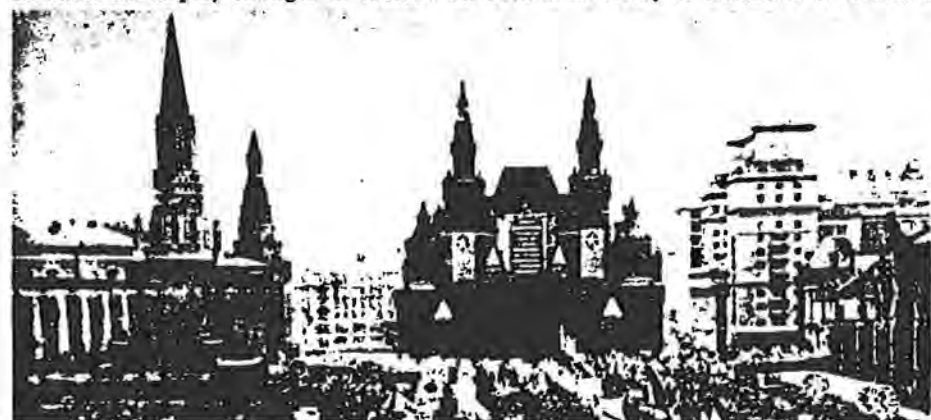
2. The Soviets have created a national homeland for Russian Jews in the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan (or Birobidjan), where they claim Jewish culture is flourishing.

3. In World War II the U.S.S.R. saved thousands of Jews from certain death from the Nazis.

Standing by themselves, these claims admittedly make an impressive appeal. The record, however, demolishes this propaganda line as a collection of half-truths, exaggerations, and outright deceptions.

AT BEST, Soviet tolerance toward Jew-

Communists display strength in Moscow on 40th anniversary of Bolshevik revolution.



ish culture was never anything more than a temporary political tactic. And even then the Soviet claims were contemporaneous with the 1917 revolution, when the Communists were seeking support from all quarters. Stalin's "Marxism and the National Question," the acknowledged Communist classic on the subject, though consisting of 222 pages, contains only twenty pages written after 1927, with the most important single part having been written in 1913. By the late 1930's alleged concessions to the cultures of the various minority groups gave way to a policy of forcible denationalization rivaling the brutal "Russification" tactics of the Czars.

To illustrate: In 1917 there were a total of forty-nine Yiddish or Hebrew newspapers in the Soviet Union. By 1921 these had increased to sixty-two; but no less than fifty were Communist-controlled, while the forty-nine not under Communist control in 1917 had dwindled to twelve in 1921.

Jewish literature suffered a similar fate. From 1928 to 1933 books published in Yiddish rose from 238 to 668, but there was a marked decline in books dealing with Jewish history and tradition. In 1932 there were thirty-six books in Yiddish classified as history—of these, sixteen were memoirs chiefly of old Bolsheviks; six were studies on the Communist International; six dealt with the revolution and history of the Communist Party; five consisted of speeches of Stalin and other Communist leaders; and only three actually dealt with matters pertaining to Jewish culture. These related to the labor movement and were an attempt to rewrite history to conform with Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

One of the most crippling Communist attacks on Jewish culture has been prohibition of the use of Hebrew, the traditional language of Judaism. As a tactic the Soviets launched a program of "compulsory Yiddishizing" to destroy the influence of Hebrew among Russian Jews. A similar program of suppression of Jewish institutions shifted to the satellites after World War II, where Jewish schools were abolished, Jewish organizations banned, and even athletic clubs bearing Jewish names were forced to change their names on twenty-four-hour notice.

The second propaganda claim of the Soviets in establishing the Jewish homeland of Birobidzhan should be closely



"There is no record (in that period) of Soviet protest against Nazi slaughter of the Jews." Von Ribbentrop signs pact, 1939, as Molotov and Stalin look on.

analyzed. The so-called Jewish homeland was set up at a time when the threat of Japanese and Chinese invasion of the U.S.S.R.'s Far Eastern frontier was not idle. Thus, the Jewish homeland was conceived as a means of populating the vast spaces in the Far East of Russia, and also provided a convenient place to settle Jews not wanted in other parts of Russia.

By 1933 the Soviets envisioned a population of 60,000 Jews in Birobidzhan. During its first six years 19,635 Jews arrived, while 11,450 left, leaving a net gain of only 8,185. By 1939, after eleven years, the Soviet Jewish homeland could claim no more than 30,000 Jews and by 1951 around 40,000 which was a small community surrounded by Asiatic peoples completely separated from the mainstream of Jewish life. Furthermore, it is in the maritime provinces of Siberia,

where the climate is unsuitable for those accustomed to European life.

The third Communist propaganda claim, that of rescuing Jews from Nazi extinction, is also a deception. In the first place, for two years prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia, when Moscow was allied with Berlin, there is no record of any Soviet protest against the Nazi slaughter of Jews, so far as is known. The good-neighbor policy between the Communists and the Nazis, initiated by the Stalin-Hitler pact, is clearly established by the following report sent by the German Ambassador to Moscow to the German Foreign Office, where it came to light after the war: "... The Soviet Government is doing everything to change the attitude of the population here toward Germany. The press is as though it had been transformed..."

Then, too, the silence of the Soviet leaders on the outbreaks of Nazi anti-Semitism completely misled Eastern European Jews as to the real character of the Nazi threat and hence, some 2,000,000 Russian and Eastern European Jews made no attempt to escape the Nazis during the early months of the German invasion of Russia. And even after the Nazi onslaught, there was a shocking failure on the part of the Soviets to reveal Nazi atrocities against the Jews.

For example, the Soviet government in 1942 condemned the "bloodthirsty, criminal plans of the fascists" aimed at exterminating Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and "other peoples" of the Soviet Union, with no direct reference to the Jews. As late as 1945 the Soviets, in a report on the German concentration camp at Auschwitz (Oswiecim), where more than 4,000,000 persons were exterminated, did not even use the word "Jew," although they constituted the majority of those whose lives were so brutally taken.

Not only did the Communists in the Soviet Union fail to make any special effort to save Jewish people during the war, they showed no concern over their fate.

WHEN KHRUSHCHEV denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow in February, 1956, news of the long pent-up acts of oppression against Jews in the Soviet Union began to leak out. It is, of course, significant that Khrushchev made no mention of the mis-

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The Book

"Masters of Deceit" is a first-hand account of American communism, from its beginnings to the present, written by a man intimately familiar with its plans, operations, strategy and patterns. Mr. Hoover gives particular attention to Communist attempts to influence minority groups and pays tribute to the Anti-Defamation League and to B'nai B'rith for their "effective opposition" to communism in the United States. (All excerpts are from the book "Masters of Deceit." Copyright 1958 by J. Edgar Hoover and used by permission of Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, N. Y., \$5.00.)

the ADL bulletin

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THE CLARKTOWN AFFAIR

Prejudice struck this immigrant family after eight years of peace and harmony in a small rural town. Here are some reasons why.

"Scapegoating. A phenomenon wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or group are focused upon another individual, group or object, the amount of aggression and blame being either partly or wholly unwarranted."

—Gordon Allport

THERE is nothing typical about the story of the Rubin family in Clarktown. There is nothing typical in the situation of any family living in a state of terror in a small American town. Yet the Clarktown affair has its lessons of universal interest. For one thing, it fully meets the above definition of scapegoating offered by Harvard psychologist Allport. For another, it clearly shows how readily prejudices may be transferred from one person to another when there is a background of stereotyped attitudes.

Let the facts of the Rubin story speak for themselves:

America meant promise and fulfillment to the Rubins. The war years had been frightful. Bernard Rubin was one of three Jews who fought in a hundred-man Polish partisan unit; he suffered head wounds and the loss of an eye. His wife survived four years in a concentration camp. Now the Rubins have three children, two of them born in Europe eleven and twelve years ago. The youngest, now three, is their particular pride, their 100 per cent American. For he was born in Clarktown, U.S.A., a small dairy and chicken farming community of 200 people, an old, pleasant town, settled by English, German and Swedish immigrants.

The Rubins came to Clarktown ten years ago. They bought a chicken farm and made it flourish; their life has been hard but satisfying. The Rubins are the only Jews in Clarktown but their relationships with their Christian neighbors always seemed harmonious, if not warm. So it was for the first eight years.

In the past two years, the characters of the Rubin family and of the townspeople of Clarktown, presumably have not changed. But in those two years life



in Clarktown has become a nightmare of anti-Semitism for the Rubin family. They have been spat upon, cursed, denounced—as Jews. They have been struck repeatedly by eggs and stones thrown by their neighbors and their neighbors' children; one of the stones sent one of the Rubin boys to the hospital. When the Rubins sought to stay the hand of their tormentors by taking two of them to court, the judge had to postpone the trial because he feared that the Rubin family might be physically harmed by the angry people of Clarktown assembled in his court.

What brought about the transformation? Why, after eight years of peace and security in Clarktown, did the Rubin family suddenly find itself the object of atrocious Jew-baiting?

The answers are not easy. But there is one strong clue. The displays of anti-Semitism—which became increasingly ugly and overt—all started with one event; the opening of a dry goods store in Clarktown by Mr. Rubin.

HE OPENED the store on the roadside portion of his property, property he had bought eight years before from one Harry Melnik. Unlike the soft-spoken, mild-mannered Rubin, Melnik was outgoing, rough and considered the town eccentric. He had run a general store on his property and the townspeople felt that he victimized them. They said his merchandise was shoddy, his vegetables rotten, and his prices ridiculous. On their part, they considered it town sport to try to cheat Mr. Melnik, to steal merchandise from behind his back, to break

into his cellar. Mr. Melnik had left town, in complete disrepute, after selling to Mr. Rubin.

So long as Mr. Rubin had remained a chicken farmer, no one appeared to mind his presence in Clarktown. When, after eight years, he opened up the store, everything changed. Whatever prejudices the townspeople had against Jews in the abstract, whatever real grievances they had against Mr. Melnik, were now suddenly directed against "that Jewish family"—the Rubins. As a chicken farmer, Mr. Rubin had defied conventional stereotypes of the Jew. As a merchant, and particularly as a successor to Mr. Melnik, the prejudiced image of the Jew suddenly came into sharp focus for the people of Clarktown.

Trouble started quickly. Mr. Rubin applied to the town board for permission to build a glass display window for his store. The permission was denied on the specious grounds that his cesspool was too small. He promptly enlarged it—to more than the minimum specified—and went ahead building his window. He thought that since he had complied with the town board requirements, he no longer needed permission. He was wrong. In any event, the day after he completed the window, it was shattered by stones thrown by neighbors.

The eggings and stonings of the Rubin family started at that time. (There was also a general boycott of the store, although some townspeople came to buy things late at night when their neighbors could not see them.) In the spring of 1957, one of the older Rubin boys was

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The town and incidents described here are real, the people very much alive. However, fictitious names are used for people and places since identification might unduly embarrass or harm the principals.

Bulletin Article Becomes a Movie

AN AMERICAN GIRL

A book, a charm bracelet, and her own convictions are the ingredients that explode the happy world of teenager Norma Davis into a nightmare of prejudice. The story is told in the new ADL movie, AN AMERICAN GIRL, produced by Dynamic Films; which will be given a New York theater premiere this month, an NBC-TV network premiere in June. Inspired by the real-life story of Karen Deslandes of Berkley, Michigan (and first reported in the ADL BULLETIN in October 1956) the film tells how Norma Davis gains an insight into prejudice—and a widening of her own horizons—by reading "The Diary of Anne Frank." When she receives a birthday present of a charm bracelet carrying a Star of David and a mezzuzah, she is delighted; the charms appear exotic and beautiful to her. But her friends think there is something strange about her when she continues to wear the Jewish symbols despite their objections.



Her best friends disapprove of the bracelet. "How can you wear that—are you crazy?" they ask. Her boy friend pleads with her to conform: "You can think the way you want to . . . just don't say it out loud," he says.



Her father is distressed. He would like her to stop wearing the bracelet because he wants to shelter her from the barbs of her friends. But he tries to be understanding and tells her to "figure things out for yourself."



The full impact of prejudice hits Norma when, in response to her question "Who's for a soda?", all her schoolmates turn away. When the principal hears of her experiences, he arranges a parent-student assembly.



Norma reads from her own diary, describing the evidences of prejudice all about her. She finishes her speech: "I just have to hope that I'm right and that this happened because nobody really thought about it."

ADL Applauds

LOOK



friend's mother, misunderstanding her reluctance to wear the bracelet, assumes that Norma is ashamed of having made friends under false pretenses and tells her to stick with her "own kind."



ably talk stirs her friends to a knowledge of prejudice. At home, Norma explains why she wears the bracelet: "It's not because I'm a Jew. I'm just not an enemy of anybody."

THE ARTICLE about the Rubin family of Clarktown on page 3 paints a grim picture of one Jewish family's plight in small-town America. We deliberated some time before publishing it. While the story serves to point up some tenets of the social sciences, it also presents a rare situation, one that is hardly typical of Jewish life in the United States. We finally decided to publish it because, after all, the Clarktown affair *did* happen and it is wrong to pretend that this type and degree of anti-Semitism will go away if we ignore it. Further, in publishing the article, we are performing one of our primary functions; that of describing, for all to know, the existence and ways of prejudice.

Now let's turn to the bigger, brighter and infinitely more comprehensive picture. LOOK Magazine, issue of May 13, on the stands April 29, carries a major article about Jews in its series, "The Story of Religion in America." The article, by Hartzell Spence, is a sensitive and knowledgeable interpretation of Judaism and the role of Jewry in the United States.

Dan Mich, LOOK's editorial director, tells us that his staff assigned to the story travelled more than 17,000 miles in checking the facts and finding illustrations for the article. They also shot more than 4,000 pictures, spent a total of more than 25 man-weeks on the article, researching, checking, revising and checking again.

THE LOOK article is a high point in a trend. Since the end of World War II, the nation's mass circulation magazines have devoted a vast amount of space to the subjects of intergroup relations and the problems of democracy. Repeatedly, major publications such as LOOK have given forthright and sympathetic treatment to virtually the full range of problems related to prejudice and anti-Semitism. The amount of coverage given these themes is even more gratifying when you consider that in the years when Nazism was at its peak the popular magazines gave scant serious attention to minority group problems.

The other mass media have shown the same rate of growth. The critics keep reminding us that television has a long way to go before it reaches maturity. Yet each year when the ADL considers which TV dramatic show should receive its human rights award, it has a serious problem in making a decision—there is never a shortage of worthy candidates for the award. In the ADL Bulletin a few months ago, the managing editor of Variety, Bob Landry, pointed out how far the movies have progressed in their treatment of minority groups since 1945. In the

COMMENT:

theater, in the space of one generation, we've travelled from the use of harsh caricatures of minority groups—such as those presented in "Abie's Irish Rose"—to such productions as "South Pacific", "West Side Story", and "Anne Frank", each of which makes eloquent appeals for better intergroup understanding—and does so with deep psychic impact. There are many more examples. It is almost as though the war years and the lessons of Nazism have shocked Americans in the arts and in the mass media into a new sense of responsibility in helping all to understand the evils of prejudice and the need for something more than just tolerance.

There are bombings of Jewish institutions in Nashville and Miami. There are anti-Semitic affairs in Clarktown. There are acts of discrimination in housing, employment, education, resorts, in social situations. These are all evidences of latent prejudices. They must be fought by community action and fought with education. The men in the arts and the mass media, with gratifying consistency, are doing their share of the fighting.

We applaud LOOK Magazine on the occasion of its article on American Jews. We applaud those of its brothers and sisters, in all the mass media, who are, in the truest sense, our allies in understanding and spirit.

Benjamin R. Epstein
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

An ADL Report

THE BOMBINGS



THE TWO bombing attacks which damaged a synagogue in Miami, Florida, and the Jewish Community Center in Nashville, Tennessee, on Sunday, March 16th, are still under intensive police investigation. Local and state officials have responded to these criminal outrages with concern and vigor. Equally encouraging have been the generous responses of the citizens, church and civic groups in Miami and Nashville. Most heartening has been the calm reaction to a situation which could readily have inspired panic and hysteria.

NASHVILLE

THE LATEST Nashville bombing came after much extremist activity. Last September, John Kasper (who had been sentenced to a year in jail for his disruption of the Clinton school desegregation) staged a series of Nashville street meetings in order to forestall desegregation. His meetings attracted gangs of hoodlums and disorders culminated in the bombing of the new Hattie Cotton grade school, September 10, 1957, causing damage estimated at over \$100,000. The police then cordoned off schools scheduled for desegregation and arrested leading troublemakers, including Kasper.

Many hate publications from across the country have also been distributed in Nashville in recent months. Among them were Conde McGinley's Common Sense, and materials from Myron Fagan's Cinema Educational League in Los Angeles, and from Frank Britton's American Nationalist of Inglewood, California.

The bombing of the Jewish Community Center in Nashville occurred at 8:07 P.M. Central Standard Time on March 16, 1958. Two hours before the explosion the structure had been crowded with families and children participating in the Center's activities. Had the bombers set their charge in a different place, the building might have been completely demolished.

In each instance of recent bombings—in Nashville and Miami as in Charlotte and Gastonia—there seemed no effort to destroy the building completely or to cause human casualties. It seems that the primary purpose in all cases was the intimidation of the Jewish community.

On Monday afternoon, March 17th, Arthur Levin, director of ADL's southeastern regional office, flew to Nashville and met with representatives of the Jewish community. On the following day, Mr. Levin and Milton Ellerin, national director of ADL's fact-finding department, met in Nashville with Police Chief Douglas Hosse, Captain of Detectives Sidney Ritter and Lt. Rex White, directly in charge of the investigation. ADL's activity was under the supervision of Arnold Forster, the League's national civil rights director.

The League's representatives made available all their information and Nashville police officials thoroughly explored the background of each person named in ADL's list of possible leads.

The Nashville police are utilizing their total resources to break the case. They are under great pressure as a result of the widespread community indignation over the bombing.

Community Reaction

THE REACTION in Nashville and in all Tennessee was swift and indignant. Governor Frank Clement, who offered a maximum \$5,000 reward for apprehension of those responsible for the crime, said he was "shocked and sickened" that anyone should dynamite a religious building. "Our state has been shamed in the eyes of the nation," he said. The Reverend C. Thomas Barber, executive secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches, urged all persons of good will to send donations for the repair of the Jewish Community Center. The Nashville Banner and the Nashville Tennessean front-paged the story for three days. The title of the Nashville Banner editorial best sums up Nashville community reactions: "A Blot to Expunge."

The average citizen in Nashville seemed to consider the bombing a personal affront. Numerous instances were reported of such things as children collecting empty bottles in order that the refunds might be contributed to the reconstruction of the Jewish Community Center. A barber offered to place a collection jar near his cash register in order to start a fund. Many other expressions of financial support came from the community at large. Prominent civic leaders joined church leaders in condemning the criminal outrage and in offering support to the Nashville Jewish community.

Rabbi William Silverman spoke for Nashville's Jewish community when he declared:

"It has been made very clear that those who perpetrated this criminal deed, and those who threaten our House of God, do not represent the sentiment of our beloved community of Nashville . . . We must recognize that the attack upon the Negro is the undeniable portent of the attack upon the Jew, and ultimately the Catholic Church, civil liberties, democracy and Christianity itself . . . We will not surrender to violence. We will not submit to intimidation. Our children are protected. Our Temple property is under constant surveillance. Our congregation will maintain its schedule of activities and religious services . . ."

MIAMI

THE BOMBING of Temple Beth-El's school and recreation annex occurred at 2:30 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, March 16th. The explosion rocked the city's southwest side. It left a gaping hole in the concrete rear wall of the school. The explosive force was so great that a section of iron railing on the rear steps of the building was hurled 150 yards to the roof of a neighboring home. The damage at

the Beth-El school building was extensive, but the explosive charge could have destroyed the entire building if it had been placed more strategically. Investigators on the scene reported that the explosive charge had been wrapped in paper "yarnulkas" stolen from an outside storage bin. The force of the explosion split open the seams of the building and jarred the structure from its foundation. This, coupled with the shattered glass and twisted equipment, contributed to the estimated damage of \$30,000.

As in Nashville, a phone call was received within twenty minutes after the Miami explosion took place, before its details could have been learned by the general public. There were also the usual number of crank phone calls threatening destruction of similar buildings.

The Miami police have been most cooperative with ADL, keeping it completely informed and maintaining a full working relationship. Nathan Perlmutter, the League's Florida director, has shared data from ADL's files with the police. Milton Ellerin, following his visit to Nashville, flew to Miami for talks with police authorities. Since some suspects live outside Miami it is unfortunate that there is no statewide police agency in Florida which has the authority to assume overall jurisdiction of investigation. But Captain of Detectives Lee Napier is hopeful that this bombing will be solved, with criminal convictions.

In a most recent move, the ADL was invited to meet with the State's Attorney, the Chief of Police and a representative from the Sheriff's Office in efforts to further the investigation. Representing the League were Judge Sam Silver and Judge Milton Friedman, both of Miami.

Community Reaction

IN MIAMI, Catholic priests and the president of the Protestant Council of Churches have denounced the bombing in the strongest terms. So have Miami's leading newspapers. Help continues to come from numerous private sources.

Radio station WQAM offered a \$1,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the culprits. A cash reward has also been offered by the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 1608 and by the National Jewish War Veterans. Neighboring churches offered the use of their classrooms for Temple Beth-El students and radio disc jockeys have urged their listeners to send financial contributions.

The Miami Herald offered to make a plea for funds from its readers for a new religious school. The Miami News has offered \$500 for information leading to the conviction of the culprits. "Every thinking man and woman in this community," the paper said in posting its reward, "should have been jarred by the explosion which lifted the walls of the synagogue's school annex off its foundation."

CLARKTOWN

Continued from page 3

struck by the stone which sent him to the hospital. This was but one of at least 25 different incidents in a two year period. One incident, the egging of Mrs. Rubin about six months ago, was witnessed by many neighbors. The Clarktown minister and state troopers advised the Rubins to take this incident to court in an effort to halt further violence. The two local teenagers who had done the actual egg throwing were named as defendants. The hearing was held, the trial scheduled and then delayed for a week because the townspeople assembled in court kept murmuring their threats of violence against the Rubins. The judge, in postponing the case, implored them to "cool off." When the trial took place, the twenty witnesses, one by one, showed how they felt. Some simply refused to testify. Others alleged that they had not seen who threw the eggs. Others said they did not know the names or could not be sure of the identity of the boys involved. (The town has only 200 inhabitants and everyone knows everyone else—often intimately.)

The judge had to dismiss the case. He did tell the two boys and the witness who had so obviously refused to cooperate that they had "all failed the test as human beings."

But the attempt to stop abuse of the Rubin family by due process of law had failed. The stonings and eggings of the Rubin family have continued, although with less frequency in the past six months.

At least two local and important people—the minister and the judge—had expressed their concern over the persecution of the Rubin family. The minister had urged them to go to court; the judge had condemned the acts of persecution without convicting the persecutors. What indeed were their personal attitudes toward the Rubins?

INTERVIEWED after the trial, the minister had something to say about the Rubins and Mr. Melnik. "Well, after all, Rubin bought his property from that other Jew who got a high price for it. One Jew doesn't cheat another, you know, so Rubin certainly must have managed to make a lot of money out of the people of this town."

The judge said that the affair was deplorable, that the youth in this town "is getting just too wild." But about the Rubins: "The whole family looks too typical and unattractive. Mr. Rubin has that large nose, and bad accent and bleary and squinty eyes." (The fact that one of Mr. Rubin's eyes is false had apparently escaped his attention.)

A Jewish merchant from a neighbor-

Continued on page 8

THIS MONTH

APRIL

TV Premiere

"AN American Girl" (see page 4) will have its TV premiere over the NBC network Sunday, June 8, at 3:30-4 p.m., EDT.

Barriers



Gov. FOSTER FURCOLO of Massachusetts receives a copy of ADL's book, "Barriers: Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews," from Joseph Kaplan, Boston industrialist, philanthropist and a member of the ADL's program committee. L. to r.: Judge David A. Rose, chairman of ADL's Civil Rights Committee, Governor Furcolo, Mr. Kaplan, and Sol Kolack, ADL's New England regional director.

More on "Israel Cohen"

"RUNNING Down a Hoax" is the title of an editorial in the Washington Evening Star on the paper's efforts to determine the origin of a quotation attributed to one "Israel Cohen, English Communist." Supposedly written in 1912, the quotation presents a plan for Communist control of the United States through "a program of racial disturbance." The Star had inadvertently reprinted the hoax in its "letters to the editor" columns; later it was inserted in the Congressional Record by Congressman Thomas Abernethy of Mississippi. Since then, the false quotation has been reprinted in scores of citizens council and anti-Semitic publications throughout the country. (ADL BULLETIN, February, 1958—"The Man Who Never Was" by Milton Ellerin.)

When Herman Edelsberg, the League's Washington representative, pointed out the obviously fraudulent nature of the quotation—and the fact that no "Israel Cohen, English Communist" ever existed—the Star conscientiously tried to trace the hoax's origin. It finally succeeded in tracking it back to Eustace Mullins, a veteran anti-Semitic propagandist, long known to the ADL, who describes himself as director of "the Society for the Propagation of the Human Faith." In answer to the Star's query, Mr. Mullins acknowledged that he had "done research on the writing of one Israel Cohen" but that his files are "no longer available." The Star concluded that Mr. Mullins' answer was "a revealing evasion" of where he got the quotation, duly reported the facts of the hoax to its readers.

... And on Princeton

A FORMER president of a Princeton eating club reacted to last month's BULLETIN article on religious discrimination in the university's "bicker" system. ("The Eating Club Stew" by N. C. Belth) Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan wrote to ADL: "I am seriously disturbed by this

situation . . . Despite the fact that I became president of my own club at Princeton and enjoyed many of its advantages . . . I believe that the club system does not meet needs of many undergraduates."

Since the appearance of the Bulletin article, three principals in the matter have made public statements:

From the Interclub Committee (which had previously said the principle of selectivity "implies the right of any club to impose religious quotas if it so desires"):

"The Undergraduate Interclub Committee disapproves on moral grounds of racial and religious discrimination. The committee has a moral responsibility to do everything within its power to eradicate racial and religious discrimination wherever it may exist in the club system."

From Princeton President Goheen: "I find of particular merit the (Interclub) Committee members' acceptance of a direct responsibility, as upperclass leaders, not simply to speak out, but to exert their active, day-to-day influence on behalf of fair play and basic moral principles. To this endeavor, the University also stands committed."

From Rabbi Levey, Princeton's Hillel director: "A decade of fairly close contact with the total Princeton scene leads me to conclude that the University has been moving steadily in the right direction in its quest for a solution to this perplexing problem . . . Having laid down this moral principle . . . I am confident that the ICC, in concert with the entire University system, can develop the techniques that will help stamp out discrimination completely, or to reduce it to a bare minimum."

The undergraduate "Daily Princetonian," editorializing on the statements, raised the issue of opposition of graduate boards which "own the clubs, lock, stock, and barrel." Without university support, the ICC cannot hope to cope with the problem, it concludes.

Award—with Irony



B. J. HARRIS (right) was this month cited by the Department of the Army for his "outstanding patriotic civilian service" as sponsor of the Wherry housing projects at Fort Knox, Kentucky. There is irony in the situation: Mr. Harris and his family are objects of an attempt to force them from their own home on Sunset Island No. 2, near Miami, Florida. The Harrises are Jewish and the local property owners association seeks to bar them through a discriminatory "club device." (ADL Bulletin, June 1957)

COMMUNIST ATTACK

Continued from page 2

treatment of the Jews in his exposure of Stalin, whom he had so loyally served over the years.

Within a few weeks, the disclosures of anti-Semitism came in the Warsaw Yiddish-language Communist Folks-Shtimme on April 4, 1956, regarding the Soviet purges of Jewish leaders and culture under Stalin. Later, on April 13, 1956, the Daily Worker expressed regrets and then admitted "... we were too prone to accept the explanation of why Jewish culture had disappeared in the Soviet Union in the late 1940's." With the agility of whirling dervishes the Communists then sought to develop a justification for the Soviet communist leaders' action.

World public opinion over the Soviet communist leaders' injustices mounted and as Khrushchev turned on the "smiles" and started visiting other countries, he was confronted with the accusation of anti-Semitism in Russia.

In England, Khrushchev characterized "anti-Semitism" as "nonsense" to which he would not listen. To a French delegation he protested that he was not anti-Semitic but that the Yiddish language is fading away in Russia as the Jews in the Soviet Union are learning to speak Russian. A new low in deception was reached when Khrushchev claimed that, in the early years of the revolution, "Jews occupied a disproportionately large number of high Soviet positions because the country had few trained people." He then asserted that the Kremlin had received protests from "the various Soviet Republics that too many Jews held desirable

positions." The New York Times story on June 10, 1956, then reported that Khrushchev "... reportedly pressed Lazar M. Kaganovich, only high-ranking Soviet leader of Jewish origin, to confirm his statements, which Mr. Kaganovich finally did, saying one word, 'correct'..." And now there are no top communist leaders in the Kremlin of Jewish origin since Khrushchev ousted and denounced Kaganovich last summer.

The president of B'nai B'rith, Philip M. Klutznick, answered the communist propaganda claims when he made the factual observation that only in Soviet Russia and its satellites is "Jewish life languishing and approaching extinction."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the United States at its February, 1957, convention sought to hoodwink the American public by a series of statements to the press of how it had declared its independence from Moscow. This deceit was established in no unmistakable terms by the handling of a resolution dealing with anti-Semitism in Russia. The resolution stated: "This matter concerns us as Communists in a country which includes 5,000,000 Jews." It then points out:

"Since the Jewish question is international in scope, we Communists must be alert to the problem and its world-wide aspects. The Jewish question is a specific question that requires specific attention... The liquidation of the outstanding Yiddish writers and Jewish communal and political leaders, and the snuffing out of organized Jewish cultural life have been known for some time..."

The resolution called for the creation of a Jewish Commission, a return to Leninist policy, and a request "... to make

this subject one for fraternal discussion with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union," which, of course, negates the view of independence of the Communists in the United States.

The resolution was soft-pedaled and disposed of, as was a similar resolution dealing with Soviet terrorism in Hungary, by being referred to the National Committee of the Party. Pravda, on February 16, 1957, had this to say: "The 16th Convention of the Communist Party, USA, confirmed the loyalty of the American communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism..."

Party leaders, however, in the face of the overwhelming evidence of Communist hate for the followers of Moses, still are attempting to deceive unsuspecting persons of Jewish origin and, as this is being written, Communist tacticians are at work on a program of infiltrating Jewish groups by seeking the answers to such questions as:

—How to avoid the extremes of negating Israel and of accepting its actions uncritically.

—How to work in religious groups while keeping ourselves and our children free of the religious doctrine of these groups.

—How to avoid the extremes of taking on all issues and avoiding all issues.

—How to balance Jewish work with our interests as Marxists in general trade union, minorities and people's movements.

The vigilant and patriotic members of Jewish organizations have demonstrated their alertness to counteract such infiltration tactics.

CLARKTOWN

Continued from page 7

ing town knew all about the Rubin affair. But he expressed little kinship for the people or sympathy for their plight. He had lived in the area for thirty years and felt that "basically the problem of the Rubins is the fact that their English is so bad, it grates on people's ears." He said that anti-Semitism was no problem to him; the only time that he was subjected to it is "when they come into my store a little drunk and tell me that they don't like Jews." He was sure that he was respected and well-liked in his community.

The future of the Rubin family in Clarktown is a matter of speculation. While the stonings and eggings are less frequent now, the cold stares of the neighbors are almost as hard to bear. The Rubins know that Jews generally have achieved much status, security and a

healthy integration in the United States. But this knowledge gives Mr. and Mrs. Rubin little comfort. Nor does it protect their children. At this writing, they are fairly certain they will leave Clarktown but do not know where they will go next.

They sometimes wonder about themselves: "What have we done wrong?"

The answer, so far as the known facts go, is that the Rubins have done nothing wrong. If Mr. Rubin had remained a

chicken farmer only, the Clarktown affair would probably never have happened. In becoming a merchant, in following the footsteps of the thoroughly disliked Mr. Melnik, Mr. Rubin and his family walked right into the frame of a prejudiced, preconceived picture of Jews.

The Clarktown affair is unique. It is not typical of life in a small American town. But the tragedy and horror is that it happened at all.

EX-101

100-530-3978

HENRY E.

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Schultz:

Thank you for your kind letter of
April 25, 1958, enclosing the April, 1958, issue
of "The ADL Bulletin."

I do appreciate your interest in
my book, "Masters of Deceit," and it was very
thoughtful of you to call it to the attention of
your readers.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Schultz received an autographed copy of book
on 2-13-58 and by letter dated 2-27-58 expressed his
appreciation of the Director's courtesy and praised the
high quality of "Masters of Deceit."

44-1152-1000
7 MAY 15 1958
MAIL ROOM ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-27-81 BY [redacted]
7/29/89 #2

SUBJECT Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

FILE NUMBER 100-530 Sec. 12
(1958-1960)

b7c

August 4, 1958

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Mr. Melville Oseran
Chairman
Pacific Northwest Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
2303 Smith Tower
Seattle 4, Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-81 BY [redacted]

Dear Mr. Oseran:

Copies of the letter dated July 15, 1958, from you and Mr. Seymour H. Kaplan, addressed to the Special Agent in Charge of our Seattle Office, have been forwarded to me.

7/18/84 #2592

b7c

I appreciate the concern which prompted your communication; however, the Department of Justice has ruled that there is no violation of Federal law involved in this matter. Pursuant to your request, I am making a copy of your letter available to the Department of Justice.

b7c

COMM - FBI
AUG 4 1958
MAILED 20

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Seattle

NOTE TO SAC, SEATTLE: REG-29

100-530-1677

Reurlet 7-22-58 captioned "PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON."

The only identifiable reference to Kaplan in Bufiles is a letter he directed to the SAC, Omaha on 12-10-53 at which time Kaplan was regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Omaha, Nebraska. He inquired about

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

(4) (SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO)

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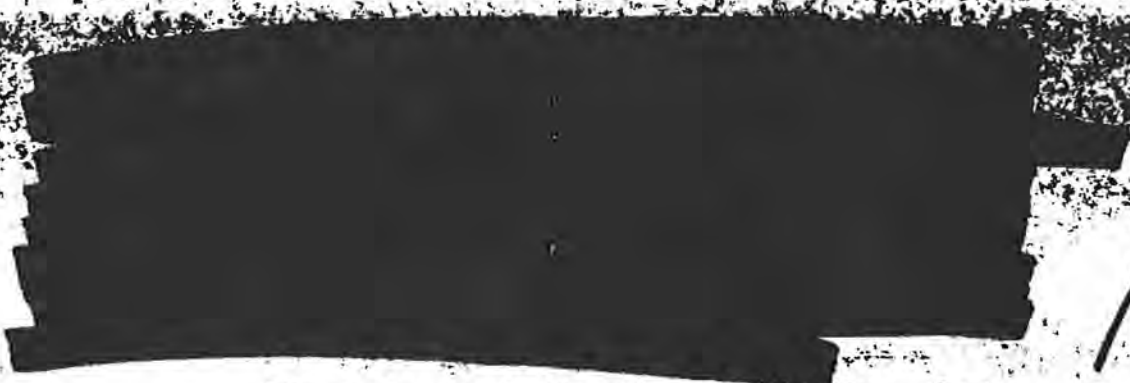
MAIL ROOM ☐

b7c

Mr. Melville Oseran

NOTE TO SAC, SEATTLE CONTINUED:

an article entitled "The FBI and Civil Rights" which appeared in the September, 1953, issue of the "ADL Bulletin." A portion of this article was by the Director and was especially written for that publication. (100-530-280) ✓ b7c



There is no indication in Bufiles that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is other than a legitimate Jewish Fraternal Order. (100-530)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondents directed letter to SAC Hostetter advising the Executive Committee of their organization had noted with deep concern the lawlessness which has swept certain sections of the South. They believe the series of bombings are a concerted course of criminal action. Their organization called upon the FBI to make a complete examination of the possibility of the conspiracy in the southern states. They requested Hostetter to furnish a copy of their letter to the Bureau and to the Attorney General.

This accompanies letter to AAG W.W. White.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
02022

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: October 16, 1958

FROM : G. A. NEASE

SUBJECT:

Ben Epstein, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, called me from New York. He stated he wanted a little guidance concerning a matter.

This morning Epstein received a threatening call from an individual who identified himself as a member of the Confederate Underground and who stated that the next move of the Confederate Underground was to come to New York, although the caller did not say when. Some 15 minutes later, the same individual again called, identifying himself in the same manner, but upon this occasion he talked to Arnold Forster, counsel for the ADL. Forster kept this individual on the wire for a period of one hour while the telephone company and the police traced the call and the police apprehended a 19-year-old youth by the name of [REDACTED]. Epstein stated [REDACTED] of course, readily admitted the calls and he is in police custody. He stated this boy has a brilliant mind, he is extremely well-versed on the various hate organizations, and has been in correspondence with some of them. [REDACTED] said that he had made the call strictly as a prank, that he had at one time been anti-Semitic until 1955 but he is now enrolled in New York University, has several Jewish friends, and he has changed his opinions. He, of course, states he regrets making the calls.

Epstein stated the boy is in police custody and the police are going out to his parents' apartment and check to see what they can find. He stated he is in a quandry as to whether he should press charges or relent and let the boy go in view of his explanation.

I told Epstein that we could give him no guidance in something like this, that it was a matter he and his organization should decide. He stated he realized this but thought perhaps I would give him the benefit of my opinion on the matter. I told him that I thought it was always a mistake to not hold an individual, regardless of his age, accountable for his actions, particularly when he was old enough to know what he was doing, and that if definite action was not taken against such individuals it would be an encouragement for others to pull the same stunt. Epstein stated he was inclined to agree, that if they pressed charges against this youth it might serve to deter others from doing the same thing.

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Jones
GAN
(5)

50 OCT 24 1958

REC-72

OCT 23 1958

(over)

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from G. A. Nease

I am frankly amazed that there could be any doubt in Epstein's mind concerning the proper action in a matter of this type in view of recent activities.

✓ Jm

~~✓~~

He should be
prosecuted and
incident should
be publicized

✓
most certainly.
X

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/27/58

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-32926)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
IS-X*request this doc +
approve enclosure*Attached for the information of the Bureau is
prepared byand of the Anti-deramation League
of B'Nai B'Rith.② - Bureau (Encl. 1)
1 - WFO

(3)

*100-32926-5 for 100-32926-100*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-28-81 BY 7/18/89 #259,356

100-530

100-381

OCT 29 1958

REG-12

EX-12

59 NOV 6 1958

b7c

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you. X

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

- ☐ For your information:

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-530-381

(enclosure)

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: 10/20/58

FROM : G. A. Nease

DATE 9-28-81 BY [REDACTED] 7/18/89 #259,356

SUBJECT: *Anti-Defamation League*

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Friday night I had dinner with Henry Schultz, Benjamin Epstein and Herman Edelsberg of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Schultz and Epstein being the National Chairman and National Director of the organization, and, of course, Edelsberg is the local Director in Washington. Also present at the dinner was an individual whose first name was Walter and whose last name I did not get, who appears to be a publisher of various comic type magazines one of which is Superman. Mr. Schultz and Mr. Epstein were in town for the week end en route to a meeting at White Sulphur Springs of various Jewish organizations.

These gentlemen, of course, were very much interested in the Bureau's activities in connection with the recent bombings and I had the opportunity of making the Bureau's position in the matter completely clear to them. They are obviously well pleased that the Bureau is participating in the investigation of these bombings and feel that results will be obtained and that our activities will have a very salutary affect in retarding additional bombings. Edelsberg summed up the Bureau's activities for Schultz and Epstein by stating that he has been maintaining close contact with the bombings and that he knows the Bureau could do no more even if we had complete jurisdiction in connection with these matters.

Indicative of the thinking of these people, Schultz remarked that he felt there should be some law passed with reference to interstate transportation of explosives and also he stated that he felt there should be some kind of a law passed giving Federal jurisdiction where there appeared to be an interstate conspiracy to commit such bombings. I discussed this at some length with those present and got the point across that crime is essentially a local matter and to bring the Federal Government into strictly local matters would result in a deterioration of the local police agencies and would, of course, be the first step towards a national police force. All present agreed that this was not desirable and I think I was successful in changing their thinking on supporting some kind of legislation to put the Federal Government into this kind of violence.

One of those present asked what difference there was between the bombing in Atlanta and the Clinton, Tennessee, bombing and other bombings

GAN [REDACTED]

NOV 12 1958

EX-101
REC-45

NOV 7 1958

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Jones

CRIME [REDACTED]

Memo Nease to Tolson

such as that at Jacksonville, Florida. I took the occasion to point out that apparently they did not understand exactly what our activities had been in these bombings and indicated that we were performing the same functions at Clinton, Tennessee, as we were in Atlanta. I told them that fortunately, at the time the Director received the call from the White House in connection with the Atlanta bombing the Director was in a position to send word to the President that we were actively assisting local authorities in any way possible. I also pointed out that in other cases such as Jacksonville we had made our Laboratory and Identification facilities available to local authorities and offered to be of assistance in tracking down out of state leads.

Edelsberg pointed out that following the suggestion previously made to him that his organization might wish to organize some kind of covert night operation by members of the various synagogues to keep an eye on these places of worship, that they had gotten out a notice to the various synagogues and steps are being taken in this direction.

Regarding the 19-year old youth apprehended in New York last week after having made a call to the headquarters of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) identifying himself as a member of the Confederate Underground, both Schultz and Epstein remarked that their counsel, Arnold Forster, had indicated to the police that they would not prefer charges against this youth, but after they had talked to me about the matter they had signed a complaint and in retrospect they stated that, of course, this is the thing they should have done immediately realizing that it is only by the apprehension of and prosecution of such individuals and attendant publicity, will the bombings be retarded. They advised there were eleven such threats in New York City on Friday alone.

Let me know the final disposal of the N.Y. case.
As a matter of interest, during the course of the evening the name of Morris Ernst came up and the remark was made that Ernst is a very intelligent man and one of the most able lawyers in New York City. Henry Schultz stated he would agree Ernst is an intelligent man but would not agree that he is one of the most able lawyers in New York City. The remark was made that out of the \$500,000 paid to Ernst by the Dominicans for whitewashing their activities in this country, \$350,000 of the money had gone to the public relations firm working with Ernst on the matter. Those present could not understand why Ernst had permitted himself to become involved in this matter.

Regarding the "Nation" magazine article, I asked those present if they had seen the article. None of them had seen it and only Herman Edelsberg was familiar with it. I thought that this was significant in that it would indicate

Memo Nease to Tolson

67c
670 the limited distribution this article has received. None of them was familiar with [REDACTED] and then only vaguely when I identified him as having prepared the Hiss and Remington articles. [REDACTED]

Those present were familiar with the fact that George G. Kirstein is the publisher of "Nation" and Schultz referred to him as a substantial person but one of those with money who had attempted to get into the publishing field without knowing too much about it.

Ben Epstein remarked that they had certain problems facing them at the meeting they were going to, one of which was to soothe the feelings of certain groups who felt others were getting more publicity than they were in connection with the recent bombings and the wave of anti-Semitism. Secondly, he stated they were having budget troubles but he felt that the recent bombings and the wave of anti-Semitism would point up the necessity for a substantial budget and he contemplated no trouble in getting the funds needed.

I was impressed by the fact that these people are definitely friendly and well disposed toward the Bureau, but their interest primarily lies with their own problems and I doubt that we could ever depend upon them for any real help in connection with any problems that might arise in connection with our work, but I do think it is important that we maintain contact with them to see that they continue to be favorably disposed toward the Bureau.

/ gm ✓

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease

DATE: December 1, 1958

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: REFERENCES TO THE FBI IN THE
BOOK, "THE TROUBLEMAKERS"ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-81 BY [REDACTED]

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SYNOPSIS:

The book, "The Troublemakers," is an Anti-Defamation League report by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein. It was copyrighted in 1952. The authors state in their opening acknowledgment that more than fifty men and women of the Anti-Defamation League participated in the co-ordinated research necessary for this book. It is presented to be "a book about troublemakers--those among us who are causing trouble in America by means of racial and religious prejudice.... The disturbers, the nuisances, the dishonest, the irresponsible, the unscrupulous are found, in every phase of American life---... This book makes no attempt to survey the entire scene. It concerns itself essentially with the field of bigotry...."

In accordance with your request, a check has been made to see what references appear in this book concerning the FBI. There are approximately 16 references to the FBI on various pages of the book. These references are set out in the details, exactly as they are given in the book. Most of them concern testimony given before the Senate Armed Services Committee when this Committee was considering Mrs. Rosenberg's background after she had been named Assistant Secretary in Charge of Man Power by Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall on November 9, 1950. The first reference concerns the testimony of Dr. J. B. Matthews who stated that to his knowledge there was a file in the FBI regarding Anna M. Rosenberg which contained information to prove she was the least desirable person in the United States to be appointed to that position. Ralph DeSola, in his testimony, mentioned information he had allegedly given to the FBI, pages 36, 38, and he also mentioned the name of former Agent George J. Starr, page 41, who denied on page 50 that DeSola had told him anything similar to what DeSola claimed. Mention is made on page 56 that Surine, Senator McCarthy's investigator, was a former FBI man who had been dismissed from the Bureau. On page 59 a sub-committee reported that it had examined the full FBI file on Anna Rosenberg and that the file did not support any of the un-American charges alleged. On page 61 Herbert Philbrick testified about irresponsible charges and name-calling by self-proclaimed anti-Communists and on page 144 the book mentions that the FBI

REC-13

1 - Mr. Nease

100-530-388

11 DEC 9 1958

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Jones to Nease memorandum

apprehended Edward James Smythe as he was preparing to cross the border into Canada. Page 283 mentions steps taken by the Law and Order Committee to prosecute rioters found at the scene of racial antagonisms in Cicero in 1948. Information concerning it had been furnished to the FBI. This same subject is mentioned again on page 284 and on page 296 the authors state that Attorney General Howard McGrath, in response to A. D. L. requests, announced he had ordered an FBI investigation of bombings of the Carver Village and the Miami Hebrew School in 1951.

By memo dated 11-28-58 to Mr. Tolson you recollected that a recent A. D. L. bulletin carried an article based upon our release on the bombing conferences. Our press release regarding the special law enforcement conferences concerned with bombings and threats of bombings throughout the country was marked for release Thursday, October 23, 1958.

The November issue of the A. D. L. has not yet been made available to us.

The October, 1958, A. D. L. bulletin has been carefully read. As you recalled a brief reference is made to Mr. Hoover on page 5 under column captioned "This Month" (October.) This reference alludes to the Atlanta bombing and reports the President said that he was asking J. Edgar Hoover to send him comprehensive reports on latest developments in the search for the bombers. The October issue of the A. D. L. bulletin contains no additional reference to either Mr. Hoover or the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Jones to Nease memorandum

DETAILS

References to the FBI in the book entitled "The Troublemakers" by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein follow:

PAGE 30: "Dr. J. B. Matthews, ... stated that to his knowledge there is a file in the FBI regarding Anna M. Rosenberg which contains information 'to prove that Anna M. Rosenberg is the least desirable person in the entire United States to be appointed to that position.' ... It is his opinion that the information contained in the FBI file on Anna M. Rosenberg will support all the allegations made regarding her connections, participations and/or relations with Communists, Communist-front, Communist transmission belt or pro-Communist organizations, and/or organizing movements."

PAGE 36: "In testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee on November 29, 1950, Ralph DeSola told the Committee that shortly after quitting the Communist Party in 1937, he had given all his information on Anna Rosenberg to a 'special investigator' of the FBI--George Starr, now retired."

PAGE 38: DeSola further testified, "I mentioned you (Mrs. Rosenberg) to the FBI and I mentioned a lot of other people to the FBI and to this day I can't force them to make an investigation of any of these things. These things have to come as they have to come."

PAGE 41: "By the time Matthews left the stand, the Committee had decided to call in both Harris and Kirkpatrick; James McGraw, who DeSola, misspelling the name as Magraw, said was the ex-Communist who introduced him to Mrs. Rosenberg at the John Reed Club; George J. Starr, the retired FBI agent whom DeSola said he had told all about Mrs. Rosenberg; and Benjamin H. Freedman."

PAGE 45: "In the course of the next few minutes Freedman (Benjamin H. Freedman) backtracked rapidly. If Matthews had denied telling him there was a file in the FBI proving that Anna M. Rosenberg was the least desirable person in the United States to be appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense, he, Freedman, would withdraw that accusation."

PAGE 50: "Then William Harris testified. He had never been an FBI agent; he had never told Ted Kirkpatrick, publisher of 'Counterattack,' of any alleged Communist affiliations of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg. He had never said he was in a Communist cell with Mrs. Rosenberg. He did not know Mrs. Rosenberg."

Jones to Nease memorandum

Continuing on page 50 is the following statement: "Then George J. Starr, the retired FBI agent to whom DeSola said he had told everything about Anna M. Rosenberg, testified. He denied that DeSola had told him anything of the sort. And finally, the FBI produced the Anna Rosenberg who had been confused with Anna M. Rosenberg--and most bizarre of all, it developed that this Anna Rosenberg had left the John Reed Clubs and had gone to live in California before DeSola became a member, so that DeSola could not even plead a case of mistaken identity!"

PAGE 53: At the end of a letter signed "J. B." (J. B. Matthews) which was written on November 27, 1950, to C. Russell Turner, an assistant to Fulton Lewis, the last paragraph reads, "Furthermore, in the files of the FBI there is a report on Anna Rosenberg which is literally startling, but of course, I could not substantiate it."

PAGE 56: "Now another name popped up in the Rosenberg smear-- Representative Clare Hoffman. ... Hoffman attacked Mrs. Rosenberg in the House, quoting in full from a circular Smith had distributed in Washington... It asserted that a file in the headquarters of the FBI would establish that 'Anna M. Rosenberg is the least desirable person in the United States to hold such a position.'" Continuing to quote from page 56: "Critical press reports pointed out that Surine, Senator McCarthy's investigator, was a former FBI man who had been dismissed from the Bureau 'for disregard of rules and regulations.'"

PAGE 59: "A subcommittee composed of Senators Byrd, Cain, and Hunt reported that it had read the full FBI file on Anna M. Rosenberg. 'There is not a word in the files, as I have read them, from start to finish, to support any of the un-American charges alleged against Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg,' Senator Cain declared. Indeed, what he had read was 'highly complimentary to the personal character, to the competence, capacity and to the loyalty' of Mrs. Rosenberg."

PAGE 61: "No less an authority than Herbert A. Philbrick, the celebrated FBI counteragent who helped send the Communist leaders to jail, warns us of this danger. The author of 'I Led Three Lives' emphasizes that Communists welcome irresponsible charges and name-calling by self-proclaimed anti-Communists."

PAGE 144: "... Smythe (Edward James Smythe) cut a sufficiently wide swath to find himself, on July 21, 1942, indicted with twenty-seven others by the Government for alleged conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed

Jones to Nease memorandum

forces... When the sedition trial opened in Washington on April 16, 1944, Smythe's whereabouts were unknown. The FBI undertook a nation-wide hunt and caught up with him in Ausable Forks, New York, two days later, as he was preparing to cross the border into Canada."

PAGE 283: "The State's Attorney was furnished with a list of on-the-spot witnesses for possible use by the Cook County Grand Jury. Information was also furnished the FBI, which investigated violations of Federal civil rights statutes." This sentence about the FBI was contained in a paragraph which also set forth steps taken by the Law and Order Committee of the Council, urging a Grand Jury investigation to prosecute rioters arrested at the scene of the racial antagonisms in Cicero in 1948.

PAGE 284: "However, the United States Attorney General's office, acting on the results of FBI investigations, appointed a special Federal prosecutor to present the evidence to the local Federal Grand Jury." This pertained to the same subject matter mentioned above on page 283.

PAGE 296: In speaking of the bombings of Carver Village and the Miami Hebrew School in 1951 the authors stated: "Attorney General Howard McGrath in Washington, in response to A. D. L. requests, announced that he had ordered an FBI investigation."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 Attn.: Assistant Director C. D. DeLoach

FROM : SAC, NYC

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

DATE: 5/8/59

Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Ladd
 Mr. Clegg
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Harbo
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tracy
 Mr. Egan
 Mr. Gurnea
 Mr. Hendon
 Mr. Pennington
 Mr. Quinn
 Mr. Nease
 Mr. Tamm
 Mr. Trotter
 Mr. Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

This is to advise that on 5/8/59, Mr. BENJAMIN EPSTEIN, National Director, and Mr. ARNOLD FORSTER, General Counsel, of the captioned organization called at this office at my invitation. *of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*

It might be of interest to you to know that they advised they had just recently returned from a trip through the South, specifically stopping on their last occasion at Atlanta, Ga. They advised that they had been told throughout the South about the lack of anti-Jewish activity and the remarkable cessation of bombing activities in the South. They continued that this was attributed in almost every instance to the fact that organizations active in this field believed that the FBI had informants in them who were reporting on activities. They stressed that all of their sources in the South were particularly praiseworthy of the FBI.

2-Bureau
 1-NY

REC-93

MAY 11 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-28-81 BY [redacted]

7/18/84 #259,356

b7c

CRIT

b7c

MAY 11 1959

WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C., EXECUTIVE 3-5288

NATIONAL COMMISSION

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
Chairman

MEIER STEINBRINK
Honorary Chairman

BARNEY BALABAN

A. G. BALLENGER

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

LEON LOWENSTEIN

WILLIAM SACHS

BENJAMIN SAMUELS

MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER

JESSE STEINHART

Honorary Vice-Chairmen

JOSEPH COHEN

JEFFERSON E. PEYSER

MAX J. SCHNEIDER

Vice-Chairmen

BENJAMIN GREENBERG

Treasurer

HERBERT LEVY

Secretary

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

National Director

BERNARD NATH

Chairman, Executive Committee

PAUL H. SAMPLINER

Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee

STAFF DIRECTORS

NATHAN C. BELTH

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OSCAR COHEN

Program

ARNOLD FORSTER

Civil Rights

ALEXANDER F. MILLER

Community Service

J. HAROLD SAKS

Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN

Executive Assistant

WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

HERMAN EDELSBERG

Director

DAVID A. BRODY

Counsel

May 22, 1959

Re: Interfaith Award June 9, 1959

Mr. Cartha D. DeLoach
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Deke:

I enclose a draft of the proposed award
for Mr. Hoover so you may see what we have in mind.

Sincerely,

Herman Edelsberg

Enclosure

HE:rsq

7/16/89 #254,350

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-81 BY [redacted]

REC- 58

25 JUN 26 1959

ENCLOSURE

EX - 124

CRIM REC.

62 JUL 6 1959

Introduction for J. Edgar Hoover

Some years ago a man proposed a standard for police officials. He said: "We can have the Constitution, the best laws in the land and the most honest reviews by the courts -- but unless the law enforcement profession is steeped in democratic tradition, maintains the highest in ethics, and makes its work a career of honor, these liberties will ~~ultimately~~ ^{eventually} -- and without end -- be violated."

This sets up a standard as lofty and noble as is to be found in any of the learned professions - yet it speaks no more than the truth, accurately and eloquently.

The author of that statement is the man we honor today - not for his talent to spell out in words the ideals of law enforcement, but because of his deeds to attain that goal.

No law enforcement group in the country has so long and consistently maintained the highest standards of ethics and honor as has the F.B.I. Throughout the world it is regarded as a model of efficiency and integrity. Its effectiveness in apprehending the most dangerous criminals feared and condemned by all society has been celebrated. But even more noteworthy is the courage and devotion to duty it displays in bringing to justice those criminals whose offenses have been against the lowly, the despised the outcast, -- criminals who may ^{even} enjoy the secret support of powerful elements in their community. It has recognized that if we are to be a government of laws, those laws must apply not only to the criminal; they must govern the conduct of the judge and the policeman as well.

ENCLOSURE

b7c

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DATE 8-28-91 BY 7166K9 #158336

-2-

Thus the FBI has helped to make a living reality of our Bill of Rights. Thus it has protected and enhanced the God-given human dignity of all Americans, regardless of race, color, or creed.

It has been said that an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man. Never has this been truer than in the case of the FBI whose great leader and inspiration we are proud to honor today, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

HE:arg

5/21/59



Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. McGuire ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

FROM THE OFFICE OF
COTESWORTH P. MEANS, Chairman
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

PERSONAL.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-28-81 BY [redacted] 7/14/89 #259,356 b7c

My excuse - which I hope is a valid one - for writing you personally is that for me time is essential in this case. I am sure you do not remember me, as my only contacts consist of an application I made to work for you some 50 years ago, which was not accepted, and a letter I wrote you about some Charleston matter more recently, in which I mentioned that you have always been my first choice as a president for the country. I haven't changed my convictions, but I see no prospects!

This is my immediate excuse for annoying you again: Since the publication of the enclosed statement, I have heard from the Atlanta branch of the Anti-Defamation League with some very powerful evidence that Israel Cohen never existed; that no "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" is known to the Library of Congress, the British Museum, etc., and that the whole reference is a modern hoax and fabrication to hurt the Jews.

I am leaving Charleston on the night of July 5 for New York, whence I will fly to London on July 7, and be there for two days. The passage I quoted on Israel Cohen was taken verbatim from the June 7, 1957, issue of the Congressional Record, and I am naturally embarrassed if the report is a myth.

Can you suggest where I might secure authentic information in this country on the subject, and in London? And also upon the Anti-Defamation League, if that be pertinent.

I will be here until July 5. In New York I will be at our 52 Broadway office on July 6, and until 1959 July 7. In London I will be at the office of Mr. E. W. Bostel, Director, Bowater Trading Co., Ltd., Bowater House, ~~Stratton St.~~

Thanking you for any suggestions as to procedure and with my best wishes for good health and long life, I am,

ENCLOSURE

Sincerely yours,

EX 101

Cotesworth P. Means

COTESWORTH P. MEANS.

STORY OF A PHONY QUOTATION

A Futile Effort to Pin It Down

'A Racial Program for the 20th Century'
Seems to Exist Only in Somebody's Imagination

(See Editorial: "Running Down a Hoax")

This story begins, in so far as it concerns us, with The Star's publication last March of a letter from R. A. Hester, then the chairman of the Montgomery County Chapter, Maryland Petition Committee, Inc.

In the course of his letter, commenting on a news story, Mr. Hester wrote that— "Over 40 years ago, an English Communist, Israel Cohen, wrote: '... We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party. In America we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause.' (From 'A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century' 1912.)"

The letter and quotation remained unchallenged until the following June, when The Star received a letter (for publication) from Herman Edelsberg, director of the Washington Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In his letter Mr. Edelsberg said that Representative Abernethy of Mississippi, during debate on the civil rights bill, had placed the quotation in the Congressional Record (June 7). Mr. Abernethy had explained that "Israel Cohen, a leading Communist in England, in his 'A Racial Program for the 20th Century,' wrote, in 1912" the passage referred to above. Mr. Edelsberg said his own research convinced him that the alleged

quotation was a fabrication, that no such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" was known either to the Library of Congress or the National Union Catalogue, which summarizes holdings of 800 principal libraries in the United States. Furthermore, he said, he had been unable to find any information that might serve to identify an "English Communist, Israel Cohen."

The Star printed Mr. Edelsberg's letter with an Editor's Note, explaining that Mr. Hester, when asked by The Star to give the source of the alleged quotation, said he had read it in "some newspaper," but could not remember which one. The Star apologized for having printed the letter from Mr. Hester without first establishing authenticity of the alleged quotation and stated that a subsequent check of immediately available sources revealed no such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century."

Publication of Mr. Edelsberg's letter seemed to close the incident until the latter part of July, when The Star received a letter from a reader, not for publication, taking issue with Mr. Edelsberg. She said that an Israel Cohen lived in London, was listed in the British Who's Who, that he had written extensively, was the author of numerous publications, and that the same quotation appearing in Mr. Hester's letter to The Star in March had previously appeared as an advertisement in the December, 1956, issue of "The Virginian," published at Newport News, Va.

A letter was immediately dispatched to the editor of "The Virginian" requesting information as to the source of the alleged Cohen quotation.

The editor, William Stephenson, replied by reciting his own efforts to establish its source. "Personally," he wrote, "I have been forced to conclude that the 'quotation' is phony."

It had first appeared, Mr. Stephenson wrote, in a

"small Rightist newspaper" and was supplied to that newspaper by an employee of the Library of Congress. "It was accepted in good faith by the publisher, but he does not possess a copy of 'A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century' nor has he ever seen one... Inquiries made in England have been equally fruitless."

Mr. Stephenson enclosed a photostat of a reference to Israel Cohen in "Who's Who in World Jewry" which contained his London address.

Within a few days after the receipt of the letter from Mr. Stephenson, The Star received a letter from Everette Severe, the new Chairman of the Montgomery County Chapter of the Maryland Petition Committee, Inc. Mr. Severe wrote:

"On July 15, a director of the Maryland Petition Committee, Mr. E. T. Smith, received a letter from Mr. Eustace Mullins, Box 1785, Chicago (90), Illinois. Mr. Mullins, who was formerly with Senator McCarthy's office, gave us permission to quote his letter, which read in part as follows: 'The Cohen quote was copied by me from a Zionist publication while doing research work at the Library of Congress in 1952. It has since been reprinted widely in many publications. Congressman Abernethy inserted it in the Congressional Record after it had been generally circulated for three years. I do not have my files with me in Chicago, or I could give you the exact name and date of the publication in which the Cohen statement appeared. I used this quotation more than three years ago, and have not had occasion to refer to it since, because it was never questioned.'"

A letter was written to Mr. Mullins at the Chicago address. It related the circumstances and requested him to furnish some clue to the source of the alleged quotation, or to the location of his "files," with the understanding that The Star would

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DATE 1-28-81 BY [redacted]

7/14/89 #259

The Evening Star
Washington, D. C.
February 14, 1960

ENCLOSURE

then undertake the research, following any lead that Mr. Mullins might furnish, to run the quotation down.

Mr. Mullins promptly responded, writing on stationery of the "American Lutheran Church," Route 1, Huntley, Ill. The stationery described him as "Rev. Eustace Mullins, director, Society for the Propagation of the Human Faith."

Said Mr. Mullins: "I had done research on the writings of one Israel Cohen, a Communist, several years ago, but I do not have my files available. At any rate, Mr. Edelsberg seems determined to make a political issue of the matter, and the church feels that I should devote my time to religious problems."

He concluded his letter by inviting The Star to join his church in its crusade against "the barbarous Hebrew method" of slaughtering meat animals.

The Star considered Mr. Mullins' letter to be a revealing evasion of the question of where he got the quotation, and wrote to Israel Cohen, now nearly 80 years old, living in London. He was asked if he could shed any light on the matter.

Mr. Cohen promptly replied, in his own clear handwriting, that he was astonished. "I have never written a book, pamphlet or article under the title 'A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century', or under any title resembling this or any subject relating to it. . . . I have never been a Communist or had any sympathy with the movement. In 1912 I was living in Berlin, where I worked in the Secretariat of the World Zionist Organization and acted as correspondent of the Glasgow Her-

ald. I never visited America until the fall of 1931. I was there for only two weeks and did not write anything political while there. I published my autobiography under the title 'A Jewish Pilgrimage' last November. If you can get a copy . . . you will see that I could not possibly have written the statement. I am very curious myself to learn who this Israel Cohen was who wrote it. Why not ask the writer who sent you the letter? He ought to be able to tell you where he found the statement, whether in a book, pamphlet or magazine. . . . I have never known of an American Jewish writer having the same name as myself. My career is set forth in Who's Who and in the catalogue of the British Museum. I am credited with a long list of books, pamphlets, etc., but none of them has anything to do with Communism or the Negro question."

The Star next requested a research assistant at the Library of Congress to make a thorough search, first, for a publication, "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century," by Israel Cohen or by anybody else; second, for the alleged quotation from the works of Mr. Cohen. The research was fruitless in both its aims.

The Star next requested the director of the Jewish Information Bureau, Inc., 250 West 57th street, New York, to make a search for the publication or the quotation or the identity of an English Communist named Israel Cohen. Bernard G. Richards, director and chairman of the board of the Jewish Information Bureau, replied that "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" was "entirely unknown" and that the alleged statement was, on its face, fraudulent. The only Israel Cohen known to Mr. Richards was the distinguished writer in London, previously referred to. Mr. Richards, naturally, suggested that we try the Library of Congress, for if there was any such publication as the one described, it would surely be listed.

The Star concluded there was no such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" and that the alleged quotation was a hoax. But as discussion of the incident had died down, as The Star had already acknowledged its error in printing the alleged quotation, and as printing it again might put the "quotation" back in circulation, it was decided to drop the matter—where it popped up again.

It popped up again last week. This time the "quotation" was included in some of the "hate literature" mailed from some anonymous source in Philadelphia to Arlington County high school pupils and signed "Veritas."

This time the phony quotation is described as "an excerpt from testimony given on the floor of the House of Representatives" June 7, 1957. The anonymous literature mailed to Arlington pupils attempts to authenticate the "quotation" by citing the Congressional Record as the official source.

Mr. Edelsberg cites other examples of the circulation of Mr. Abernethy's statement in the Congressional Record.

The Richmond News Leader on June 26, 1957, carried a letter, with Mr. Abernethy's picture, quoting his insertion in the Congressional Record. A magazine, "South," quoted the statement in its lead editorial in its October 21, 1957, edition.

The "quotation" was carried in a column by Charles Hill in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger, in October of 1957.

The Citizens' Council of America, in Texas, reprinted the Abernethy statement from the Congressional Record in its news letter of September 5, 1957, and the same statement was used in a radio broadcast on January 19, 1958.

The statement will doubtless continue to circulate. This recital of The Star's experience in trying to trace its origin may help to prove that it is a fraud or produce evidence to the contrary.

EX 101

REC-23

100 - 396

July 1, 1959

AIRMAIL

b7c

b7c

Mr. Cotteworth P. Means
Chairman
South Carolina State Ports Authority
Charleston, South Carolina

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-81 BY [redacted]

Dear Mr. Means:

I have received your letter postmarked June 27, 1959, with enclosure, and I appreciate the thought which prompted you to write to me.

b7c

In connection with your inquiry, I regret to advise that this Bureau has never conducted an investigation relating to the problem you mention. However, I am enclosing a copy of an article published in "The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., on February 18, 1958, which may be of interest to you in connection with this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 27
JUL - 1 1959
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles reveal that Means has written the Director on two or three occasions in the 1940's and he was given cordial replies.

[redacted]

appear from the rather extensive research conducted by "The Star" that the language attributed to Cohen is a complete hoax and as it has been repeatedly used in "hate literature" a copy of "The Star" article may serve a useful purpose if given to Means.

- Tolson
- Belmont
- DeLoach
- McGuire
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7c

b7c

FBI
MULTI-READING ROOM



FROM THE OFFICE OF
COTESWORTH P. MEANS, CHAIRMAN
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 4, 1959.

PERSONAL.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington 25,
D.C.

ANTI-DEFAMATION

Dear Mr. Hoover:

venge

Your airmailed letter of July 1 with
press item from the Washington Evening Star reached me
here yesterday, for which I am very grateful as I now
have this additional information before leaving for
New York and London.

Although it seems fairly well estab-
lished that the particular quotation attributed to Israel
Cohen in 1912 is substantially an invention, there is
so much evidence of Communistic infiltration of our
church and school institutions from about 1900 right
on to the present day that I will see what I can find
out on the subject during the few free minutes I will
have in England next week.

Thank you for your consideration
and promptness in supplying the information.

Sincerely yours,

Cotesworth P. Means

COTESWORTH P. MEANS.

S.C.

b7c
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7/18/89 #259356
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/28/81 BY [redacted]

EX-91

100-530-397

18 JUL 9 1959

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EXP. PROC.
JUL 7 1959

 b7c
ATTENTION: SAC, MILWAUKEE

Correspondent requested information concerning the Christian Educational Association (CEA), Union, New Jersey, its publication "Common Sense," the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He stated that he was interested in the allegation in "Common Sense" that the ADL and the NAACP are "communist-tinged organizations." Bufiles contain no identifiable data concerning the correspondent.

"Common Sense" is a notorious anti-Semitic hate sheet published by CEA. The CEA has, in the past, been the subject of a Racial Matters investigation for the purpose of determining whether the organization advocated, condoned or incited to violence for the purpose of denying others their Constitutional rights.

(105-9621)
There is no indication that the ADL of B'nai B'rith is other than a legitimate Jewish fraternal order. (100-530)

The Communist infiltration of the NAACP is the subject of a current Bureau investigation.

July 23, 1959

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
Chairman, National Commission
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
115 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Schultz:

Mr. Benjamin Epstein has thoughtfully made available to me a copy of your address, "Journey Toward Mankind."

I could not help but be stirred by your magnificent speech chronicling the advances made by our Nation in the fight against discrimination. I share your hope that battles in this arena will soon be a thing of the past, and that America will complete its "journey toward mankind."

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 30

JUL 24 1959

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect that we have had cordial correspondence with Schultz in the past. On 2-13-58 he received an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit." See letter to Benjamin R. Epstein on same date. Title and address of Schultz per incoming from Epstein. See Jones to DeLoach memo, 7-23-59, captioned Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein.

RECEIVED

REC-65

100-5305-4016

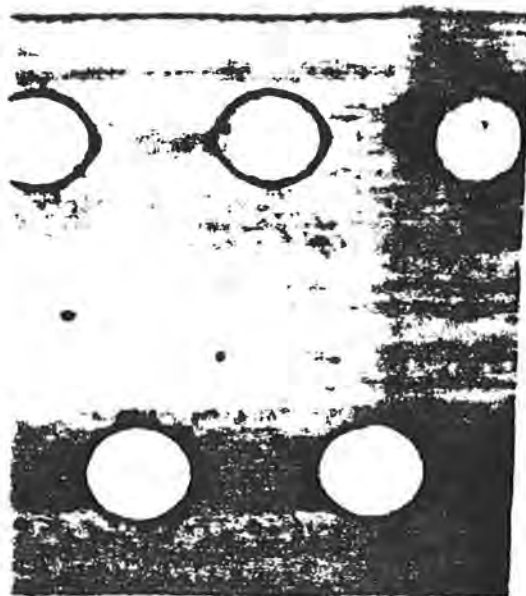
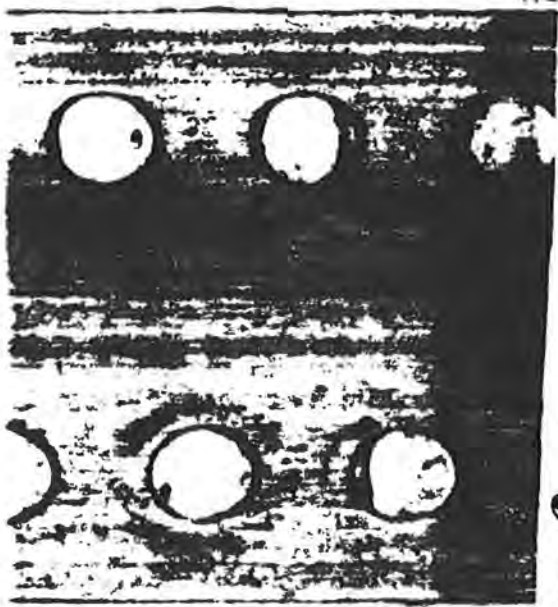
JUL 27 1959

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W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
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AUG 1 1959

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DATE 8-28-81 BY



JOURNEY TOWARD MANKIND

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/8/89 BY 

#259,356

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JOURNEY TOWARD MANKIND

An address by

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

National Chairman

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Delivered at the

B'nai B'rith Triennial Convention

Jerusalem, Israel

May 26, 1959

Preface

— JERUSALEM

I am grateful for the opportunity afforded me to speak from this platform in this most ancient and most holy of cities, whose name has been recalled in the prayers of my father and his father before him, and on far back for countless generations, as the source of peace and the ultimate hope of freedom for man's spirit.

I have heard a great deal of the reaction of others who were here before me — non-Jews — who came away full of admiration and shaken to the roots of their misconceptions about Jews. I speak to you of friends and acquaintances — well-intentioned people — in whom there yet remained bits of the flotsam and jetsam of prejudice which they had absorbed from reading, from their elders or from their early mis-education. Some of them carried in their heads old stereotypes of Jews which have been diligently fostered by bigots and anti-Semitic propagandists. Could a Jew be a good soldier? Or a farmer? Or a pioneer? Or a builder?



Could he be a bricklayer as well as a doctor? A bus driver as well as a lawyer? A policeman as well as a shopkeeper?

Of course Jews are all these things in America, too. But the fact is lost in the myth, even as the individual is lost in the crowd. We are spread very thin in the American population. But here the picture is clear and bold for our Christian friends. They see a vital, pioneering nation being built by Jews. There is no mistaking the soldier, the farmer, the builder, the bus driver. All Jews — all capable of creating an integrated society and working at all kinds of jobs.

The destruction of anti-Semitic stereotypes in the minds of people is a major objective in the fight against anti-Semitism, for the image the world has of us is of critical importance. It is, therefore, of no small moment to Jews throughout the world that Israel, in the very building of its society and its State, is making a spectacular contribution to the creation of a true and attractive Jewish image.

The Idea

One of America's great poets, Archibald MacLeish, spoke at the Anti-Defamation League's Fortieth Anniversary observance. The time was 1953, a moment in history when America stood in danger of sacrificing individual liberty to our common fear and distrust of Soviet Russia.

In the tense atmosphere of that highly charged time, he saw the American Dream undiminished, but imperiled. He saw America as a journey toward mankind — a journey towards a realization of the hopes of men, a journey wherein men may find fulfillment for their lives.

In America, he said, the end of the journey was man and the belief was a belief not only in the dignity of man, not only in the worth of man, but the human possibility of man.

And, in turn, the Dream was the dream of manhood, of brotherhood in freedom, of freedom for each man.

He spoke of America as an Idea, even as his Puritan forebears had looked upon the America which they first settled as the New Israel. For to them the name Israel was an idea — the self-same idea of freedom wherein a life — a man — may be fulfilled.

The idea of America is a universal idea, even as the ideas of Judaism are universal ideas. There is therefore a certain logic to history that in our time Jews — both as Jews and as men — are finding their greatest fulfillment in the New Israel that is America and the old-new Israel that is this ancient soil on which we stand today.

If we narrow this discussion for the moment to the problem of anti-Semitism, which is a major concern of the Anti-Defamation League, I think it will become instantly clear that for Jews today, the United States and Israel represent two radically different, but happily successful, solutions to that problem.

Yet, the two solutions have one thing in common — and it is the reason for their success: they were both made possible by a clean break-away from the European sources, institutions and layers upon layers of anti-Semitism which, through the centuries, have brought our people so much misery, tragedy and bloodshed.

This is not to say that the Jewish community of Israel no longer has enemies, but that it meets its enemies on an equal footing. This is not to say that the Jewish community of America no longer faces bigotry, but that we need no longer fear the bigots. We are both no longer victims of anti-Semitism; we are implacable opponents of anti-Semites.

Steps in the Journey

To understand why these two solutions were successful and why certain others failed, it would be helpful to take a brief glance backward into the Nineteenth Century when Jewry lived through a psychic experience as shattering as any in all Jewish history.

Indeed, all of Europe was shaken by the movements which we collectively call the Liberal Revolution. The French Revolution, the upsurges of 1848, the whole burgeoning of democratic ideas and processes which stirred nation after nation, indeed, the American Revolution itself, were part of this historic development.

Europe at this point climbed out of the feudal and medieval society in which Jews were pariahs and Jewish communities islands of isolation cut off from the mainstream of the life around them. For the first time in history, Europe offered to Jews something that approximated political freedom, civil equality and an opportunity to become citizens of the nations among which they lived. The effect of this can never be over-estimated. The energies and talents of Jews, pent up so long, poured into the currents of European

life. The results were spectacular. And the physical walls of the ghetto came tumbling down.

But the Liberal Revolution was largely governmental. Such institutions as the aristocracy, the church, and the military; even the universities, resisted its influence. Europe's stratified society barred Jews as it always had.

Thus, Jews found a little political freedom, but precious little else. Equality of opportunity in most areas of human endeavor remained closed to them. In those governed by the church, there was a price that could be paid — conversion. Some paid it — as some had paid it when threatened by the medieval Inquisition — only to find that the acceptable coinage had been changed by a romantic nationalism which the dominant ethnic groups invoked to keep the barriers against Jews up. As a result, those Jews who found it in their hearts to hurdle the religious block through conversion could find no way to meet the ethnic standards set by the dominant groups, or the social qualifications raised by the entrenched institutions. The values of conversion were strictly limited.

These were passive stumbling blocks to the promises of the Liberal Revolution. There soon developed an active block, too, in the growth of political anti-Semitism. Since civil rights and political equality for Jews in Europe was a tenet of the Liberal Revolution, every counter-revolutionary movement in Europe made political anti-Semitism basic to its program. The new nationalism became synonymous with political anti-Semitism. They gave rise to pogroms in Russia and Poland, ritual murder libels in Russia, Poland and the Balkans, the Dreyfus case in France and, ultimately, Hitler and the Nazis.

Even today in Europe, anti-Semitism continues to be used for political purposes. Thus, in Germany, anti-Semitism is wielded as a weapon by every Nazi or neo-Nazi remnant

seeking to shake the new order. In France, the political scene has its anti-Semitic overtones, and in Russia and Eastern Europe, anti-Semitism is used blatantly whenever it serves the political purposes of the Communist masters.

One of the earliest observers of the developing Liberal Revolution was a wise and distinguished American statesman and philosopher. Having viewed the European scene as our ambassador in Paris, Benjamin Franklin in 1787 told his own countrymen:

"To get the bad Customs of a Country changed . . . it is first necessary to remove the Prejudices of the People . . . and this is not the Work of a Day."

Different Solutions

The solutions which Jews embraced and which failed, either partially or completely, are those which did not give full weight to this dictum. Those who embraced the emancipation from ghetto status to national citizenship without reservation — and believed it represented the millenium — soon discovered that the Liberal Revolution's changing of the "bad customs" did not have its concomitant program of removing the "prejudices of the people." That Jews flourished under the new dispensation is a matter of historic record. But it is equally true that the opportunities offered the "emancipated" were circumscribed by the persistent prejudices of the people, and accompanied by the threat of annihilation by modern, political anti-Semitism.

Those Jews in mid-Nineteenth Century and later who embraced political radicalism as the solution in Germany and Russia and other parts of central Europe soon found that their comrades did not always include Jews in the freedom that was to be won by all mankind. Adherence to Socialism evidently did not perform the task of removing

the "prejudices of the people" in their souls as it related to Jews. Karl Marx, child of conversion, could even find it in his heart to blame the oppression of the proletariat upon the Jewish tradition in Western civilization. And the Communists of Russia are today not averse to manipulating anti-Semitic feelings, "the prejudice of the people," even as the Czar had done.

In the final analysis these solutions failed because Europe did only half its job; it offered political rights with one hand and took away human rights with the other; it offered its house to Jews of the ghetto, but could not cleanse its people of anti-Semitic prejudice. As a result, the ultimate solutions had to be found in a clean break-away from the ingrained European sources of anti-Semitism.

Yet, the solution of Israel and the solution of America would not have been possible without that smaller degree of success which was achieved in Europe by the emancipation. Despite the frustrations, there were the fulfillments and the release of tremendous energies that enabled Jews, as individuals, to take their place in Western democratic civilization.

This made possible the stream of emigration to the United States and a full realization of the ideals of the emancipation on the one hand. On the other, it made possible the success of the Zionist movement in the establishment of the State of Israel—the ultimate goal of the nationalist expression in Jewish life.

For Israel, of course, there can no longer be a question of anti-Semitism in the accepted sense of the term. Here a political solution of the problem has been achieved. Israel's stability depends upon political factors such as affect all other nations, primarily the factor of world peace. Given that, Israel must flourish and bring individual and group fulfillment to a community of millions of Jews.

The American Experience

The break-away from the European pattern is quite as clean for American Jews as for Israelis and of somewhat longer duration, though of a different character. In the United States, the people begin with acceptance of the fact that Jews are endowed with all the rights, privileges, opportunities and obligations that are the common heritage of all American citizens. Thus, we can and do proceed on the assumption that the acts or attitudes of bigotry and anti-Semitism we encounter violate the basic philosophy of our American society. We are at no time ready to make peace with these manifestations or to concede bitterly that they are ineradicable as European Jewry did.

There never was a revolutionary effort needed to obtain equal rights for American Jews, neither has there been any counter-revolutionary movement with anti-Semitism as a basic political tenet. Nor have we historic institutions so encrusted with anti-Semitism that they, by their very nature, exclude Jews and repudiate equal rights for Jews.

This fortunate situation derives from the historic fact that the American Revolution was, in essence, a repudiation of the very institutions from which Jews suffered so severely in the Eighteenth Century in Europe; it was an assertion of the great rights and immunities guaranteed by the great constitutional landmarks of English history.

While English political ideas were the chief influence in the Revolution, historians have pointed out that Hebraic thought was an important leaven in the rise and growth of American civilization. Hebraic influence was most clearly evident in New England where the Bible-steeped Puritans provided the psychological and intellectual climate for the Revolution. James Truslow Adams goes so far as to say that the Puritans "in spirit . . . may be considered as Jews and not Christians." He found that their idea of God, their

interpretation of law, their social attitudes were governed by their absorption in the Old Testament. The constitutions of the Plymouth Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven leaned heavily on the Hebrew Scriptures.

Rufus Lears, in his history of "The Jews in America," has a dramatic passage showing the strength of this influence:

In the Hebrew Scriptures, the apostles of rebellion found precedent and inspiration, and the pulpits of the land, where public opinion was molded, resounded with their revolutionary summonses. The exodus from Egypt was the classic example of liberation from tyranny: the colonies of America should also make their exodus. The ten tribes of Israel defied the arrogant son of Solomon and established their own government; the thirteen colonies should do likewise. The Hebrew prophets denounced kings and potentates, and God-fearing Americans may do the same. Even the call engraved on the Liberty Bell: 'Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof' was found in . . . Leviticus. Revolutionary doctrine became crystallized in the slogan 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.' Indeed, those were the words which Franklin, Jefferson and John Adams proposed for the seal of the United States: they were to be inscribed around a picture of the children of Israel crossing the Red Sea . . .

"Not less potent was the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures in determining the basic political system of the new society that emerged from the War of Independence. To discredit the monarchy, preachers like the bold and brilliant Jonathan Mayhew of Boston held up the warning of the prophet Samuel against royalty. Samuel Langdon, the president of Harvard, considered the Jewish government 'a perfect republic,' and Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale, found in the American government the fulfillment of Biblical

prophecy. In his classic work, History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, the eminent Nineteenth Century historian, William Edward Lecky, declares that 'the Hebraic mortar cemented the foundations of American democracy,' and the statesman, diplomat and scholar, Oscar S. Straus, in his Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States, concludes that 'in the spirit and essence of our Constitution, the influence of the Hebrew Commonwealth was paramount.'"

In the face of these facts, one can begin to understand why anti-Semitism in the United States has no historical roots in depth as in European lands; why, instead, it is erratic, emotional and opportunistic. True, anti-Semitism does affect some of our social organisms, and some prejudicial attitudes have been carried over from European backgrounds, or from bigoted religious training, or developed by in-groups seeking to maintain social or economic advantage. But these are irritants in the body politic, which we and all right thinking Americans seek to treat and to heal. For what makes America different — and it is different — is the fact that we work at the problem of removing "the prejudices of the people" and we know that it "is not the work of a day."

The Other Side

It is in this light that one must consider developments and reports of prejudice in the United States today.

Know that when a bomb was tossed at an Atlanta synagogue by a frustrated bigot, millions of Americans were as outraged as you and that the State of Georgia tried five men for the crime. To millions of Americans — and to the President of the United States — it was not the fact that a Jewish temple was bombed, it was a house of worship, a building dedicated to God, that was mourned. Jewish or Christian, it was a House of God.

Know that when we report on a hotel resort that discriminates against Jews, that this is the exception and that the reaction of the American public is such as to hold it up to shame.

Know that when we report on discrimination in employment that state after state is passing laws to make this impossible, and that there is a constant clean-up job being done in industry after industry.

Know, too, that a constant and broad program of education is being carried out by the Anti-Defamation League in conjunction with many other organizations, schools, and institutions — with millions of Americans of all creeds and political persuasions — designed to eradicate prejudice, to improve human relations, and to foster democratic ideas and processes.

It is this which prompts me to echo the words of Archibald MacLeish that for Jews, as for all men, America is a journey toward mankind.

It is a pilgrimage undertaken by the entire nation and we are much further ahead than our detractors and our political opponents would have the world believe. Indeed, our capacity for self-criticism, our unabashed wrangling over our failures and our shortcomings, play into the hands of those who, in international affairs, want to hurt us, or want to misunderstand us, or want to make political capital of our problems.

There is no answer we can give the world to the questions raised about Little Rock, except to say that there would have been no Little Rock, if there had not been a Supreme Court decision to correct the remaining inequities in educational opportunities for Negroes. There would have been no Supreme Court decision, if most of the nation — including millions in the South — did not believe that equal justice and equal rights for Negroes and other minorities

were not a just and proper fulfillment of the American commitment to democracy.

Before any nation can solve its problems of human rights and of relationships between varying ethnic, racial or religious groups within its borders, there must be two prior solutions — a political solution and an economic one. In the United States these two solutions have been achieved as in no other land.

The political solution came with the very founding of the Republic. The commitment was then made to all people that equality of rights and of opportunities was theirs without exception. It was a brave commitment, considering the practices of the other nations of the world at the time. It was a brave commitment to make in the face of the fact that the economic structure of a very sizeable region of our land was built upon a slave society.

The problem of slavery which hung over the nation for 90 years was dissolved by a Civil War — a bloody, fratricidal war fought at an unbelievable cost in lives and suffering — because we could not let that commitment of the Founding Fathers go unredeemed. In the 90-odd years since, we have been struggling to heal the hurts of that war and to clear away the debris of that slave society. What the world is witnessing today is the last of that clean-up operation.

The United States has gone further in its economic solution than perhaps any other nation through its high standard of living and its high economic productivity. Among nations which have not enough food or shelter to sustain their people, such human rights as voting privileges, educational opportunities, or the right to ride in front of the bus are of little interest. But these are issues for Negroes in America, and rightly so, because America has long passed the point for all its people where mere survival is a daily problem.

The Meaning of Human Rights

When speaking of human rights in the United States, therefore, we speak on a different level than when we talk of human rights in Soviet Russia or Red China where the most fundamental civil rights are unknown, where the peoples' most elementary privileges are suppressed, where not even a beginning has been made toward a political solution that would give some meaning to the phrase "human rights."

When speaking of human rights in the United States, we talk on a different level than when we speak of them in those underdeveloped parts of the world where nations struggle for economic survival, for enough food for the people, for the most elementary medical needs — where there has been no approach as yet to an economic solution.

The most disadvantaged Negro in the United States starts out in this matter of human rights on a higher plane than is ever dreamed of by those who live under conditions of Communism or suffer the deprivations of the economically underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa.

Having said these things, I do not hesitate to talk of the grave problems that face us in the United States in the matter of race relations. We are in the midst of a profound legal and judicial revolution that is nailing down once and for all, the practices as well as the promises of equality in human rights for all of our citizens, regardless of color and creed. This revolution has been proceeding on all levels of government — rulings of the Supreme Court, executive orders of the Federal Government, legislation by the Congress, legislation by state governments, ordinances by municipalities.

Step by step, law and the governmental authority are changing customs and practices that are a denial of democratic living. The law is succeeding, because the vast major-

ity of the people are ready, willing and often eager to accept these changes.

True, there are also marked resistances. It is not easy to change the prejudiced or to convince them to give up special privileges. And so the world hears of the outrageous resistances — the acts of violence, the shouts of discord, the last-ditch stands against change.

The Good News

Bad news always travels fast and far, helped along in this instance by the suspicion and hatred that is being fanned by those seeking to make political capital of our troubles. The good news is oft interred by the same unfriendly propaganda. And we Americans have done poorly indeed in countering these efforts.

What is our record? Look at the advances in this revolution by law. The U. S. Supreme Court during the past decade has struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine in a series of cases of which the most important and the most widely known is the school decision of 1954, implemented by a second decision in 1955, and since then by a series of lower courts decisions which have served to clear the road to school desegregation. In addition, there have been decisions outlawing desegregation in higher education, in the use of public recreational facilities, in inter-state and intra-state travel facilities, and in the enforcement of restrictive covenants in housing. Most recently, the Supreme Court struck down an effort by the State of Alabama to interfere with the right of Negroes to maintain voluntary organizations for the protection of their interests.

For many years now, the executive branch of the American government has sought to fill the gaps left by a failure of the Congress to act on civil rights legislation. Beginning with the war years, three Presidents of the United States

have issued executive orders at every point in which it was in their power to do so without usurping the powers of Congress, designed to eliminate discrimination in employment in the armed forces, and inter-state travel. Within the limits of its powers, the executive branch sought every opportunity to break down the barriers that have maintained racial segregation.

In 1957, however, the log-jam in the Congress was broken and for the first time in 82 years — the first time since the Reconstruction Period that followed the Civil War — the Congress of the United States passed a major civil rights law. This law was the culmination of at least 15 years of unrelenting efforts by liberal groups in the country.

A reading of the debate in Congress which led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is rewarding. It was a debate distinguished for its statesmanship, for its recognition of the deep human problems involved, for its insights into the heart of America. The 1957 law will not bring the millennium in America, but it is an important step forward, and even today in Congress, there are new efforts for further legislation that will build on the foundation laid down by the Act of 1957.

Then there is the progress which has been made through state and local legislation. Much of the everyday life of the American is ruled not by federal law, but by state regulation. Thus, there are now sixteen states which have effective laws on their books against discrimination in employment. Indeed, within the past month or so, two of our major industrial states have enacted such laws — California and Ohio. These sixteen have nearly half the entire population of the country within their borders.

Twenty-two states have enacted laws against discrimination in public accommodations and within this past legislative period, the State of Colorado took the pioneer step of

outlawing all forms of discrimination in housing, whether public or private. There are at least seven other states which forbid housing discrimination in structures built with some form of government subsidy. The type of law which Colorado has passed was pioneered in the City of New York and the City of Pittsburgh, both of which passed local ordinances banning housing discrimination.

These various forms of legislation, while primarily designed to improve race relations — that is, the relationship of non-white to white in the American society — are also of importance to the Jewish community. Laws against discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodation help to destroy the islands of bias that still exist against Jews. Their enactment adds to the capacity for Jewish growth in the American community.

Such is the nature of the good news for human rights which comes out of the American scene. It is dramatic news when one can watch the effect of these events upon the lives of individual human beings within our nation, and the gradual but very real change in the social structure of our communities. Increasingly, even the most depressed among our population are finding their paths made easier in their journey toward mankind.

Perhaps the most dramatic incident that has illuminated the progress in human relations in the United States is the admission of the Territory of Hawaii as the 50th State in our Union. If ever there was evidence that with diligence, race prejudice can be converted into racial understanding, it is the relationship of the people of the United States to the former Territory of Hawaii. If ever there was evidence that many races could learn to live together in amity in a democratic community, it lies in the people of our new state.

Fifty years ago, many in the United States talked of the "yellow peril." Up until recently, we had an Oriental

Exclusion Act in our immigration law. (Unhappily our present immigration laws are still based on the principle of national origin.) Only fourteen years ago, we fought in a war with Japan. Yet in the year 1959, we have admitted into the Union a state with an Oriental majority — the only state whose people are not drawn primarily from European stock. Of the total population of about 600,000, 38% are Japanese and only 20% are white. Among the white are not only Americans, but Norwegians, Germans, Russians, Poles, Portuguese, and among all these, 250 Jewish families. There are Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans. They live in amity and they live happily and prosperously. And now they live, not as wards but as full-fledged citizens of the United States.

In the American journey toward mankind of which the poet spoke, this is a major step on the road.

Never So Close

That road, the pathway to the future, carries the dreams, hopes and aspirations of many generations of men. Never before, in spite of the human agonies of the Twentieth Century, have we seemed closer to the fulfillment of this age-old dream.

In the realization of this dream, these two great congregations of Jews, American and Israeli, play significant roles — in the contribution they have already made and will continue to make in the advancement of mankind's freedom.

When the ultimate goal is reached — when justice and equality of opportunity, when freedom and brotherhood, when the love of man for his brother is the rule of the day — all of us in B'nai B'rith will have reason to be proud of the part we and our Anti-Defamation League have played in this long and noble struggle.

National Commission

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b7c

EX-162

July 23, 1959

REC-35

100-530-402

Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein
National Director, National Commission
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-81 BY [redacted]

Dear Mr. Epstein:

b7c

7/16/89 #259,35

I want to express my very deep appreciation
for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the address
of Mr. Henry Edward Schultz, which I received on July 17,
1959.

I read Mr. Schultz's speech with great interest,
and I heartily concur in his view that our Nation has made
tremendous strides in the battle to erase bigotry and discrimination
in all of their insidious forms.

Sincerely yours,

✓

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles reflect we have had cordial correspondence and relations
with Epstein in the past. The copy of the speech forwarded by Epstein was
delivered by Schultz in Jerusalem, Israel, on May 26, 1959. Epstein's
title and address per incoming. The title of the speech "Journey Toward
Mankind" refers to a journey toward a realization of the hopes of men. See
letter to Henry Edward Schultz on same date. See Jones to DeLoach mem
7-23-59, captioned Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein.

MAILED 30
JUL 24 1959
COMM-FBI

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5 AUG 8 1959

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b7c

TRUE COPY

El Paso Texas.
Nov 23 - 1959

Mr. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D. C.,

Dear Sir,

I read somewhere that Arnold Forster (Fastenberg) was listed in your files as a communist spy. (at one time)

Since my church, Methodst, advises me to read a book, "the Troublemakers" written by Epstein-Forster. I want to know if the above about him is true. My church also advises participation in non-violent action against missile bases. (Omaha Action). The co-ordinators of this action are known to have had communistic activities - see Calif. reports - 14 & 11 on Investigating Comm. in Ed. Some of the co-ordinators in Omaha Action are: A. J. Muste, Henry Hitt Crane, Homer Jack, Milton Mayer (spit on the flag), Lindley Burton, Bradford Lyttle, Bayard Rustin & others.

A book, The Word of God in Nuclear Age put out by World Peace Commission advised to be studied, by our church, is surely plotting overthrow of our Gov't by non-violence as much as if by violence. So I dont trust my church any more. I read the above book by Forster (Fastenberg) and it is a mess of trash. And I would say Epstein & Forster are the real troublemakers.

Yours Truly,

/s/ [REDACTED]

(Sec'y Social Relations
Ft Blv'd Methodist Church)

TRUE COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/81 BY [REDACTED]
7/18/89 #259,356

1 - Mr. Corman

December 2, 1959

REC-2400-530-411

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/81 BY [REDACTED] 7/18/84 #259,33

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated November 23, 1959, has been received.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, information in the files of the FBI is maintained as confidential and available only for official use in accordance with a regulation of the Department of Justice. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to comply with your request.

I am sure you will understand the necessity for this policy and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance that we do or do not have in our files the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 2

DEC - 2 1959

COMM-FBI

4- El Paso (enclosure)

ATTENTION: SAC, EL PASO

There is enclosed for your information a copy of correspondent's communication. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning the correspondent.

NOTE TO EL PASO, CONTINUED, PAGE TWO

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

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Folson _____
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NOTE TO EL PASO. CONTINUED

Arnold Forster is general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. Forster has not been the subject of investigation by the Bureau and the ADL is a Jewish fraternal organization which is anticommunist. (100-530)

The book "Troublemakers" is an ADL report by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, national director of ADL, which was copyrighted in 1952. It is represented to be "a book about troublemakers ... those among us who are causing trouble in America by means of racial and religious prejudice" and concerns itself chiefly with the field of bigotry. (100-530-388)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent says she read somewhere that Arnold Forster was listed in our files as a communist spy at one time and wants to know if that is true because her church has advised her to read "Troublemakers" by Epstein and Forster. She then mentions her church also advises participation in "non-violent action against missile bases," the coordinators of which she thinks may have been engaged in communist activities and she, therefore, does not trust her church any more.

Since [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and we do not know to what use the correspondent might put the letter to her regarding this matter, it is suggested that the above reply will best serve the Bureau's interests. b7c

REC-36

EX-105

100-530-415

May 9, 1960

PERSONAL

Mr. William Korey
D. C. - Maryland Director
of Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue,
Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Korey:

I was delighted to learn of your recent appointment to the position of Director of the New York Bureau of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, and did not want to let the opportunity pass without extending my sincere congratulations. Please accept my best wishes for success in your new responsibilities.

I particularly want to express my gratitude and that of my associates for the cooperation you have rendered to the FBI during the years you have been located in Washington. As a memento, I am forwarding under separate cover a photograph which I have autographed to you.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

- WFO (62-0)
Reurlet 5-2-60

NOTE:

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DATE 8/31/81 BY [redacted]

7/18/84 #254,356

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SUBJECT Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

FILE NUMBER 100-530 Sec. 13
(1960-1962)

b7c
Mr. J. Belmont

March 21, 1961

W. C. Sullivan

**THE PROFILE OF COMMUNISM--A FACT-BY-FACT PRIMER
PREPARED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF
B'NAI B'RITH
BOOK REVIEW (62-44955)
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER**

○ Captioned pamphlet book, reviewed by Central Research Section, is a revision of a pamphlet, "Primer On Communism," which was prepared by B'nai B'rith in 1951.

✓ The 119-page book is an unusually good, brief, and hard-hitting primer. It is in question-and-answer form, analyzing the entire system of world communism. Matter-of-fact statements are given in answer to the questions posed--e.g. "What is the communist world peace movement?"--and a bibliography is set out at the end of each chapter for other and more interpretive reading. The inexpensive book commendably serves the purpose announced in the foreword, "...to fend off, on the one hand, the attempts of opportunists, demagogues and bigots to exploit fears based on ignorance, and, on the other hand, the siren songs of the communist appeals on the international scene."

The factual content of the primer appears to be very good with two exceptions. One, with obvious reference to the Judith Coplon case, states, "Among the political data acquired by Soviet espionage agents were the espionage files of the Justice Department...." (p. 64) Such a statement is too broad and open to misinterpretation. Another attributes to the FBI a March, 1960, estimate of the strength of the Communist Party, USA, as "approximately 10,000." (p. 26) No public statements on the size of the Communist Party, USA, have been issued by the Bureau since 1957, at which time the membership was placed at 17,000. The

b7c
(s)
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Belmont

62-44955 (B'nai B'rith)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/81 BY

7/18/84 #259,356

100-536-
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Memorandum Sullivan to Belmont
Re: The Profile of Communism

are no other references to the Director or the FBI. The book will be placed in the Bureau Library.

B'nai B'rith:

Bureau files indicate B'nai B'rith is a legitimate Jewish fraternal organization. (100-834)

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ED STATI

ENT

Memorandum

38440

Director, FBI

DATE: 3/30/61

ATT.: CENTRAL RESEARCH SE

FROM : SAC, Atlanta (100-0)

SUBJECT: "THE PROFILE OF COMMUNISM",
Published by Anti-Defamation League
IS-C

On 3/28/61, ART LEVIN, Atlanta Director of the
Anti-Defamation League (ADL), furnished copies
of a book published by the ADL, entitled "The
Profile of Communism, A Fact by Fact Primer".

A copy of this book is submitted for the Bureau's
information.

*Pres. received
for review see
62-44855-115*

*Mr. Sullivan
for review
copy marking*

Bureau (Encl. 1)
1 - Atlanta

REC-15

100-530-400

APR 10 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 9/10/81 BY

7/18/89 #259,356

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THE

COMMUNISM

A FACT-BY-FACT PRIMER

THE PROFILE OF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/18/89

BY 

#257,356

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COMMUNISM

A FACT-BY-FACT PRIMER

Prepared by the
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

FREEDOM BOOKS • NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

100-520-420

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This publication was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Joseph L. Lichten and Mr. Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League.

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 60-53508

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Freedom Books are published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

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It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations. . . . Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence. Hence it is not a tactical move, but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy

—Nikita S. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Moscow, February 1956.

We must realize that we [the Communist world and the West] cannot coexist eternally, for a long time. One of us must go to the grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They do not want to go to their grave either. So what can be done? We must push them to their grave.

—Nikita S. Khrushchev, at a Polish Communist Party meeting in Warsaw, April 1955.

Foreword

This is a primer on communism.

As with scores of books, tracts and articles in which the printed word is serving freedom's cause in the present ideological conflict, this pamphlet is enlisted in the cause of American democracy.

But why a primer, a book of definitions?

It is an uncomfortable truth that the intensity and volubility which characterize our approach to the problems posed by communism — is there a more sustained topic in the press or on television, in the halls of Congress or at our dinner tables? — are exceeded only by the weight of ignorance, misinformation and wishful thinking surrounding it.

America, and the free world which it leads, faces today and for the foreseeable future an unprecedented challenge to its free institutions, security and growth. That challenge stems from the rise to power of communist regimes in Russia, China and their satellites.

It matters a great deal, then, in coping with the challenge, to know which of the above statements by Soviet Premier Khrushchev — both of which he has repeated endless times in one form or another — represents the true face of the communist challenge. This primer hopes to meet that need.

The communist challenge to the free nations, and to the fledgeling nations emerging from colonialism in Africa and Asia, is posed on many fronts at once — military, economic, political and ideological. It is a challenge that can be adequately met only through proper understanding, steady nerves, and a spirit of greatness.

Not enough Americans have a “working” knowledge of communism’s features and characteristics and of its historical background. This is an unwholesome situation, for it is precisely this knowledge which is indispensable to meet the challenge; to fend off, on the one hand, the attempts of opportunists, demagogues and bigots to exploit fears based on ignorance, and, on the other hand, the siren songs of the communist appeals on the international scene.

At home, extremists try to mislead the nation into believing that American patriotism consists solely of hatred of communism. We must fight communism, yes; but we must also love democracy more. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution were too dearly won to be surrendered to the Trojan Horses of totalitarianism.

Free men, at home and abroad, will not be able to cope with the communist challenge and threat unless they are aware of its theory and history. What are its principles? What are its objectives? What is its mode of operation? What is its historical record? And what of the language it speaks, and the meaning of its own brand of semantics? How many Americans comprehend — and how many more are bewildered — when a communist leader speaks of such things as “peaceful coexistence”?

The Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, as an organization dedicated to the American ideal and to the continuing security and welfare of the Jewish community in America, has long recognized the incompatibility of communism with the moral concepts of Judaism and the political concepts of democratic America. Hence, our sponsorship of this pamphlet. It presents no formulae, interprets no theories, argues no briefs. It deals in facts. And it is presented to the learner (it was written for those who want to learn, not read) in question and answer form.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

PART I

WORLD COMMUNISM— STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The Communist Program

What Is Communism?

It is an integrated, centralized, world-wide movement, motivated by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, propelled by the apparatus of the supranational Communist Party, abetted by the Party's auxiliaries, powered and directed by the ruling hierarchy of the Communist Party and dictatorial government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

What Is the Objective of the Communist Movement?

According to communist ideology, the communist movement has a double objective: to destroy all democratic and other non-communist governmental systems and ways of life and to replace them with the universal rule of the communist system, under the leadership of the U.S.S.R.

What Is the Function of the Communist Party?

Again according to communist ideology, the forces of history are working toward the inevitable collapse of capitalism throughout the world and the revolutionary triumph of the international proletariat. The function of the communist party, which is proclaimed as the "vanguard part of the working class," is to hasten the historical process by leading the proletariat to its triumph.

What Is the Role of the Soviet Union in the International Communist Movement?

Since the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, the Soviet Union has come to occupy a unique position in communist ideology,

strategy and tactics. As the first, and still the most powerful, communist state in the world, the U.S.S.R. became the embodiment of communist mystique and prestige, the source of tangible power and material means, the shrine of unquestioned authority in theory and practice, the model of a successful revolutionary communist party and government.

For the communist party member, then, the achievement of communist objectives has long since become indistinguishable from the advancement of the U.S.S.R.'s interests and power throughout the world. This transformation is most clearly reflected by the fact that the communist party's accession to power — whether in Russia, China or their satellites — has invariably been accompanied not by the triumph of the working class, but by the subjugation of the working class (and all other elements of the population) to the monolithic, totalitarian and terrorist rule of the party.

By the same token, the party's function has been transformed into that of a professional apparatus which uses every conceivable legal and illegal tactic and technique in the service of Soviet power and policy.

Is Communism a Soviet Invention?

No. The term "communism" was coined in the 1830's in the secret revolutionary societies of Paris. Originally, it meant the belief in, and practice of, common ownership, use and disposition of property.

In that sense, communism signified a protest against existing social evils and injustice. It represented an ancient religious and utopian ideal of a social system free of economic and social inequality and political oppression. In that sense, too, it is synonymous with socialism, a term also coined *before* Marx, in 1827 in the Owenite *Cooperative Magazine*. This term was used at first to describe the beliefs and experiments of the idealistic social reformers, Robert Owen, François Fourier and Claude Saint-Simon among others.

But communism did not long remain an eloquent protest and visionary social ideal. It acquired a systematic program and a flexible strategy. It became organized as a world-wide revolutionary movement. And it culminated finally in a new, odious, totalitarian social

system embodied first in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, subsequently in the empire created by the Soviet Union in Europe, and finally in China and its satellites in Asia. The specter of militant, aggressive Soviet communism now haunts the world.

Who Formulated the Basic Doctrines of Modern Communism?

Until Marx's death the basic doctrines of modern communism were formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in collaboration, and then by Engels alone until his own death late in the nineteenth century. To distinguish their ideas from those of their utopian socialist predecessors and contemporaries, Marx and Engels called their theories "scientific" socialism. But "scientific" socialism, to them, meant communism, and the first organization they founded was named the Communist League. Its declaration of aims was stated in the *Communist Manifesto*.

In addition to Marxism (so called because Marx is considered to have contributed more significantly than Engels to the formulation), others have helped shape the basic doctrines of modern communism. Among these later contributions, the most important were made by the founder of the Soviet state in Russia, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov, known as Lenin. Lenin's theoretical ideas, as explicated in a multitude of books, pamphlets, editorials and speeches that he poured forth in the quarter-century from 1898 until his death in 1924, are called Leninism. And the entire body of communist doctrine is now customarily called Marxism-Leninism.

During Joseph Stalin's dictatorship, from 1924 until his death in 1953 — and especially after his firm consolidation of power in 1928 — the few doctrinal ideas he advanced were added to the communist canon, and the whole was designated Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Since Stalin's death, and especially since his official downgrading in the "secret report" (still unpublished in the U.S.S.R. today) given by Premier Khrushchev to the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress, Stalin is referred to, if at all, not as a theoretician, but as a "builder" of communism, who contributed much to the growth of Soviet power but who also committed many "errors" as a result of his "cult of personality." The name of the doctrine has now reverted to "Marxism-Leninism."

Khrushchev himself has introduced no doctrinal innovations, though he has greatly enhanced and expanded the flexibility and range of application of traditional communist strategy and tactics. He constantly reiterates his devotion to "Leninist principles."

What Is Marxism?

The theory of Marxism comprises four principal doctrines: the theories of "historical materialism," "dialectical materialism," "surplus value," and the "class struggle."

What Is Historical Materialism?

The materialist conception of history, generally called "historical materialism," holds that the nature of the political institutions and intellectual life of society are determined by the economic forces which are their foundation. And the history of civilization, in the Marxist view is, primarily, a series of social systems — Asiatic society, chattel slavery, feudalism, capitalism — each based on a particular method of exploitation of labor and each divided into exploiting and exploited, ruling and opposed classes.

What Is Dialectical Materialism?

Dialectical materialism is the communists' term for their theory of social change. It comes from a concept adapted from a German philosopher, Hegel.

According to dialectical materialism, every force in the life of a society brings into existence an opposing force. From the inevitable clash between the two, results a third force combining elements of both original forces. In this way, Marx believed that capitalism produces within itself the seeds of its own destruction — revolt among its workers — and that out of this conflict would come eventually a new force, the communist society.

What Is the Theory of Surplus Value?

According to this theory, 1) labor is the sole creator of value; 2) the wages labor receives represent less than the total value it

creates; and 3) the value created by labor in excess of its wages (i.e., the surplus value) is appropriated by the capitalist who thereby exploits labor. This, according to Marxism, accounts for the major inequalities and evils of capitalist society.

What Is the Theory of the Class Struggle?

"The history of all human society, that is all written history, past and present," declares the *Communist Manifesto*, "has been the history of class struggles."

The class struggle is a "perpetual warfare" which is "sometimes masked" and "sometimes open and acknowledged," between "oppressor and oppressed," exploiting and exploited classes.

In the past, the class struggle "invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Marx held that this is bound to happen to capitalist society as well.

What Outcome of the Class Struggle in Capitalist Society Did Marx Foresee?

In his view, the class struggle in a capitalist society would culminate in a proletarian revolution. The revolution would be, ultimately, world-wide in scope and would be violent in nature.

"The communists" says the *Manifesto*, "disdain to conceal their views and aims." They "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In Marxist theory, the capitalist state is the organized power of the exploiting class. Its functions are 1) the perpetuation of the economic system on which it is founded, and 2) the suppression of the exploited class. Regardless of its form, Marxism holds, whether monarchy, republic, or corporate state, the capitalist state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class.

Such being the case, the working class, said Marx, cannot use "the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends." The working class must seize power through revolution,

smash the capitalist state, and crush the resistance of the capitalists. Then, "organized as the ruling class," it can proceed to the eventual building of a communist society.

In 1872 Marx modified his original position by admitting that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism might take place in England, the United States, and perhaps Holland.

What Was Marx's View of Communist Society?

Marx believed that in a communist society the means of production and exchange would be socially owned and the exploitation of man by man would be eliminated. Hence, the state and all forms of political coercion would be unnecessary and non-existent. The character of man would be transformed through the elimination of self-interest as the primary motive of social conduct and through the free development of individual human personality based on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Thereby would be opened a new and fruitful epoch in the progress of humanity. The earlier or "lower phase" of the future society, in which economic inequality and the state would still exist, Marx called "socialism."

What Is the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

"Between the capitalist and communist systems of society," Marx wrote in 1875, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

By "dictatorship of the proletariat," he meant a dictatorship of the working class over the defeated capitalists, landlords, and other "exploiters." Like other seers he was vague about when his prophecy would be fulfilled. He did not predict how long the transformation from capitalism to communism would take, nor how long the dictatorship of the proletariat would last. But he thought that as socialism was realized the need for the state would disappear and it would "wither away."

Do All Socialists Accept Marx's Views?

No. Beginning in the 1890s, another current of ideas became predominant in the thinking of socialists. The central doctrine of this current, known as "revisionism" because of the revision of Marx's ideas on which it was based, held that the working class could achieve its rightful place by peaceful means — through elections — and construct socialism gradually and democratically. These ideas became the cornerstone of democratic socialism as distinguished from communism.

The best-known non-Marxist application of these ideas took place in England, following the victory of the Labor Party in the general election of 1945. There, as in several other western European countries, democratic socialism has come to be regarded as a constructive force for individual freedom and against all forms of totalitarianism.

What Is Leninism?

Lenin, unlike Marx, was neither an original scholar nor a philosopher of history. His genius lay in the field of political action, in the application of Marxist analytical categories and doctrines to the paramount problem of seizing, maintaining and extending revolutionary power.

In the process, he developed, modified, and more often than not, drastically revised the structure of Marx's ideas. Thus, Lenin agreed with major Marxist doctrines: the total rejection of present-day society, the inevitability, totality and irreconcilability of the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But whereas for Marx these ideas were primarily intellectual categories for understanding the processes of history or predictions based on his analysis of history — in Lenin's hands they were transformed into instruments for achieving political power.

What Were Lenin's Chief Innovations?

Lenin did not by any means confine himself to adapting Marx's theoretical ideas. He was, after all, the creator of the first successful revolutionary communist party, and thus the founder of the Soviet state. All his theoretical innovations must be seen in the context of

his work as an organizer and tactician in order to be understood. His major contributions are extensions of or departures from Marx's ideas on: the nature of capitalism, the nature of the revolutionary party, the tactics that the party should use, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How Did Lenin View Capitalism?

Lenin had to adjust Marx's prediction about the ultimate development of capitalism to new circumstances. For the fact was that, contrary to Marx's expectations, the workers' standard of living under capitalism steadily improved, and the tensions between capital and labor were somewhat ameliorated.

Lenin's answer, however, was not, to regard Marx's analysis as unrealistic and to revise the doctrine accordingly, as was being done, for example, by such Western Marxist theoreticians as Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky. Lenin's hostility to capitalism was, if anything, even more implacable than was that of Marx. He merely filled the old structure with new content.

Thus, his fundamental point was that since Marx's time capitalism had evolved to a higher stage — in fact, its last stage of development. Instead of an economic system controlled by huge industries and powerful industrialists, he saw capitalism as a system run by financial forces which, in turn, controlled the industries and industrialists. Moreover, this higher form of capitalism was no longer characterized by competition between industrial interests, but by monopolistic control of financial interests.

This analysis is intimately associated with Lenin's doctrine of imperialism, which is as relevant today as when he first formulated it in 1916.

What Was Lenin's Theory of Imperialism?

The real motor power of capitalism, according to Lenin, is no longer, as Marx thought, merely the need of capitalists to compete with each other in the domestic market and necessarily to exploit the working class in the process. It is the need of the financial and banker monopolists to obtain new markets outside their countries, to

export excess capital to those markets, to control them exclusively, and, in the process, to exploit the resources and labor of colonial countries. Through such exploitation the greatest profits are to be gained. Out of these profits, made at the expense of the colonial peoples, a portion of the working class in the industrialized countries get a share — which explains, at one stroke, why the workers' lot has improved and why their revolutionary zeal has been dimmed. This whole process Lenin called imperialism.

But imperialism leads to severe competition between international monopolies and cartels, and between the governments associated with them, for such markets. It is this competition that leads to a struggle among the world powers, culminating in wars. As Lenin saw it, the struggle had reached an apocalyptic climax; there was nothing left for the imperialists but to fight with growing violence over the division and redistribution of the world's resources. This is the highest, and last phase of capitalism, setting the stage for the victorious emergence of a new era in historical development — revolutionary socialism.

What Is the Relevance of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism Today?

This doctrine laid the groundwork for the total protracted struggle for power of the communist movement on the national and international levels at once. Thus, the "exploiters" are not just the factory owners, but all the rich countries; the "exploited" are not just the majority of workers in advanced countries, but the colonial peoples; and the class struggle is not merely restricted to the domestic conflict between capital and proletariat, but between exploiters and exploited on the international scene.

Thus, the socialist revolution need not necessarily take place first, as Marx had held, only in the most advanced countries. On the contrary, it can as well, or better, occur in backward countries.

It is this thesis that provided the theoretical foundation for Lenin's successful conquest of power in backward Russia, which served as a guiding line for the communist revolution in China, and which today points the way for communist activists in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

How Did Lenin Conceive of a Revolutionary Party?

Lenin took over and transformed Marx's idea of a revolutionary party as the "vanguard of the working class." But whereas Marx believed that the majority of the proletariat would spontaneously come to follow the leadership of the party toward the revolution and socialism, Lenin asserted that the proletariat could not be relied on to develop revolutionary class-consciousness spontaneously. For, left to its spontaneous feelings, the proletariat would tend to fall back into the inertia of old habits of thought and action and would rest content with minor reforms and gains. To make the revolution, he held, the proletariat had to be won over and led by a vanguard party that was fully conscious of its role, tasks and objectives.

Such a conscious party could only and always be a tight-knit minority, a combat organization of full-time professional revolutionists — people devoting themselves wholly, under centralized control and para-military discipline in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism. This was the kind of party Lenin created to make the revolution, the party whose secret, conspiratorial and disciplined nature was brought to fulfillment by Stalin, and perpetuated by Khrushchev. It was equally the kind of party which the Soviet leadership ceaselessly molded in every other country.

What Was Lenin's Prescription for the Party's Tactics?

Lenin believed that the ultimate, inevitable triumph of communism would be preceded by "protracted conflict," first against the capitalist world, then against all other dissidents. Nevertheless, he realized that for a long time the party would be a weak minority, isolated and impotent to make the revolution unless it sought allies from among the "class enemies." These could be found, depending on the circumstances, among the peasants, the intellectuals or the petty bourgeoisie.

The allies could not, of course, be trusted, nor could the alliances last long; they were to be used for as long as the situation required, and then discarded. The party must feel free to use both legal and illegal means, and to operate both underground and overtly. And one of the key tactics was to be the infiltration and exploitation of every conceivable non-communist institution, group or association, which is to be transformed into a "transmission belt" of communist ideas and objectives.

The purpose of an alliance with a "class enemy" is to isolate and destroy another enemy who is even stronger. When that task is accomplished, another alliance is made so as to isolate and destroy the erstwhile ally — and so on until every enemy force has been eliminated. This tactic, perfected by Stalin, was once graphically described by one of his most rigid and ruthless followers, Matyas Rakosi, former communist dictator of Hungary: "The opposition is to be destroyed by tactics resembling the slicing of a salami."

How Did Lenin Foresee the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Where Marx had been rather unspecific about the revolution, the transition from socialism to communism — he believed the revolution would be brought about in one enormous apocalyptic sweep, to be followed by a vague period of transition to communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, culminating in the "withering away of the state" — Lenin was much more precise.

He realized that the achievement of communism involved a protracted conflict, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats, and that the party's struggle must be waged incessantly even after the triumph of the revolution and the achievement of socialism. For even under socialism, there would remain powerful residues of non-communist classes that were to be destroyed, along with old habits of thought — and this too is to be part of the protracted conflict to be conducted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, so long as there remained a country outside the socialist domain, so long as backward and colonial peoples had not attained the level of the socialist state, so long, indeed, that residues of older patterns of thought and action persisted even inside a socialist state — the state would not wither away. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be even more necessary than ever, and it must conduct its conflict with the internal and external enemies, using ruthless force, terror and lawlessness. Thus Lenin wrote:

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence . . . in the work of organizing socialist economy. . . . The dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule — unrestricted by law and based on force — of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

Lenin's revolutionary doctrine conceives of the dictatorship of the proletariat as covering the entire "period of transition from capitalism to communism . . . the period of the overthrow and complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." Since by "bourgeoisie" he meant not only capitalists but every dissident element — including workers and even Marxists who disagree with his doctrine — and since "complete abolition" also applies to the "force of habit of millions and tens of millions" — he concluded that the "period of transition" during which the dictatorship of the proletariat must prevail ". . . inevitably becomes a period of unusually violent class struggles in their sharpest possible forms. . . ."

What Theoretical Contributions Did Stalin Formulate?

In the fundamentals of communist doctrine, Stalin was an orthodox Marxist and Leninist. His theoretical contributions consisted wholly of adaptations of Lenin's ideas to the situations he confronted. This is true of his doctrine of "socialism in one country," of his conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of his view of the relation of the Soviet Union to the rest of the world.

Just as Lenin was the creator of all the ideas and institutions characteristic of the Soviet regime and of the international communist movement which it leads, so Stalin was the man who brought them all to fruition.

What Is the Theory of Socialism In One Country?

This theory, projected in 1924, after a whole series of revolutions in Europe had been defeated, asserts that the construction of socialist society in a single country is possible.

"We can build socialism," Stalin wrote ". . . for we possess . . . all the requisites for the building of a complete socialist society by . . . our own efforts."

But like his master, Lenin, Stalin saw the U.S.S.R. as encircled by hostile capitalist states awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack it. Should an attack materialize, it would, of course, prevent the construction of a socialist society.

Therefore, Stalin held that for the "final victory of socialism," there was necessary a "complete guarantee against attempted inter-

vention and restoration of capitalism" in the U.S.S.R. And this could be achieved only by the support of the Soviet Union by the "workers of all countries, and still more the victory of these workers in at least several countries. . . ."

It should be stressed that the Soviet use of the word "socialism" is a complete distortion of its true meaning. As used by the Soviets, the word represents a system of repression of individual rights and liberties, a totalitarian managerial state that is the very opposite of socialism. That was the system Stalin had in mind with his theory of "socialism in one country," and that is what contemporary Soviet doctrine means when it calls the U.S.S.R. a "socialist" country today.

True socialism, on the other hand, as it is viewed, for example, by the British Labor Party and by the socialist parties of Scandinavia, Western Europe, the United States, and India, is profoundly committed to democracy, and to the civil, political and economic rights of the individual.

What Was Stalin's Conception of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

This doctrine, like that of socialism in one country, is actually only the further application of Lenin's ideas. Like Lenin, Stalin accepted the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he followed Lenin's revision of the doctrine that as socialism comes into being the state will wither away.

The Stalin constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted in 1936, proclaimed the achievement of socialism in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the state showed no sign of withering. In fact, as was evident in the great purges which were in full swing when the constitution was adopted, the state was a terroristic autocracy.

Stalin tried to explain the difference between Marxist theory and Soviet reality. As long as the Soviet Union is encircled by a hostile capitalist world with aggressive designs on the U.S.S.R., he said, the Soviet state must increase its coercive powers; it will wither away only when the capitalist environment of Soviet society is replaced by a communist environment.

What Is Khrushchev's Contribution to Communist Doctrine?

Khrushchev is commonly credited with proclaiming the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" and the denial of the inevitability of war between the communist and the non-communist worlds. Actually, he has only adapted in a skillful and flexible way all the basic doctrines laid down by Lenin and furthered by Stalin. This is the meaning of his constant iteration of his dedication to "Leninist principles."

Thus, Lenin preached the gospel of all-out hostility to the non-communist world:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable."

Similarly, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, meeting in Moscow in 1928 after Stalin had fully consolidated his dictatorial power, declared:

"The Soviet Union harbors no illusion as to the possibility of durable peace. . . . Wars of proletarian dictatorship against world capitalism are inevitable and revolutionary. . . ."

No less than Marx, Lenin and Stalin does Khrushchev believe in the inevitable triumph of communism. In 1958, he said:

"It is now becoming more and more clear that the end of the sway of capitalism is drawing near in other countries, too, and that capitalism is a system that has outlived its age and is bound to perish. The future is ours! The future is for Marxism-Leninism! The future is for communism! . . ."

Meanwhile, however, the forces of communism are still not strong enough to take over the whole world. And it is for just such a period as this one that Lenin and Stalin laid down the lines which Khrushchev now follows.

From the beginning of the Soviet state, Lenin applied to its foreign policy the same general principles of revolutionary strategy as he advocated for the party during the period when the party would

be a weak minority: it must maintain alliances, agree to a certain amount of tactical cooperation with the enemy, and be prepared to conduct a protracted conflict. This adds up to a doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" in Soviet foreign policy, accompanied by active exploitation of weak spots in the non-communist world. This double line runs through all communist thinking, from Lenin to Stalin to Khrushchev.

Thus Lenin clearly implied the principle of "peaceful coexistence":

"Dictatorship is a state of acute war. We are precisely in such a state . . . Until the final issue is decided, the state of awful war will continue . . . Our point of view is: for the time being — important concessions and the greatest caution, precisely because a certain equilibrium has set in, precisely because we are weaker than our combined enemies . . .

"The proper tactics for the communist to adopt is to utilize these vacillations [of non-communists] and not to ignore them; and utilizing them calls for concessions to those elements which are turning towards the proletariat . . . while simultaneously fighting those who turn toward the bourgeoisie . . .

". . . To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and those political leaders of the revolutionary class who are unable 'to tack, to maneuver, to compromise,' in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle, are good for nothing."

This is how Stalin perpetuated this doctrine:

"We must not forget Lenin's statement that as regards our work of construction very much depends upon whether we succeed in postponing war with the capitalist world, which is inevitable, but which can be postponed either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe matures, or until the moment when the colonial revolutions have fully matured. . . .

"Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us. Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible."

And, Khrushchev elaborates:

"... The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

"It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence . . .

"In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle . . .

"Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters . . ."

What, Then, is the Communist Conception of the Relation of the Soviet Union to the Free World?

No clearer blueprint has been provided than the military plan offered by Stalin. It can well be studied alongside Khrushchev's present international diplomacy:

"... Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the defeat of imperialism in all countries . . . The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International [democratic socialists throughout the world] . . . Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries."

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The Communist Movement

What Kind of Party Is the Communist Party?

All communist parties are modeled on the Soviet Communist or Bolshevik party, which proclaims itself the only true representative of working class interests and of progress generally. All other parties are, in its view, representatives of anti-working class interests and actually or potentially counter-revolutionary.

What Is Bolshevism?

The term "Bolshevism" is derived from the Russian word for majority. It originated as a convenient epithet to distinguish Lenin's majority group in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party from his principal opponents who comprised the minority or Menshevik group. Mensheviks opposed communism and favored the ideals of democratic socialism in Russia.

In the course of time, as Lenin's group developed into an independent organization and formulated a distinctive program, and strategy, Bolshevism came to signify the teachings, strategy, tactics, and organizational forms and practices first of Lenin, and after his death, of Stalin.

In a narrow sense, Bolshevism is, therefore, Russian and Soviet communism. In a broader sense, because of the domination of world communism by Lenin and Stalin, Bolshevism is what most people understand today by the simple term "communism."

What Is Trotskyism?

The essential idea in the teachings of Trotsky is the theory of the permanent revolution. This theory, which Trotsky claimed to have derived from certain ideas of Marx and Lenin and which he opposed

to Stalin's theory of socialism in one country, rests on three central propositions:

1—"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries . . . democratic and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ."

2—"The conquest of power by the proletariat" (in any country) "does not terminate the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle on a national and international scale."

3—"The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable . . . the socialist revolution . . . attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

At first Trotsky thought his theory would prevail as the basis of communist doctrine and Soviet policy, and that Stalin would be ousted as a result of a factional struggle within the communist movement. Later, he advocated a political revolution in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Stalinist government. In Soviet propaganda and law, Trotskyism is now another term for fascist, counter-revolutionary thinking and action.

What Is the Relation Between Bolshevism and the Soviet Communist Party?

The Soviet Communist Party is the direct descendant of the Bolshevik, or majority, faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, created by Lenin in 1903, which later became an independent party. In 1918 it changed its name to the Communist Party. After formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it was renamed Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik).

At the Party's 19th Congress, held in Moscow in 1952, the word "Bolsheviks" in parentheses was dropped and the name it now bears is simply, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After the seizure of power in Russia in 1917, the principal function of the Bolshevik party was altered. It now aimed at the organization, direction and administration of the state, the implementation of government policy, and the maintenance of power. In

all of these functions, after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin played the principal role.

In the Soviet Union and other Soviet societies, the communist party is the only legal party. According to the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the communist party is "the leading core of all organizations of the working people both public and state." Communists hold the key positions and communist party units function in virtually all political, economic, military, and cultural institutions and organizations.

How Is the Communist Party Organized?

Structurally, the communist party is a centralized organization based on a caste system. From its base in small cells, units, or branches it rises through intermediate and superior local, district, and regional bodies to its summit in the Central or National Committee. In theory, the Central Committee is the highest authority in the party. In practice it is subordinate to the Presidium, the successor of the famous Politburo.

What Is the Presidium?

Structurally, the Presidium is one of the three fundamental subordinate bodies of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The others are the Secretariat and the Party Control Committee.

Nominally, the Presidium directs the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions. The Secretariat verifies the fulfillment of party decisions and the selections of cadres; and the Party Control Committee supervises the internal policing of the party.

In reality, the Presidium is dominant. Established by the 19th Party Congress, it has assumed the functions of the dissolved Politburo (Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party) and of the Orgburo (Organization Bureau of the Central Committee), and it stands at the peak of the party pyramid. Its table of organization calls for ten full members and four alternates, but in fact its policies are determined by a small, unofficial "inner bureau" within the Presidium, whose members wield the ultimate power in the entire international communist movement.

The composition of this inner bureau and of the Presidium has changed several times since Stalin's death. Lavrenti Beria has been shot, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovitch, Nikolai Bulganin, V. M. Molotov, Dimitri Shepilov and Mikhail Pervukhin have all been demoted and dispatched to remote parts of the country to assume lowly tasks. And Nikita S. Khrushchev has emerged, if not as the undisputed dictatorial tyrant that Stalin was, clearly as the single most powerful and decisive figure in the leadership of the party, and thus of the government.

But regardless of changes in its make-up or its name, the directorate of the Soviet Communist Party is the seat of ultimate power in Soviet Russia. All organs of the party and the state, including the secret service, the army and bureaucracy are under its complete domination.

What Is Democratic Centralism?

In communist theory, "democratic centralism" is a combination of centralized authority and discipline with democratic practices in the life of the communist party. Theoretically, party policy is decided in free discussion by the membership which also elects the leadership. But once a decision is made, it is binding on all members of the party, and once elected, the leadership must be obeyed. In action, discipline is on a military basis. Theoretically, centralized authority and democracy balance each other and are of equal importance.

In practice, authority and discipline are supreme and democracy is non-existent. Policy is decided and changed at will by the leadership. The membership may or may not be consulted. Party congresses and conventions are postponed by the leadership sometimes for years in violation of the party constitution. The Comintern was dissolved by its executive committee without a mandate from the Comintern Congress, nominally the highest body of the Third International.

When held, congresses are sounding boards for the announcement of decisions made by the leadership. Criticism and opposition are not tolerated. The leaders of communist parties outside the Soviet Union are appointed and deposed by decision of the Presidium of the Bolshevik party. The communist party, said Stalin, must be monolithic. It is exactly that.

Who Are the Communists?

"The Communist Party is formed," reads a statement of the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in 1920, "of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers."

That the communist movement attracts such workers in many countries is a fact. But it is also a fact that where workers are free to leave the movement, the communist party fails to hold them and even repels them by its policy.

Persons of non-working class origin are also included in the membership of the communist parties. But by choice, the communist parties in capitalist countries and in east and central Europe have their strongest roots among the industrial workers. These they regard as the historically destined leaders of the revolution.

In China, however, the Communist Party is now composed of an overwhelming majority of peasants. This despite the fact that when the party was first organized in 1920 it was essentially a party of workers.

The ultimate nature of all communist parties is indicated by the experience of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1928 when the five-year plans were instituted in the U.S.S.R., the membership of the Soviet party consisted of industrial workers (more than 60%), peasants (over 20%), and clerical workers, intellectuals, and persons of non-working class origin other than peasants.

However, by the time of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, workers were a distinct minority in the Bolshevik party. Men and women of the social strata created or enlarged by the industrialization and collectivization programs of the preceding years — plant and farm managers, technicians, engineers, government and party functionaries, and military officers — the elite of Soviet society, comprised a large majority of the Communist party. Once the workers had performed their revolutionary function in seizing power, in fighting the civil war and enduring the rigors of industrialization, they were relegated to a minor role in the party which controlled the state. This has resulted in their present subordinate and subservient role in Soviet society.

Today, manual workers represent only 30% of the total party membership of 8,708,000: exactly half of their proportion in the '20s.

Why Do People Join the Communist Party?

Some people are attracted by communist propaganda about an "ideal" society based on economic and social equality and on brotherhood. Some workers and peasants, unable to detect the red wolf in the sheep's clothing, take the communist party at its face value as a fighter for their immediate interests.

Some people are deceived or deceive themselves into thinking that the communist party will further the cultural, scientific, fraternal, and other causes in which they are interested. More cynical persons see in the large communist movement opportunities for careers.

Inevitably, when those who were induced, persuaded, or enticed into the communist fold discover that they were deceived, they leave. The number of ex-communists is many times greater than the number of party members.

But new recruits are always obtained. The membership rolls fatten on the poverty and misery which constitute the lot of many peoples and races. As long as poverty and misery continue on a large scale, the communist parties will continue to feed on the hopes and aspirations of men to achieve security, freedom, and dignity. As the free world continues to eliminate poverty, and continues to give men hope, it will cut away the ground under communism.

In the Soviet world, people join the communist party because of conviction, hope, indoctrination, a desire or pressure to conform, expediency in getting an education or building a successful career. And also, as the only legal party, it is the only available medium for political life and the realization of political ambition. To quit the communist party in the Soviet world is a risky undertaking.

How Many Communists Are There?

No one knows exactly. The membership of communist parties varies widely. The turnover is large. In addition to those who leave because of disillusionment, large numbers are expelled in the periodic purges which are a prescribed feature of communist party organization.

In March 1960, the estimated membership of more than 83 communist parties throughout the world was 33,000,000.

Of this number, 95% were in the communist bloc of nations. The largest single Party was that of China, with more than 14,800,000 members and candidate members. The second largest was that of the Soviet Union, with over 8,700,000 members and candidate members. More than 4,500,000 members belonged to the Communist Parties of the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe — Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania. The two largest Communist Parties in Western countries were the Italian and French, with a combined membership of approximately 3,500,000.

The Party in the United States has reached its historic peak of about 75,000 members in 1949. By 1955, its numbers had dropped to an estimated 22,000. And by March 1960, it had further diminished to a membership estimated by the FBI to be approximately 10,000.

Do the 33,000,000 in Communist Parties Constitute the Entire Organized Communist Force?

No. Each communist party has a youth organization and other auxiliaries, many of them larger than the party itself, under its direction.

The Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R., for example, whose members are 15 to 26 years of age, numbers about 18,000,000; and the Young Pioneers, children, 9 to 15 years old, number about 16,000,000. Altogether the organized, active communist force of the Soviet Union comprises about one-sixth of the population. Similar proportions prevail in Communist China.

In addition to their youth auxiliaries, the parties of the communist bloc of nations, as well as those of France and Italy, also control large and powerful trade union organizations. And all communist parties create auxiliary economic, political, cultural and other civic movements — or seek to infiltrate and subvert non-communist ones — to serve their ends.

Does the Size of a Communist Party Indicate the Danger It Represents?

Not necessarily. Of course, when communist parties are large they are a greater danger than when they are small. But the fact

that they are small does not mean that they are not a potential danger of great importance.

In the United States it is customary to point to the small number of organized communists and dismiss them as an insignificant national force.

However, a communist party of any size is a serious danger. Any organized, disciplined force with a definite goal and the determination, shrewdness and courage necessary to achieve its ends presents a menace. It is, moreover, a detachment of an international army which commands vast material and human resources upon which it can draw when necessary.

At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March, 1917, the Bolshevik party had only some 40,000 members. One month later, the Bolshevik party membership doubled. Six months later, the force which organized and led the armed insurrection of October, 1917, numbered only 240,000 in a population larger than the present population of the United States.

After establishment of the Soviet state, the communist parties of the world were able to draw on the enormous resources it commanded.

In June, 1936, one month before the outbreak of the fascist rebellion and the civil war, the Spanish Communist Party had grown from about 150 in 1931 (when the democratic forces overthrew the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera) to about 50,000 members. It was still a minor force compared with the powerful Spanish anarchist and socialist movements. Nevertheless, after the civil war began, the Spanish Communist Party, as a direct result of Soviet pressure on the republican government of Spain, to which it sent limited amounts of aid in cash, became the dominant political force in the republican state. Soviet and Spanish communists were vested with control of the anti-fascist military and police forces of the republic, which they used to establish a reign of terror against anarchists, socialists, and others. They looted the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain and sent them to Moscow. In general they made a major contribution to the defeat of the republican state and the triumph of fascism.

Are Communist Parties Independent and Autonomous?

No. They are directed and controlled by the ruling hierarchy of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow. This control has, since

1919, assumed various forms, but the degree of control has rarely varied. The first, and perhaps most famous organ of Moscow's control and direction of the world communist movement was the Third (Communist) International, generally called the Communist International or Comintern.

What Was the Comintern?

From 1919, when it was founded, until 1943, when it was dissolved, the Comintern, created chiefly by Lenin, served as "the general staff of the world revolution."

Its headquarters were situated in Moscow. In theory, the Comintern was independent of the Soviet government. Again, in theory, all affiliated parties of the Comintern were subject to its directives. The Soviet government, controlled by the Soviet Communist Party, was thus at the disposition of the Comintern for purposes of world revolution.

Actually, however, the Comintern was dominated by the Soviet Communist Party and was in fact only an appendage of the latter and, through it, of the Soviet government.

How Was the Communist Movement Directed After 1943?

After the Comintern was dissolved, the coordination and direction of the communist parties was entrusted to the Secret Police of the U.S.S.R. A member of this service was invariably a secret member of the central committee of every party; this is probably still the case today.

In addition, from 1947 to 1955, Moscow's control of the international communist movement was organized through an institution known as the Cominform.

What Was the Cominform?

In 1947, nine European communist parties, including the Soviet, French, and Italian parties, and a number of east and central European parties, established an Information Bureau, since known as the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform. Subsequently, other communist parties affiliated with the Cominform.

Originally, Cominform headquarters was situated in Belgrade, but after the breach between Titoist Yugoslavia and Stalinist Russia in 1948, it was transferred to Bucharest.

The ostensible purpose of the Cominform was "to organize and exchange experience and, in case of necessity, co-ordinate the activity of Communist parties on foundations of mutual agreement."

In reality, the Cominform which, like the Comintern before it, was dominated by the Soviet Communist Party, was launched as a part of the Soviet Union's retaliation for the Marshall Plan. Its real tasks were:

Consolidation of Soviet power in eastern and central Europe.

Intensification of communist political warfare in western Europe, chiefly through the French and Italian parties.

Creation of an appearance of equality and democracy in relationships among communist parties in the Soviet world.

The Cominform was officially disbanded in April, 1956. Its place has been taken by a variety of formal and informal institutions and organizations. Among these are the Warsaw Pact and the periodic congresses of communist parties of the Soviet bloc. International communist contacts are also maintained through visits to and from Moscow by the Soviet leaders and leaders of other parties in and out of the bloc.

What Is the Warsaw Pact?

The Warsaw Pact is a treaty of "Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" concluded in May, 1955 between the governments of the Soviet Union and its seven East European satellites. It is essentially a military pact, offering a show of governmental independence for all the satellites, which formally coordinates the military policies and actions of the Soviet block in Europe. It is headed by Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev.

In fact, of course, the Warsaw Pact members are no more independent than were the "autonomous" communist parties that belonged to the Comintern and the Cominform.

The Warsaw Pact has also given rise to formal institutions of economic coordination within the bloc, such as the Council of Mutual

Economic Aid. In Stalin's day, this economic coordination, undertaken for the exclusive benefit of the U.S.S.R.'s economy and resulting in enormous exploitation of the resources and labor of the satellites, was simply ordered ruthlessly from Moscow. Since Stalin's death, the worst features of this economic exploitation have been ameliorated; in addition, there is a show of consultation among the various "independent" governments, and a greater degree of rationality in the bloc's total economic planning.

Nevertheless, the satellites still remain subordinate in every field. This is demonstrated by the shift in their economic planning since 1958. In that year, Khrushchev, instead of continuing the traditional five-year plans for Soviet economic development embarked on an ambitious seven-year plan. All the satellites, who had coordinated their own five-year plans with those of the U.S.S.R., fell into line. They terminated their own shorter plans as swiftly as possible and now have adapted their own countries' economic plans to that of the Soviet Union.

Are Communist Parties Really Agencies of the Soviet Government?

Yes. The communist parties always speak in the name of idealistic objectives and of the welfare of the working class and nation in which they function, but their chief purpose and highest duty in peace and war is to serve the interests of the government of the U.S.S.R.

Any service they may render to the working class or to any cause other than their own is for the purpose of advancing their primary aim. According to the situation, they pose as the only true patriots or as the only genuine revolutionary internationalists. Both poses disguise their unchanging subservience to Soviet nationalism and imperialism.

How, For Example, Did the French Communist Party Serve Soviet Interests?

Before Hitler came to power in Germany in January, 1933, the French Communist Party, in common with the German and Soviet governments and with other communist parties, opposed the status quo in Europe created by the Versailles Treaty ending World War I.

In 1935, alarmed by Hitler's victory, the Soviet government made an alliance with France, directed against Germany. The French Communist Party then became a defender of the status quo.

Following consummation of the Nazi-Soviet alliance in 1939, which provided for the partition of Poland and was the signal for the outbreak of World War II, the French Communist Party opposed the war against Germany as an imperialist war. And after the fall of France in 1940, it collaborated with the German occupation authorities.

But when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the French communists became French patriots and entered the resistance movement in force.

During the cold war between the Soviet world and the West, which followed World War II, the French Communist Party fought the Marshall Plan and the shipment of arms from the United States to France.

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CHAPTER III

Communist Tactics

The years from 1900 to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 were a period of blueprinting by Lenin of the principles of strategy and of his struggles to build a party with which to gain power.

The history of communist tactics may be said to begin with the Bolshevik Revolution. In that history, up to the present time, eight principal periods may be distinguished.

What Was the First Period of Communist Tactics?

The first period opened with the Bolshevik Revolution and ended about 1921. This was the phase of the consolidation of power by the Bolshevik state and of the fostering of immediate world-wide revolution. It was responsible for the revolutionary tide which engulfed a great part of Europe after World War I.

In this phase occurred the civil war and the Allied intervention in Soviet Russia. This was the period of "war communism" in Soviet Russia, marked by the forcible requisition of grain from the peasants, the creation of labor armies under military discipline, and other extreme measures.

In this phase the Comintern was established to organize the world revolution and bolster Soviet Russia.

What Was the Second Period of Communist Tactics?

The second period, from 1921 to 1928, was basically a transition stage of communist tactics.

It began, following victory in the civil war and failure of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe to achieve success, with the adoption in Soviet Russia of a moderate economic policy. This was known as the New Economic Policy, and it remained in force until adoption of the first five-year plan.

While waiting for revival of the world revolution, Lenin projected the policy of resuming relations with "capitalist states." Under the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922, Soviet Russia and Germany undertook political and military collaboration against the Versailles system. In this stage, Lenin also initiated the united front policy of collaboration with socialists in other countries.

After Lenin's illness and death, there occurred the tremendous struggle between Stalin and Trotsky over communist tactics. As Stalin controlled the party and state apparatus, communist tactics during this stage became increasingly nationalistic in substance and somewhat, but not altogether, nationalist in form.

Stalin destroyed the opposition in 1927-28, and the Sixth Congress of the Third International, in the latter year, adopted the Comintern program which embodied his concepts of communist tactics.

This marked the end of the second period and the opening of the third period of communist tactics.

What Was the Third Period of Communist Tactics?

In the period from 1928 to 1935 two goals were sought: on the one hand, the defense and development of the U.S.S.R. as the bastion of world communism; on the other hand, overt extreme revolutionism, the attainment of the world-wide collapse of capitalism, and the triumph of communism everywhere as a result of wars between the capitalist powers and destructive depressions in these countries.

During these years, industry in the U.S.S.R. was developed rapidly under the first five-year plan. Agriculture was collectivized forcibly, resulting in a man-made famine in which several million peasants perished; and the social structure of the Soviet Union was profoundly modified — a new elite ruling class of several million was created. Slave labor assumed tremendous proportions.

In the democratic countries, which were in the throes of economic depression, the Communist International pursued a general policy of

revolutionary extremism. In the communist view, this was the "third period," following the first period of revolutionary upsurge and the second of capitalist stabilization. Now, the world revolution again stood as the "order of the day."

At the same time, the communists abandoned the tactic of the united front, which had more or less characterized their second period. They refused all collaboration with the socialists and other democrats, whom they denounced as "social fascists," and they split the unions and other working class organizations controlled by socialists and other democratic forces.

In Germany, the communists collaborated with the Nazis against the socialists. They offered no organized resistance to Hitler's assumption of power — on the theory that the Nazi triumph would only exacerbate Germany's political and economic ills, and power would then fall to the communists.

What Was the Fourth Period of Communist Tactics?

The communist tactics of this period — which began with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in August, 1935 and lasted exactly four years, until the signing of the Hitler Stalin Pact in August, 1939 — were motivated by a new-found fear of the Nazi regime. By 1935 Stalin began to realize that Hitler meant business and Moscow feared that the powerful Nazi state, which had begun to disappoint Soviet hopes for continued German-Soviet collaboration, would become the spearhead of a coalition of powers against the U.S.S.R. And indeed, by 1936, Hitler had already constructed his Anti-Comintern Pact, with Mussolini's Italy and Tojo's Japan as his partners.

Reflections of this fear were to be seen in the sweeping purges of 1935-39 in the U.S.S.R. which destroyed the greater part of the generation of Bolsheviks who had made the revolution, fought in the civil war, and built the Soviet state. Among other things, the victims were accused of espionage and treachery on behalf of Nazi Germany.

Communist strategy to prevent a Nazi-led, anti-Soviet coalition centered on the collective security policy of the Soviet government and a revived popular front policy of the Comintern.

The popular front policy called for a coalition of communist, socialist, democratic and progressive forces against fascist and reactionary elements. In a number of instances it was conspicuously successful in building communist strength.

The real objective of the collective security policy was to sharpen existing differences among the European powers. The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, denounced by Lenin as an imperialist "thieves' kitchen." It made alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, directed against Germany. In 1935, it denounced the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, which threatened British domination of east Africa and the Red Sea, but it supplied the Italian navy with oil. In the Spanish civil war of 1936-39, the Soviet government intervened on the side of the republican government against the fascists supported by Germany and Italy.

In 1939, the Soviet government, alarmed by Hitler's triumph at Munich in 1938 in dismembering Czechoslovakia, undertook simultaneous negotiations with England for an alliance against Germany, and with Germany for an alliance directed against France and England. The outcome was the infamous Nazi-Soviet pact.

What Was the Fifth Period of Communist Tactics?

This period, from August, 1939 until June, 1941, opened with the partition of Poland in accordance with the secret clauses of the Nazi-Soviet pact. During the war when Germany fought England and France, the Soviet Union supplied Germany with wheat, oil, and other essential materials.

The communists denounced the war as an imperialist struggle. Stalin, writing in *Pravda*, official organ of the Soviet Communist Party, charged England and France with responsibility for the war. Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Minister of foreign affairs, declared that "Hitlerism . . . is a matter of taste." *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government, supported Hitler's proposals of October 8, 1939, for ending the war, including settlement of the "Jewish problem." In France, the communists spoke of turning the imperialist war into civil war. In the United States, the communists opposed the draft, lend-lease, and other measures, and sponsored the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

The communist strategy employed in Europe to buttress the U.S.S.R. and to pit the powers against one another, was applied also in Asia. In 1938, Japan and the Soviet Union had fought a short but full-scale undeclared war along the Soviet-Manchurian border. In April, 1941, when Japanese preparations for war with the United States were well advanced, the Soviet government signed a five-year neutrality pact with Japan, which included Soviet recognition of the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria. The Soviet government thus secured its position in the Far East, at the expense of China and the United States, and sold out the Chinese communists who were waging guerilla war against the Japanese in Manchuria.

In Asia, Soviet strategy was momentarily successful. But in Europe, expanding Soviet power threatened vital German interests in eastern Europe and was a powerful factor in Hitler's decision to attack the U.S.S.R., in June, 1941.

What Was the Sixth Period of Communist Tactics?

This was the period, from June, 1941 until May, 1945, of the "Great Patriotic War" and the "National War of Liberation" against Germany and of the Soviet-American-British coalition against the fascist axis.

After Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the communist parties in the free countries reversed their attitude on the war, demanding in chorus with the Soviet government that their own governments open a second front in Europe to aid the Soviet armies. In the United States, the communists became superpatriots and now shouted, "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late."

In 1943, the Comintern was dissolved on the ground that it was "a hindrance to the . . . national workers' parties." In reality it was superfluous. Its dissolution was a convenient and deceitful sop to the anti-communist sentiments of the Soviet Union's allies in the wartime coalition. In the United States, the Communist Party enacted a farce in "dissolving" itself and forming the Communist Political Association. Browder, then Stalin's loyal American minion, proclaimed his acceptance of free enterprise.

But as Russian armies cleared the Soviet Union of the enemy and pursued the Nazis into their homeland, Soviet imperialism realized

new and greater opportunities. At conferences with the United States and England in 1943 and 1945, the Soviet government won recognition of a "security" zone in eastern Europe and the promise of large territorial and strategic advantages as its reward for its agreement to enter what all then thought would be the long and costly war against Japan.

Altogether, by the end of the war, the Soviet world had been enlarged by part or all the territory and population of more than ten states in eastern and central Europe and Asia. In total, the Soviet world gained some 260,000 square miles and extended its sway over approximately 125,000,000 additional victims. And all this preceded the conquest of China.

What Was the Seventh Period of Communist Tactics?

This period lasted from the end of World War II until the death of Stalin in March, 1953.

The end of World War II found the Soviet Union in military occupation of a vast territory in eastern and central Europe. It proceeded to consolidate this area into an empire of satellite states with the same social system as its own. In Asia, it created a satellite in North Korea and gave enormous aid to the Chinese communists. The conquest of China by Mao Tse-tung altered the world balance of forces to the advantage of communism and opened a new epoch in the history of Asia.

The United States, supported by the west European states and countries in Asia and Latin America, challenged the expansionist drive of communist imperialism and undertook to contain it. Post-war differences developed into a cold war between the Soviet and democratic worlds. Communist strategy in the "cold war" comprised four principal sets of tactics:

- 1) Sustained attempts by the communist parties to weaken the economy and political life of the western countries, especially in France and Italy, and also in western Germany;
- 2) Armed uprisings and prolonged rebellions by guerillas, as in Greece in 1946-49, and in French Indo-China, which in 1954 led to an uneasy truce between communist and non-communist forces;

3) Open aggression by the communist state of North Korea against the non-communist state of South Korea, with the support of the Chinese communists; and

4) Propaganda and diplomatic campaigns for peace and disarmament to divert attention from the steadily mounting Soviet war preparations; propaganda and diplomatic offensives against "American imperialism" as the aggressor in Korea against the peoples of Asia and as instigator of atomic war to destroy the Soviet world; and diplomatic maneuvers designed to sharpen differences between the United States and its allies over such issues as negotiation of peace in Korea, disposition of Formosa, and the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.

What Is the Eighth Period of Communist Tactics?

This is the period from Stalin's death to date. Actually, it has been a period characterized by a number of fluctuations in the Party line and tactics, resulting chiefly from the struggle for power in the Kremlin, the uncertainties about who would emerge as his victorious successor, and the consequent lack of assurance about the future of the leadership and policy in Moscow and throughout the whole international communist movement.

Thus, shortly after Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, while the struggle for his succession raged behind the scenes, a series of crises shook the Soviet world. With the bloody tyrant gone, workers, peasants, intellectuals and most other segments of the population began to hope that some of the worst features of his tyranny throughout the Soviet empire would be eliminated. Quite spontaneously, people undertook demonstrations for better economic conditions and a loosening of the totalitarian political reins. Presumably, many people felt that the disorder in the ranks of the communist leadership might provide an opening for such improvements.

It all began with the unprecedented uprising of workers in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, and was followed in quick order by similar strikes in other parts of Eastern Germany, among organized Czech factory workers, Hungarian peasants, Bulgarian tobacco workers, and even among the slave laborers of Siberia.

Even more unprecedented was the reaction of the various communist governments. Unsure of the outcome of the power struggle

in Moscow and evidently getting no firm directives from there as to how to handle the uprisings, they fell back to a more defensive posture. Instead of executing all participants, as they would have done under Stalin, they compromised. The strikers remained unmolested when they returned to work, and far-reaching governmental reforms were projected and, to some extent, undertaken.

On the domestic front, a new course of action was undertaken which appreciably modified the existing repressive policies. This was especially true for the satellite countries where people still could remember living conditions under democracy. Economic concessions, such as, price reductions, cancellations of tax arrears, reduced farm delivery quotas and, most significant of all, a shift from heavy to light industry were the norms. Political relaxation included amnesties, decline in purges, relaxation of governmental direction of cultural and scientific activity, and the avowal to cooperate with the land-owning peasants.

Foreign policy was equally conciliatory. The tempo of the "peace offensive" was stepped up, cultural delegations crossed the iron curtain from both sides with increasing frequency, and Malenkov spoke of the terrors of the "A Bomb" and of the futility of war. Only the Chinese struck a discordant note, humiliating France and the free world at the Geneva conference early in 1954, by enforcing the partition of French Indo-China. In order to reassure both the Russian people and the outside world against the spectre of a new Stalin, collective leadership was incessantly stressed.

This state of affairs did not last long. As the struggle for supremacy in the Kremlin reached a crisis, the line changed again: the key to the change in the line was the shifting alliances that were made by Nikita Khrushchev in his rise to power. He followed the old Stalin-Rakosi prescription of "salami tactics" in destroying every effective opposition to his taking power.

At first, he allied himself with Malenkov, Bulganin, Molotov, Kaganovitch and Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet war hero, in destroying the chief of the secret police (MVD) Lavrenti Beria. Each of these men had reason to fear Beria's use of the MVD for his own power aspirations, and he was executed in June, 1953.

The period of domestic and international conciliatory tactics coincided with Malenkov's premiership. But then Khrushchev proceeded

to ally himself with the "tough" faction in the Kremlin leadership to eliminate Malenkov. This was achieved in February, 1955, when Khrushchev's ally Bulganin became premier. The tough faction then proceeded to tighten the reins again. At home, first priority was again given to the production of armaments and heavy industry, to the neglect of consumers' goods. Foreign policy, too, hardened for a time; Marshal Zhukov, the newly appointed defense minister, warned in an official speech that Russia was not afraid of America's atomic weapons.

As soon, however, as Khrushchev felt himself strong enough, he began to move against his allies in the "tough" camp, chiefly the old Stalinists, Molotov and Kaganovitch.

This move against his "tough" allies was reflected in both domestic and foreign policy. In the former, for example, while the emphasis on heavy industry and armaments remained intense, Khrushchev began to call for a concomitant increase in consumers goods. In foreign policy, the Kremlin also became more conciliatory. It participated in a "summit meeting" of Big Four leaders at Geneva in the summer of 1955, and friendly overtures to the West became the order of the day.

What Was the Purpose of Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956?

By February, 1956, when the 20th Congress of the CPSU convened in Moscow — the first such meeting since 1952 and the first since Stalin's death — Khrushchev felt strong enough to undertake a major coup.

The fundamental import of the "secret report" he made to the Congress was to downgrade Stalin: he presented him as a paranoid megalomaniac, especially in the last eight years of his life and accused him of perpetrating a whole series of criminal acts — though Khrushchev's citation of these acts was significantly far from exhaustive. A tremor shook the whole communist world when it heard of this violent attack, for Stalin had for thirty years been the virtual godhead of the movement.

Khrushchev had several purposes in making this attack. In the first place, he desired to give the people, and the new privileged elite class of managers, technicians and middle stratum officials who had

risen in the post-Revolutionary generation, some assurance that the sanguinary rule of terror was over. People wanted some relief from the total fear they had lived with for decades, and the destruction of the symbolism and "cult of personality" of Stalin was a dramatic means of giving assurances of relief.

Khrushchev also used this attack on Stalin to destroy the power of the old Stalinists completely — and soon Molotov, and Kaganovich were demoted and, in effect, exiled.

By this means, too, Khrushchev sought to shake up the whole structure of the party at home and abroad in a drastic fashion — and soon old office-holders, Party and government officials began to be replaced with new appointees. Khrushchev thus systematically began to create his own power regime, supported by his own chosen functionaries. It was, in sum, a repetition of precisely the same means by which Stalin systematically achieved one-man rule over the period from 1924 to 1928.

What Was the Effect of De-Stalinization in the Satellites?

The policy of downgrading Stalin produced uncertainty and insecurity in the minds of party officials, and raised to the surface the people's hopes, aspirations and even demands for a better life. The effect was like that of lifting the cover slightly from a kettle of boiling water: a small amount of steam emerges. But if the water keeps boiling, it will sooner or later blow the lid off entirely — or else the lid has to be clamped down as tightly as before.

Thus, in June and July of 1956, workers in Poznan and other Polish cities streamed out of their factories to demonstrate under the slogan of "Bread and Freedom." Polish military and police forces suppressed the demonstrations bloodily, but Polish resentments against Soviet domination and communist exploitation were not stilled. On the contrary, four months later, in October, 1956, they precipitated what is known as the "Polish October" (in symbolic recollection of the Bolshevik Revolution, which had also taken place in October).

What Was the "Polish October"?

It was, in effect, a bloodless half-revolution to meet the exigencies of the moment: it represented a desperate, uneasy effort by the com-

munist leadership to keep the lid slightly off the kettle so as to allow some steam to escape.

The stifled resentments of Polish workers, peasants and intellectuals had become even more intense as a result of the suppression of the Poznan demonstration. By the middle of October, the atmosphere in Poland, especially in Warsaw, was heavy with the threat of violence and civil war. The frightened Polish communist leadership saw no alternative but to recall to power, as First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Wladyslaw Gomulka, who in 1951 had been demoted, disgraced and imprisoned as a "Titoist," and who had a reputation among the Poles as a communist who was slightly more independent of Moscow and more concerned for Poland's welfare than his more rigid Stalinist colleagues.

Gomulka came to power on October 20, cheered on, as the "lesser evil," by masses of people throughout the country. The same day, Khrushchev and his closest Kremlin cohorts arrived in Warsaw to the accompaniment of the movement of Soviet troops around the city. In a showdown between the two communist leaders, Gomulka warned that the Soviet use of force to preserve the old-line Stalinist regime in Poland would lead to war and civil war. Khrushchev, evidently persuaded that this was so, and that Gomulka, a steadfast and loyal communist for decades, was the only man who could save the situation for communism in Poland, and at the same time keep the country within the Soviet bloc, relented. Political and economic concessions were made by Moscow to Poland.

The key to this unprecedentedly triumphant defiance of Moscow by a satellite lay in Khrushchev's belief that Gomulka did not represent any sort of threat to Khrushchev's leadership in the international communist movement and to the U.S.S.R.'s unquestioned supremacy in foreign affairs. It was not, as events in Hungary just one week later were to demonstrate, any reluctance on Moscow's part to use force in the face of what it considered an unmistakable revolt for freedom from its domination.

The success of Gomulka's regime since October, 1956 has rested on one factor — the people's realization that they have no alternative. This conviction stems, in turn, from certain clear facts, such as the continued presence of large Soviet forces inside Poland as well as on the Soviet-Polish frontier, and the demonstrated inability of the

Western powers to help the Polish people achieve their freedom. The regime's understanding with the Catholic Church in Poland for a minimal degree of religious liberty has also helped stabilize the situation.

For about a year after 1956, Gomulka granted various political and economic concessions to the workers, the peasantry and the intellectuals — certain foods were made more available, living conditions were slightly improved, a stop was put to farm collectivization, writers were given somewhat more freedom of expression. But toward the end of 1957, the regime began to tighten the reins again in all of these areas.

What Was the Meaning of the Hungarian Revolution?

The process of de-Stalinization had repercussions in Hungary as well as in Poland, both on the party leadership and on the people. The people became increasingly restive and the leadership grew correspondingly insecure, uncertain and frightened. As early as mid-1953, Hungarian intellectuals and writers began with increasing boldness and explicitness to discuss the need for less party control of cultural and artistic life. They, and the people at large, were encouraged when Imre Nagy, a communist leader who had been in disrepute for several years, became premier in 1953. His tenure in office, marked by a certain leniency in political and economic policies, coincided with the period of Soviet leadership headed by Malenkov. And soon after Malenkov's demotion and a turn to a tougher line in Moscow in 1955, Nagy too was ousted, and the arch-Stalinist Matyas Rakosi resumed his rigid terroristic rule.

This only served to exacerbate the resentments of growing numbers of Hungarians in all walks of life — chiefly the intellectuals, students and workers. As the people grew more restive, the regime grew more tyrannical. By mid-1956, the Rakosi regime, unsettled by the trauma of Soviet de-Stalinization, felt forced to make one small concession after another, beginning with the resignation of Rakosi. The lid was slightly off the kettle of furiously boiling water, and it was too late to put it back on tightly and impossible to keep it in suspension. On October 23, 1956, the lid blew off completely.

Inspired by the events of a few days before in Poland, groups of workers and students began to issue manifestos for liberalization of

life in their country. On October 23, many of them spontaneously moved toward key symbolic positions of communist power in Budapest — a statue of Stalin and the headquarters of the hated, dreaded Hungarian secret police. Thousands congregated before them, pulled down the statue and tried to storm the headquarters as well as the offices of the official radio station. The secret police opened fire on the crowds, and thus began the short-lived revolution in which some 25,000 people were slaughtered.

Swift-moving events saw the recall of Nagy to power, less as a leader of a revolution than its slightly confused symbol; Moscow's decision, made on the spot by Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, to quell the revolt; the subsequent Soviet agreement, in the face of continued and even growing Hungarian resistance, to withdraw from Budapest at the end of October; Nagy's declaration of Hungarian neutrality and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact; and finally, the Soviet decision, made as early as November 1, to intervene forcibly a second time, a decision that was implemented by the return of massive Soviet military forces to Budapest and the wholesale crushing of the revolt. In addition to the tragic number of casualties, some 125,000 Hungarians, most of them youths and many of them Freedom Fighters, fled into Austria to escape the certain doom that awaited them at the hands of the Soviets and the reconstituted Hungarian secret police. Nagy himself was replaced by Janos Kadar, a pliable tool of Moscow; two weeks later, Nagy and his closest political friends and advisors and their families were arrested and imprisoned despite a Soviet-guaranteed safe-conduct. In 1958, Moscow and Budapest revealed that they had been tried in secret and executed. The Hungarian Revolution had gone down to defeat.

What Strategic Considerations Accounted for Moscow's Different Reactions in Poland and in Hungary?

Faced with defiance in Warsaw, the Kremlin speedily arrived at a *modus vivendi* with Gomulka. Faced with revolt in Budapest, the Kremlin responded with force.

The difference in response was accounted for by the essential difference between the Polish and the Hungarian revolts. In Gomulka, Khrushchev recognized a perfervid communist who was the only man who could control the situation inside Poland, prevent the out-

break of violent revolt, and remain a loyal supporter of Soviet strategic interests and foreign policy objectives.

In Nagy, and more importantly, in the revolution which swept him to power and actually carried him far beyond his own intentions, Khrushchev recognized an open break with Soviet hegemony, a declaration of total independence in foreign policy and of freedom in internal affairs. This was a situation which the Kremlin could not tolerate on both ideological and strategic grounds.

The clear object lesson of the Hungarian Revolution was that the Kremlin was willing to risk Western displeasure and indignation — perhaps even to risk war — for the sake of retaining its hold on the empire it has molded since 1945.

How Did the Free World Respond to the Hungarian Revolution and Its Object Lesson?

The free world's sympathies were clearly with the Freedom Fighters, and the brutal Soviet repression aroused fierce indignation — perhaps all the fiercer because it was wholly impotent.

Undoubtedly Khrushchev calculated, when he unhesitatingly took the risk of bloody intervention, not only that the West's protests at the time would not be followed through, but that it would forget the object lesson and that indignation and protest and even recollection of the Revolution would soon die down in the West. For this was precisely what happened.

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Communist Techniques

How Does the Communist Movement Try to Weaken and Destroy the Democratic World?

The international communist movement uses two basic tactics to achieve its ends: armed force and political warfare. These tactics, in all their variety of permutations and combinations, were originally formulated by Lenin and by the Comintern under him and Stalin, and are today perpetuated by Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung and their colleagues in every part of the world.

The tactical guide lines laid down by Lenin, and carried through in expanded and flexible form by his successors, cover methods for the weakening of existing institutions, methods for subversion of representative government, the duties of elected communist representatives, and the use of armed force.

How Do Communists Weaken Existing Institutions?

Their main attack is on law and representative government.

For obvious reasons, communists prefer a state of affairs in which they can function legally. But because they regard the state as the "executive committee of the ruling class" with which they consider themselves perpetually at war, communists, in the words of the Statutes of Admission to the Comintern,

"... can have no confidence in bourgeois laws ..."

Where the law forbids communist activity, the Statutes directed, the communists must find a way of acting legally through "front" parties and organizations and, at the same time, must continue to function illegally.

"... a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."

How Do Communists Undermine Representative Government?

The Second Congress of the Comintern made the answer to this question unmistakably clear in *The Communist Party and Parliamentarism*.

The guiding thought is:

"... bourgeois parliaments ... cannot be taken over by the proletariat ..."

"The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up ... all the parliamentary institutions ... whether they be republican or constitutional monarchy.

"The same applies to the local government institutions."

The "fundamental means" of accomplishing this task was defined as "mass demonstrations ... carried out ... under the direction of a ... Communist Party" and "logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist state."

It is necessary "in this warfare ... developing into civil war" to "secure every and all legal positions making them ... auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the ... mass struggle."

Chief among such "auxiliary supports" are election campaigns and "the rostrum of parliament."

Elected communist party candidates enter parliament as "scouting parties" in order to prepare "the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and parliament itself from within."

This work of "preparation of a proletarian uprising ... for the destruction of the bourgeois state and for the creation of the new proletarian state" consists "chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform ..."

But "if the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must:

a) carry on revolutionary propaganda against the bourgeois central authority;

- b) . . . attempt to establish an armed workers' militia . . .
- c) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils (soviets) for the municipal administration."

What Are the Duties of Communist Representatives?

In every country, elected representatives, including communists, take an oath, prescribed by law, which generally commits the swearer to uphold the laws and government of his country.

Nevertheless, *The Party and Parliamentarism* directed:

"Each communist representative must remember that he is not a 'legislator' who is bound to seek agreements with other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there.

"The communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own communist party — whether legal or illegal."

The communist representative must propose "demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed . . . but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation, and organization . . ."

He must get "preliminary instructions" on all important political questions from the central committee of the party to which he must submit "for confirmation" the "thesis of his speech, or the text," at each "forthcoming important debate."

He "is bound to combine legal work with illegal work."

He must use his "inviolability," or parliamentary immunity from arrest, to render "assistance to the illegal organizations . . ."

The communist movement, it is clear, is always partly or entirely conspiratorial and underground.

How Do Communists Use Armed Force To Tear Down the Democratic World?

Lenin forecast the use of armed force by a communist state against non-communist nations. Before coming to power, he wrote:

"The victorious proletariat . . . having expropriated the capitalists and organized Socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the capitalists, launching, in case of necessity, armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states."

It should again be noted, of course, that the communist use of the phrase "socialist production" has no connection at all with genuine democratic socialism, or with genuine socialist modes of production such as exist in England, Scandinavia and Israel.

What Forms Has the Communist Use of Armed Force Taken?

Since the Bolshevik Revolution, communist armed force has assumed three basic forms.

— Direct, overt military aggression. Examples: the forcible seizure of the then-independent Georgian Republic and its incorporation into the U.S.S.R. in 1921; abortive communist putsches in Germany in 1921 and 1923; Soviet encouragement of an unsuccessful communist coup in Canton, China, in 1927; the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in September, 1939 (based on the terms of the Stalin-Hitler Pact); the conquest of Finland during World War II (an aspect of the Red Army's westward sweep against the German forces); North Korea's invasion, massively supported by armaments and money from the Soviet Union and by "volunteers" from Communist China, of South Korea in 1950; the U.S.S.R.'s suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956; Communist China's assault on the Tachen Islands in 1957, resulting in the Chinese Nationalist evacuation of the islands; Communist China's incessant bombardment, since 1958, of the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu; Communist China's sanguinary suppression of Tibetan resistance to communist domination in 1959.

— The threat of communist armed forces massed on a neighboring country's borders. Examples: the Soviet conquest of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in 1940; the communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948; the U.S.S.R.'s attempt to seize Berlin through a blockade in 1948-49 (foiled only by the firm, united resistance of Britain, France, the United States, and the people of West Berlin).

— Insurrections by politically disciplined communist guerilla forces. Examples: the tight bands of communist armed groups in the French and Italian anti-Nazi underground resistance movements, and the Yugoslav partisans led by Marshal Tito (all of them active in World War II); the civil war undertaken by the Chinese communists in 1945, culminating in their seizure of power in 1949; civil war conducted by communist guerillas, aided by the neighboring communist states of Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia, against the legitimate government of Greece in 1946-47 (stopped only by the resistance of the majority of the Greek people with the support of Britain and of the United States under the terms of the Truman Doctrine); civil war conducted against the French in Indo-China by communist guerillas exploiting the anti-colonial and nationalist sentiments of the native peoples, culminating in the communist domination of the northern portion of the new state of Vietnam; communist guerilla activities since the end of the war and until today in Indonesia, Burma, Laos and Malaya.

But since communist power constantly seeks to present itself as the very opposite of an aggressive, expansionist imperialism, it has invariably relied heavily, indeed primarily, on its almost inexhaustible arsenal of varied *political warfare* techniques to explain away its use of armed force, to cover up its real objectives, and to delude people's minds with persuasive myths about those objectives.

What Are the Principal Techniques of Communist Political Warfare?

The keys to communist political warfare techniques are best summed up in two communist terms — the "party line" and "transmission belts."

The party line is the specific communist position on any given issue, for which massive propaganda is to be made in order to further communist aims and serve Soviet interests.

Transmission belts refer to the vast apparatus whose function is to transmit this propaganda through the creation and manipulation of a whole array of auxiliary organizations.

Among the tactics used in this apparatus are: infiltration and manipulation of trade unions and other mass organizations, espionage,

the creation of "front" organizations, manipulation of international trade, and intensification of political and racial differences.

How Does Communist Propaganda Operate?

A very special role is assigned to communist propaganda. Where the more direct tactics are impracticable or feeble, propaganda prepares the way for them; where they are effective, propaganda complements them; and where they have been successful, propaganda consolidates the victory.

Communist propaganda has two facets: domestic and foreign. At home, it is, along with political, social and police pressures, the most valuable instrument for insuring the continuing loyalty of the people by massive doses of constant indoctrination aimed at denigrating the non-communist world and glorifying the communist regime.

Outside the communist empire, enormous sums are spent annually and large numbers of party functionaries are employed, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the attempt to undermine the peoples' faith in democracy and to gain adherents to the communist cause. This propaganda is directed at all segments of the population and every grievance held by workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals, is exploited.

Though the party has a large apparatus for direct propaganda aimed at winning members or voters for itself, by far the larger and more dangerous apparatus is that which the party has created for indirect propaganda. This is the apparatus of auxiliaries — the transmission belts — of individuals, organizations, and institutions. They include fellow travelers, front groups, special campaign organizations and special schools.

What Is a Fellow Traveler?

A fellow traveler is a person who knowingly supports communist policy and collaborates with the communists in various ways, but is not a member of a communist party. He is very useful to the communists in reaching and influencing people who would be repelled by direct contact with the communist movement.

What Is a Communist Front?

A communist front is an organization ostensibly non-communist, formed to serve a liberal cause, but actually established and controlled by communists for their own revolutionary purposes. Or it is an organization which communists captured and turned into a communist front. The activities of communist fronts are often harmful to legitimate liberal organizations which pursue democratic ideals and principles.

The Progressive Party which ran Henry Wallace for President in the 1948 election was, unbeknownst to many of its members, an example of the first kind of front organization. The American Labor Party in New York State, since the split in its ranks which resulted in formation of the Liberal Party in 1944, is an example of the second kind of communist front. Other communist fronts include the National Negro Congress, Civil Rights Congress, World Federation of Democratic Youth, and International Workers Order. There are scores of others listed by the Attorney General of the United States.

Though many of the communist fronts listed by the Attorney General are largely inactive today, the communist party apparatus which created and used them in the past remains vigorous and alert to any opportunities that might arise under new circumstances to create new fronts.

Since the fervent desire for peace is always strong in the hearts of free people, spurious propaganda for peace has always been one of the chief gambits used by the communist apparatus of auxiliaries and fronts. This is a danger that must be especially guarded against, in an international atmosphere where the communists are using the "peace issue" as one of their most effective weapons of political warfare.

An earlier instance of highly successful communist exploitation of this issue in the United States is presented by a front which started its existence under the name of the American League Against War and Fascism.

There are, of course, perfectly legitimate democratic groups of a genuinely pacifist nature, such as the American Friends Service Committee and other Quaker groups, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters' League.

What Was the Twisted History of the American League Against War and Fascism?

In 1932, this organization was founded to spearhead communist protests against the rising menace of Germany and Italy. It refused all cooperation with non-communist groups equally interested in protesting fascism.

In 1935, in line with communism's switch to a "popular front" with other parties, the League changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy. It now collaborated with the same liberal forces which, only yesterday, it had called "social fascists." (During this period, the front was composed of affiliated organizations whose total membership came to nearly two million.)

In 1939, in the wake of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the League name was changed once more, this time to the American Peace Mobilization. It now proclaimed the necessity of America's living in peace with the Nazis and fascists. Collaboration with recent liberal allies was now rejected.

In 1941, when Hitler plunged into Russia, the name of the League changed again, becoming the American People's Mobilization. Now, again, collaboration with other groups was the order of the day.

The organization had followed diligently the twists and turns of the "party line," while pretending to be politically independent and morally pure.

Another type of highly effective communist front on an international scale was that created by the Soviet Union itself under the name of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

What Was the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee?

In October, 1939, one month after the partition of Poland in accordance with the Nazi-Soviet pact, Victor Alter and Henry Erlich, prominent Jewish labor leaders of Poland, were arrested and imprisoned by the Soviet government. In September, 1941, after the abrogation of the pact and the invasion of Russian territory by its former friend and partner, Russia released the two men from their Moscow prison. The Soviet government felt that Alter and Erlich would be able to help them in what was now a war for Russian survival. They were Polish, they were Jewish and they were labor

leaders. Indeed, immediately after their release, Erlich and Alter issued a call to all Polish citizens to join the new Polish army, then being organized under Soviet auspices, to fight against the Nazis.

The two men also presented a plan for organizing a Jewish anti-Hitlerite committee. It aimed to "mobilize Jews throughout the world for the struggle against Hitlerism, to organize aid and assistance to the Jewish masses in countries under Nazi control" and to serve as a relief agency for Jewish refugees in the Soviet Union. The Committee would also maintain contact with the underground movement in Poland. The Alter-Erlich plan was projected along purely democratic lines, assuring representation on the Committee to Jewish delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other Nazi-dominated countries.

After having served their function in providing the Soviet government with the means of organizing and controlling anti-Nazi sentiment in the German-dominated countries, Alter and Erlich were re-arrested and shot. In a few short months, a new organization called the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee made its appearance. Having appropriated the Alter-Erlich idea, the Soviets proceeded to pervert it to their own purposes.

The Committee no longer put its main emphasis on helping persecuted Jews, nor did it aim to help the Allies generally. It was now dedicated to enlist world support for the Soviet Union in particular. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, now the direct instrument of the U.S.S.R., was used as a propaganda machine for generating world support for the efforts of the Red Army and to spread throughout the world the story of Soviet "accomplishments." This became its exclusive function.

By 1948, with the end of the war and the emergence of the real nature of Soviet aims, plus the stepping-up of the anti-Jewish campaign, the Committee had ceased to be an effective instrument for U.S.S.R. propaganda abroad. It was therefore suppressed.

What Are Some of the Effective Communist Fronts in France Today?

Every country in the world, including even those where the party apparatus as such is small, has an effective apparatus of auxiliaries, crypto-communist organizations and fronts functioning today.

In France alone, where the party is especially strong, 140 such groups exist, each with its own offices, staff and publications. Their objectives are sometimes apparent from their names and at other times disguised. Among them are the following:

The General Confederation of Workers, Fighters for Peace, France-U.S.S.R., the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the French University Union, the Association for Municipal Studies and Information, the Sport and Gymnastic Federation of Labor, the Committee for the Development of International Trade, the Association of Scientific Workers, the National Union of Intellectuals, the Friends of Nature, the Federation of Rent-Payers, the People's Musical Federation.

What Are Some Effective Communist Fronts in Asia and Africa Today?

Communist front organizations seek to play an important and decisive role in underdeveloped, ex-colonial countries. Since proto-Soviet propaganda there chiefly exploits nationalistic and anti-colonial feelings, the true face of communism is almost completely hidden. Random examples of some of these groups are:

The Association for the Advancement of Asian Peoples, the Union of the People of Cameroon, the Association of Frenchmen of Tunisia, the Study and Action Committee for Peace in Algeria, the General Union of Algerian Workers. This last has its chief headquarters in Prague.

What Are Communist Propaganda Schools?

It is one of the most distinctive traits of this apparatus to establish special schools to train propagandists. France has six such schools. Moscow and Leningrad Universities have special institutes for this purpose, where such distinguished personalities as the Number Two Chinese communist, Liu-Shao-chi, and President Ho Chi Minh of the Communist Vietminh Republic, studied. The Arab communist leader, Khalil Bakdash also studied there.

In Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Turkmenistan, there is a "University for Afro-Asian Studies," attended by thousands of students, chiefly from Ghana, Guinea, Sudan and Cameroon.

Prague has two schools for elites, which have been attended by such men as President Sekou Touré of Guinea, the brother of President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Raul Castro, the brother of Cuba's president Fidel Castro.

In the Buriat-Mongolian Republic, Moscow has established a "seminary" to train Buddhist lamas who then spread out all over Asia, especially Tibet. Since they are of the same race as the Tibetans, they are likely to be more welcome there than the lamas trained in Peking.

But Peking has itself become the center of general schools for producing "anti-colonialist" fellow-traveling propagandists who operate throughout South and Southeast Asia.

How Do Communists Exploit Differences and Unrest?

The classic example of the exploitation of differences within a nation is, of course, Russia. When the Czarist regime was overthrown in 1917 and was replaced by a provisional democratic government, the Bolsheviks, a minority party which had played a distinctly minor role in the revolution, began its subversive agitation. By hammering on the theme — Land, Peace, Bread — during a critical period, they skillfully increased disaffection among peasants and workers, and by raising the slogan — All Power to the Soviets — they turned large numbers against the provisional government. In nine months they paved the way for the success of the armed uprising by which they came to power.

After securing power, the Bolsheviks permitted elections to a constituent assembly which they, in common with other anti-Czarist parties, had previously demanded. When the constituent assembly, in which the Bolsheviks were a minority, refused to do the bidding of the Bolshevik government, the latter dissolved it by armed force.

For Russia, which in the spring of 1917 was in the midst of a world war and in the throes of revolution, the Leninist tactics of

subversion by agitation and armed insurrection were sufficient to guarantee success. For other situations in other countries, the communists subsequently developed appropriate tactics. Their greatest success is, of course, China, which will be treated in a separate section. (See Part II, Chapter IV.)

What Is the Communist Record on the Negro Question in the United States?

Ever since its foundation in 1919-20, the Communist Party in the United States has posed as a militant champion of the Negro. Except for a small number, almost all of whom subsequently regretted their mistake, Negroes in the United States have shunned the Communist Party.

At various times and in the name of various policies, the communists have tried to exploit the grievances of the Negroes in order to promote sharp political conflict leading to civil war.

From about 1921 to 1928 they concentrated their activities on Negro industrial workers, whom they regarded as destined leaders of colonial revolutionary movements. In effect, they ignored the bulk of the Negro population, who were sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, and bitterly attacked the Negro middle class and the handful of Negro capitalists.

After receiving a directive from the Comintern, the American communists agitated for the next seven years, until 1935, for self-determination, including the right of secession, for Negroes in the Black Belt in the South. In this period, all Negroes were their brothers.

In 1935 the communists reversed themselves and beat the drums for a united front to realize equal rights for Negroes, that is, to win first-class citizenship for them in our society. This policy endured until 1939.

While the U.S.S.R. and Germany were allies in World War II, from 1939 to 1941, the American communists strove to use the tactic of equal rights and the slogan of self-determination, which they revived as means of opposing the Roosevelt Administration's policy of aiding England against Germany.

Then, after the Soviet Union was invaded by Germany in 1941, the communists called for "unequivocal support by Negroes of the war of National Liberation" — for the 'socialist fatherland!'"

Following the onset of the Cold War, the American communists urged Negroes to "Stop Wall Street Imperialism!"

It goes without saying, of course, that Negroes in the United States have long had legitimate grievances, and are now in the process, with the aid of all Americans of democratic instincts, of pressing for the realization of their legitimate political, legal, and socio-economic aspirations. But they are moving toward this objective through bona fide democratic organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Congress on Racial Equality.

How Have the Communists Exploited Trade Relations?

The Soviet Union uses trade as a weapon in political controversies, as in the case of the reduction of Soviet purchases ordered from Great Britain in the 1920s and 1930s, during political disputes with that country. At times, too, it has conducted business with foreign countries in such a way as to aid local communist parties there. For example, in the spring of 1946, just before the French parliamentary elections, the U.S.S.R. offered to sell 500,000 tons of grain to France, negotiating directly with Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communist Party.

In more recent years, the Soviet Union has sought a double objective in its political use of trade and aid: steady infiltration and subversion of underdeveloped countries, and, in consequence, the ultimate cutting off of the free world's reserves of vital raw materials of which these countries possess nearly one-half. Even when it has no use for the products of an underdeveloped country, it will frequently buy up those products, if only to gain a foothold there. This is the essential meaning of the deal made in 1960 by which the Soviet Union purchased a sizable portion of Cuba's sugar production for the following three years.

In other parts of Latin America, the Soviet Union has discouraged the production of raw materials by dumping on the world market

its own competitive supplies of those materials at ruinous prices. Among such raw materials are antimony, manganese and tungsten.

Both the U.S.S.R. and Communist China are now sending large numbers of technicians and supplies to various underdeveloped countries in Africa and Asia. To this they have added strategically calculated purchases of economic surpluses, such as cotton from Egypt and rice from Burma, neither of which they need. Another example of such a strategic calculation by which the communist powers and their satellites entrench themselves economically — and ultimately, politically and militarily — in underdeveloped countries is the Soviet subsidization of Egypt's construction of the vast Aswan Dam.

What Is Communist Policy on Trade Unions?

The thesis of the Second Comintern Congress on the trade union question reads in part, "Communists should have communist factions in all trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means an influence over the labor movement and direct it."

The aim of these factions is to "subordinate the unions to the leadership of the party . . ." in order to make of them efficient and conscious organs of the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and for the establishment of communism.

But this is not always possible. In some unions, communists are not allowed and, when discovered, are expelled. They may even be "insulted, hounded and persecuted," wrote Lenin in his *"Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* shortly before the Second Congress.

In that case, said he,

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this . . . if need be — to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on communist work in them at all costs."

On the other hand, there are situations when, from the communist point of view, it is better to split the unions.

"Placing the object and essence of labor organization higher than the form of organization," reads the thesis of the Second Con-

gress, "the communists ought not to hesitate before a split . . . if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle . . ."

What Is the Communist Record in Labor Unions?

In consequence of the communist attitude toward unions, the history of communist trade-union policy has rung every change from boring-from-within unions in order to capture them, to splits.

When successful in capturing unions, communists use them either to aggravate labor strife or to restrain labor from acting to improve its position, according to the needs of the moment of Soviet foreign policy.

Splits because of communist leadership of unions have resulted in a whole series of separate labor movements beginning with the Red International of Labor Unions (1921-35) and extending to the present World Federation of Trade Unions, whose claimed membership of more than fifty million includes almost thirty million in the U.S.S.R. and millions more in the Soviet satellite states.

In the view of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which includes the British Trades Union Congress, the AFL-CIO, and other large affiliates, the WFTU is not a true trade-union movement, but a tool of the Soviet government.

In the United States, the communists, disguised as liberals, began boring from within the AFL. In addition, in 1929, they established the Trade Union Unity League as their federation of revolutionary unions. Under this policy, communists worked in the AFL in order to "win over," that is, split off, "the advanced workers" and "unite" them in the T.U.U.L.

This policy, a dismal failure, was abandoned in 1935 and communists reoriented themselves away from the AFL in time to become a factor in the organizing campaigns of the CIO, following the latter's break with the AFL. They secured control of, or heavily infiltrated, unions of maritime, longshore, electrical, mine, transport, fur, warehouse, retail, office, and other workers.

During the period of communist opposition to American preparedness in World War II, following arrangement of the Nazi-Soviet pact,

communist control of unions was used to promote strikes. After the Soviet Union was invaded by Hitler, the communists stifled every show of discontent by the workers in the unions under their control.

In the late 1940s, after the communists were again pursuing a course of disruption, their hold on the CIO was broken in a series of sharp struggles. Communist-controlled unions were expelled from the CIO.

Today, the united AFL-CIO maintains a vigilant guard against any communist attempts at infiltration. And on the international scene, the organization, alone and through the ICFTU, plays an important role in advancing liberal, labor and general democratic objectives while combatting communist-dominated unions in the advanced countries and communist efforts to gain control of labor movements in underdeveloped countries.

How Do Communists Conduct Espionage?

Espionage is a skilled trade, requiring specialized aptitude and personnel. Soviet espionage is conducted on a global scale by Soviet military intelligence and the MVD (the secret police). As disclosures of Soviet espionage in Canada and Australia a few years ago, revealed, they function in cooperation with the Soviet diplomatic corps.

In the world-wide communist espionage net, the communist parties serve principally as recruiting services for agents. Also, by penetrating government services and winning members for the party in important industries and among research scientists they acquire a vast amount of important information and establish opportunities for the operations of spies.

Revelations of the activities of Soviet espionage rings in Canada, England, Australia, and the United States, indicate that Soviet espionage is an enormously successful enterprise.

Spies in the United States, many recruited from the ranks of the communist party, succeeded in the last twenty years in stealing hundreds of important military, industrial, and political secrets.

Among the military secrets are details relating to the production of the H-bomb and the plans of the atom bomb. Also the plans of sonar anti-sub devices, aircraft anti-sub radar, the proximity fuse, guided missiles, and various explosives.

The industrial secrets included precious chemical formulae, photographic and synthetic-rubber processes, and research data.

Among the political data acquired by Soviet espionage agents were the espionage files of the Justice Department and many secret dispatches from U.S. diplomatic officials.

What Is the Communist World Peace Movement?

Typical of all communist fronts is the World Peace Movement, an international communist-controlled organization which circulated the Stockholm Appeal. This was a petition to outlaw the atomic bomb and it was signed by hundreds of millions of persons in many countries, including the United States. The Appeal, described by the Cominform as the "pivot of the entire activity of the communist parties," was circulated while the North Korean aggression against South Korea was in preparation.

The real purpose of the Appeal was made clear in a speech by Mikhail Suslov, Stalin's private secretary, at a secret Cominform meeting on July 21, 1951, in Berlin. Public disclosure of the speech was made by the National Committee For A Free Europe, in a pamphlet, *The Soviet Peace Myth* by Leon Dennen.

Suslov said that "an intensification of the campaign to condemn the atom bomb and Anglo-American imperialism would also result in the election of municipal and county councils" which under "conditions of war," if "properly politicized by party factions," would form "the basis for the formation of local Soviets."

He thought that "the great peace movement created by the Stockholm Appeal can also be used . . . to penetrate . . . unions . . . organizations of war veterans, war victims, peasant and workers' societies . . ."

But the "most significant aspect of our campaign for the Stockholm Appeal" is the success in "attracting young men who . . . are joining our military sections" and "are our assurance of successful revolutionary and insurrectionary action."

Suslov remains one of the most powerful and influential figures in the Kremlin, as a key member of the CPSU's Central Committee whose First Secretary is Nikita S. Khrushchev. The latter's views on

peace and peaceful coexistence have already been clarified. [See Part I, Chapter I, p. 17.]

There are, of course, legitimate non-communist groups devoted to promoting peace, e.g., American Friends Service Committee.

What Is the Soviet Record in the United Nations?

The Soviet Union has sabotaged the work of the United Nations from the very beginning. Its chief weapon has been the veto, which, by March, 1960, was cast 82 times.

The Soviet delegates have several times walked out of the Security Council. They have refused to participate in the work of numerous U.N. agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Labor Organization and many others. Instead, they have used the United Nations as a sounding board for their propaganda, abusing the prestige of the world organization for their own purposes.

By attacking the United States, England and France as imperialist powers and by sponsoring Communist China for a seat in the Security Council, they have attempted to create the impression that they are the protectors of the weak nations of Asia. However, the discrepancy between communist propaganda in the U.N. and communist aggressions in Korea, Tibet and Indo-China has made the free countries of Asia more aware of the dangers of communism than ever before.

In sharp contrast with the illusory promises of the communist party are the genuine advances made by the truly democratic governments of the world. It is these democratic governments which are solely responsible for the social progress which has bettered the lot of the average man. And the United States in particular, within the constitutional framework of its American democracy, has achieved significant social advances along with the highest standard of living in the world.

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PART II

COMMUNIST RULE

The Soviet Empire

How Is the Soviet World Organized?

Politically, the Soviet world is organized, according to the communist version, as a free association of independent republics in which two types of states are distinguished: socialist states and people's republics or people's democracies.

The U.S.S.R., by its own definition, is the only socialist state. All the other nations in the Soviet world are people's democracies. A people's democracy is defined as a proletarian dictatorship without soviets, that is, as a Soviet state at a lower level of political and economic development than the U.S.S.R.

Actually, the Soviet world is in greater part an empire ruled by the government of the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R. is the geographic, economic, political, and military heartland of the Soviet world.

The "people's democracies" of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet zone of Germany, and the Mongolian and Korean People's Republics as well as the Vietminh (formerly French Indo-China) in Asia are vassal states, satellites of the Soviet Union.

By its social system, Yugoslavia is akin to the Soviet world, but politically it claims it is "neutralist."

Current opinion is divided with respect to China. In one view, China, because of its vast territory, population, and resources, and its relationship to the other nations of Asia, is the most valuable of

the Soviet satellites. In another view, based on the same considerations, China is a potential center of great power with its own satellites, equal in status to the U.S.S.R. and in many respects antagonistic to the latter's interests.

How Was the Soviet Empire Established?

Chiefly by force and chicanery. This was the pattern:

With the help of the victorious army of the U.S.S.R., coalition governments were established in the satellite countries. Though the communists were a minority, they held the ministries controlling the police, the armed forces, and government propaganda; they penetrated rival parties and took over unions and other mass organizations. The authentic leaders of other parties were ousted or compelled to resign and the coalitions were dominated by the communists.

Non-communist parties were still tolerated on paper at this stage, but communist-controlled unions refused to print their publications and gangs broke up their meetings while the communist-controlled police looked on.

Finally, all opposition was crushed. Other parties were dissolved or absorbed by merger with the communist party; a monolithic regime was established and the fake "new democracy" was born.

The experience of Hungary is instructive. In the elections held in 1945, the communists, who had the active support of the Soviet occupation authorities and secret police, and who were led by men trained in Moscow, received only 17% of the vote. In the succeeding years, opposition parties were outlawed and the social democrats were forced to merge with the communists. In the 1949 elections, in order to insure a parliament properly subservient to the U.S.S.R., voters were offered only a single list of candidates, featuring the names of communists and communist puppets.

How Is the Soviet Empire Controlled?

Four principal instruments are used by the U.S.S.R. in controlling its satellites. The most powerful, though least active, is the Soviet Army.

The most active and important are the satellite communist parties, led by men trained in and loyal to Moscow.

A third instrument is the Soviet diplomatic corps, a direct link between the Kremlin and its outpost governments. This instrument would also include the semi-diplomatic, military and economic officials of the Warsaw Pact and the Council on Mutual Assistance.

Last, but very far from least, is the secret police of the U.S.S.R., which penetrates the satellite parties and governments, and keeps the diplomatic corps and the U.S.S.R.'s military commanders under surveillance.

What Is the Pattern of Soviet Economic Relations With the Satellites?

Under Stalin, the Soviet Union exploited its satellites, which, except for Czechoslovakia, are less developed economically, in order to build its own economy at their expense. The principal method used was the integration of the satellites' economy with that of the U.S.S.R., in such a way as to insure the satellites' dependence on the Soviet Union.

The principal means used were:

- 1) Trade treaties, providing for the export of armaments to the satellites, and for exchange of goods at prices favoring the U.S.S.R.;
- 2) Bi-national corporations, controlled by the U.S.S.R., in the major industries of the satellites;
- 3) Loans to the satellites, control of banks issuing notes, and dependence of the satellite currencies on the ruble;
- 4) Appointment by the government in Moscow of managers, directors, advisers, and experts to key industries in the satellite countries; and
- 5) Control of those agencies in the satellite governments which supervise the political reliability and efficiency of workers, clerks, managers, directors — in fact, of everyone.

After Stalin's death, and especially as a result of the impact of the "Polish October" and the Hungarian Revolution, these exploitative measures were substantially eliminated or weakened. And Khrushchev has introduced a far greater degree of rationality into Soviet-satellite economic relations, with the objective — largely successful — of tremendously building up the industrial-military might of the bloc

as a whole. Moscow's control, thus, is no weaker than it ever was; it still controls the trade of the satellites with the non-communist world and is still the main buyer, seller, broker and clearing house for the entire Soviet empire. But this control, exercised through such institutions as the Council on Mutual Assistance, has simply been put on a more effective footing for the economic warfare which Khrushchev has explicitly declared on the non-communist world.

What is Soviet Russification?

Soviet Russification is the policy by which the government of the U.S.S.R. dominates the ideological and cultural life of the satellites.

The program of Russification includes compulsory schooling for all communists in the history and ideology of the Bolshevik party, the "liberating role" of the army of the U.S.S.R., and the necessity and advantages of alliance with the Soviet Union.

It includes such measures as the organization of intellectuals into Soviet Friendship Societies to study and popularize the "achievements of Soviet science and technique."

Under the Russification program, the study of Russian as a second language is compulsory in all schools.

And films, plays, books, and musical works produced in the U.S.S.R. predominate in the satellite countries, yielding huge profits to producing and publishing establishments in the Soviet Union.

What Is the Iron Curtain?

The Iron Curtain, an expression popularized by Winston Churchill in a speech given in 1946, comprises the system of controls by which the government of the U.S.S.R. isolates the population of the Soviet world from the non-communist world.

This consists of the prohibition of free communication and transit, generally across national borders which are everywhere patrolled by armed guards. Under this policy diplomats are restricted in number and in their movements. Few journalists from the free world are admitted and their dispatches are censored. The culture of the western world is decried as "bourgeois cosmopolitanism."

Since Stalin's death, the Iron Curtain has been lifted to a certain extent. Suspicion, rather than hatred, of foreigners is now cultivated. The staged spy trials involving diplomats, churchmen, businessmen and newspapermen from outside the Soviet world are no longer prevalent in the U.S.S.R., though they are as common a feature of political life in China as they were under Stalin.

Under Khrushchev, cultural and technical exchanges with the non-communist world are no longer forbidden, though they still do not come anywhere near the kind of free travel and exchange characteristic of the free world. Every Soviet delegation that visits a non-communist country is prudently composed of politically reliable people, including at least one member of the secret police, and hostages, e.g. relatives, are kept at home to insure their return.

The Iron Curtain remains primarily to keep Soviet and satellite citizens from having too close a relation with the non-communist world and to keep them safely at home. Despite such precautions as barbed-wired frontiers, electrified and mined borders, and three-mile "security zones" patrolled by armed guards, millions of East Europeans have managed to escape to freedom since the end of World War II.

For example, after the end of the war, more than a million men and women, forcibly taken by the Nazis from the U.S.S.R. for slave labor and as prisoners, refused to return to the Soviet Union. They chose to remain in the free world at some personal risk.

Numerous diplomatic officials and secret police agents of the Soviet world have deserted to the haven of the free world.

A vast number of people "voted with their feet" and testified to the tyranny behind the Iron Curtain by escaping to the West. Here are some figures of the number of escapees, by country, as of 1960:

- a. East Germany — 3,000,000
- b. Hungary — 370,000
- c. Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) — 250,000
- d. Poland — 210,000
- e. Czechoslovakia — 61,000
- f. Rumania — 30,000
- g. Bulgaria — 9,000
- h. Albania — 8,000

What Is Titoism?

Basically, Titoism, a form of communism, is a protest by a small, economically underdeveloped country against economic and political oppression by the U.S.S.R. It is affirmation of communist nationalism against the imperialism within the Soviet world.

Tito successfully opposed Stalin's attempt to dictate Yugoslav policy and determine the rate of industrialization and collectivization in Yugoslavia. He was successful largely because the Yugoslav partisans had taken power with American and British aid and because the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. were not stationed on Yugoslav soil.

Since Stalin's death, an uneasy *modus vivendi* has been reached between Tito's Yugoslavia and the Soviet world.

Tito and his colleagues continue to guard the independence of their government and party as jealously as ever. But for all that and for all the subtle modifications of the police state regime (comparable to those instituted by Khrushchev inside the U.S.S.R.), Yugoslavia remains a one-party state, ruled by a hierarchy of dedicated Leninists who are committed to the ultimate establishment of communism in their country. Civil liberties are unknown, collectivization of agriculture and industry continues apace, as does rigid state control over the tiny segment of petty commercial enterprise which is allowed to small businessmen, professionals, and some partisans.

A profound symbolic indication of the state of affairs in Yugoslavia is the nine-year prison term, beginning in 1957, to which the former Number Two Yugoslav communist, Milovan Djilas, has been subjected. Djilas' crime was to write a series of articles exposing the intrigue and high living of the ruling party hierarchy, and subsequently a searching theoretical analysis of the inevitably dictatorial and oppressive nature of the ruling clique in any communist society. This analysis he incorporated in a book entitled *The New Class*.

But despite Yugoslavia's political independence of Moscow, Tito and his colleagues not only remain Leninists in their domestic aims, but continue, for all their "revisionist" views, to look upon the Soviet Union as a "socialist" state, which, for any Leninist, is obviously superior to non-socialist, capitalist states. This explains, for example, the fact that in international affairs, Yugoslavia has hardly veered from the line laid down in Moscow: at the United Nations, for in-

stance, Yugoslavia has voted with the Soviet bloc on virtually every issue. Thus, the basis of the Titoist reconciliation with the Kremlin has been ideological — the undeviating acceptance of the U.S.S.R. as a socialist, Leninist state.

This has been made all the easier for Belgrade in view of Khrushchev's pragmatic acceptance of Tito's divergences. Ideologically, Khrushchev has explicitly not accepted the legitimacy of "Tito's way" to socialism. But it is worth Moscow's while to accept the status quo vis-a-vis Belgrade. For Moscow's accommodation to a "revisionist," neutralist Yugoslavia enables it to use Titoism as a cutting edge for its objectives among its satellites, in the free world, and in the neutralist world of Asia and Africa.

Among the satellites, especially among those elements who hope ultimately for a modicum of independence from Moscow's total control, this accommodation seems to hold out the hope that through the right kind of "cooperation" with Moscow, that modicum may be achieved. It thus serves to weaken those forces among the satellites who seek or hope for more complete independence of Moscow.

In the free world, this accommodation has the impact of impressing wishful thinkers with the idea that Moscow has perhaps given up its aims of world domination and is prepared for genuine peaceful coexistence.

And in the neutralist world, it has the impact of impressing some Asian and African governments and leaders with the idea that they can in the long run remain neutral and avoid being swallowed up by Soviet imperialism. This, in turn, also has a weakening effect on the free world, for it makes it all the more difficult to demonstrate to the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa that their convictions about their long-range relations with the Soviet empire are illusory.

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Totalitarian Nature of the Soviet World

What Are Soviets?

The Russian word "soviet" means simply council. The first soviet was formed spontaneously in the Russian revolution of 1905 and consisted of representatives of anti-Czarist political parties and of unions and other working class organizations; in the countryside, it also included peasants.

Subsequently, Lenin defined soviets as "organs of insurrection . . . organs of revolutionary power." After the establishment of Soviet Russia, they were redefined as "the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." They were organized on a hierarchial and centralized basis, exercising both legislative and executive functions, with the Supreme Soviet at the apex of the governmental power structure. Under the Stalin Constitution, soviets are essentially legislative in function.

However, under both Lenin and Stalin, as well as under Khrushchev, the soviets have only been, as Lenin's doctrine specified they should be, "transmission belts" connecting the Communist Party with the population. They were "conductors of the general line of the Party."

How Is the Government Selected in the Soviet World?

Nominally, by elections. But the only candidates are Communist Party nominees or candidates put up by blocs consisting of the Communist Party and organizations controlled by it. The elections are not free and the outcome is predetermined.

Who Runs the Government in the Soviet World?

The government is run by the Communist Party. All important posts are held by communists. The most important positions are held by members of the Presidium.

The Soviet Presidium rules the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. While Stalin was alive, he was the acknowledged leader of the Presidium and of the Soviet empire. Stalin, whose real name was Yosif Djughashvili, was an old Bolshevik who joined Lenin's party before the Russian Revolution. During World War II, he assumed the premiership of the U.S.S.R. His power was greater than that of most rulers in history. He decided all important (and a vast number of lesser) questions. His decisions were considered infallible, and there was no appeal from them.

At the historic Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU in February, 1956, Khrushchev, in his famous "secret report," condemned this entire mode of tyrannical leadership, which he called "the cult of personality." This cult consisted of two related phenomena: one-man dictatorship and widespread adulation of that one man. Khrushchev countered with what he proposed as the only proper means by which the Party and government were to be ruled: "collective leadership."

Thus, in the first three years after Stalin's death, many people in the West and behind the Iron Curtain were deceived into believing that collective leadership (a) was a new doctrine and (b) had actually been put into practice by Stalin's heirs.

The fact is that both Lenin and Stalin had glorified the notion of collective leadership; and Stalin especially always took pains to affirm that he was speaking not in his own name but in the name of the collective leadership. This theme was particularly prominent during the first few years after Lenin's death, at the very time that Stalin was craftily intriguing and maneuvering to get rid of the "collective leadership." Under cover of that formula Stalin destroyed the political power and status of his peers and betters in that collective leadership — Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and many, many others — on his road to absolute tyranny. And later he physically liquidated them.

It was during a comparable period — the period of struggle for succession after Stalin's death in 1953 — that his heirs, especially

Khrushchev revived the same theme, at the very time when he was in process of destroying the political power and standing of his peers in the "collective leadership." In the years since he has gotten rid of all potential rivals, just as Stalin did — Beria, Bulganin, Malenkov, Kaganovitch, Molotov, Zhukov, and many others. He has not yet physically liquidated them. Neither did Stalin with his peers during the comparable period. And Khrushchev may never do so because such blood-letting is no longer necessary.

But in the very speech in which he condemned Stalin in 1956, Khrushchev explicitly reaffirmed the doctrinal basis on which Stalin himself had gone about his bloody purge business. And today, no less than before, the doctrine of a war against any and all opposition elements is bolstered by laws which permit it, and by the existence of the secret police.

By the same token, Khrushchev, in destroying the cult of Stalin's personality, created a vacuum which a totalitarian society must needs fill; and it has indeed been filled by the ever-growing adulation of Khrushchev, his personality, ideas and policies.

Do Freedom of Speech, Press, and Assembly Exist in the Soviet World?

All constitutions in the Soviet world "guarantee" civil liberties. But in practice civil liberties are non-existent.

All media of mass communication are in the hands of the government. The contents of all publications and public speeches must conform to official policy. Conformity is insured by censorship and severe punishment for deviation.

Do Writers, Artists, and Scientists Have Freedom of Expression in the Soviet World?

No. In the communist view, "art is a class weapon" and so is science. Art and science must serve the interests of the state.

The general function of art is to extol life in the Soviet world; the general function of science is to develop methods for building up the Soviet world.

The communist party and the secret police are the final judges of artistic questions and scientific problems.

Individual works of art and the work of scientists are judged by their service to state policy. What was once approved because it fulfilled a need of the state, may later be officially condemned if the policy it served has been changed.

Artists, scholars, and scientists wear invisible uniforms in the service of the state. They are acclaimed, rewarded, criticized and purged in accordance with the shifting tides of state needs.

The casualties in the war of the Soviet state against the mind and spirit of man are legion.

Typical of the Stalinist attitude toward science and culture was the settlement of a dispute among biologists by the politicians of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party. These politicians pronounced correct the new theory of T. Lysenko that personality and cultural characteristics acquired through environmental influences could be inherited. At that time, it did not bother the central committee that all reputable biologists in the rest of the world had arrived through sound experimental evidence at a contrary conclusion. What the central committee was interested in was that Lysenko's "theory" could be used in support of the party's goal of remaking man in the image of Marxist theory.

Therefore, the teaching of formal genetics was forbidden. A purge of textbooks, scientific works, instructors, and scientists was carried out. A science was murdered and the secret police took its quota of victims for slave labor.

What Was the "Thaw"?

Along with the general decrease of terror and the easing of conditions of life that accompanied the insecurity of Stalin's heirs during their struggle for the succession, there came what was known as a "thaw" in Soviet cultural life. It took its name from a short novel by Ilya Ehrenburg, always a literary bellwether of Soviet cultural policies. In effect, this novel, and the short two-year period that took its name from it, appeared to call for a greater degree of freedom from party control in cultural and literary matters.

The period reached its height in 1956. Its outside limits were defined by the publication of the book, *Not By Bread Alone*, by Vladimir Dudintsev. Regardless of its artistic merits, it was a mild, though genuine, attempt to go beyond the traditional themes of glorification of communism and the Soviet state to which writers had had to confine themselves. In this novel, the author actually portrayed a party official who was guilty of bureaucratic excesses; against this villain he counterposed a hero who had some original ideas which the villain in part squashed and in part took over. Criticism of Soviet life did not go beyond this; the Soviet system itself continued to be glorified.

Since all publication in the U.S.S.R. is official, the appearance of this novel and the reappearance in print of a number of older writers who had been silent for years, was taken as a measure of the new regime's greater leniency. The picture was blurred, however, by the fact that other official organs began to criticize Dudintsev and the other writers. It was all indicative of the relative confusion that existed at the time, stemming from the absence of a clear-cut policy at the top.

By 1957, however, the dust had begun to settle in the Kremlin leadership, and, in addition, it had learned the lesson taught by the 1956 revolutions in Poland and Hungary, of allowing writers and intellectuals too much leeway. In that direction lay danger for the one-party state. The lid had been taken off for a short while in the Soviet world. After 1957 it was put back on tightly. The "thaw" had ended. No better illustration of this fact can be found than the treatment given to the Soviet author, Boris Pasternak (who died of natural causes at the age of 70 in May, 1960).

What Was the Pasternak Case?

Pasternak, a pioneer figure in Soviet poetry of the 1920s and 1930s, wrote a novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, which was refused publication in the U.S.S.R. because of its clear non-communist political and artistic attitudes. The manuscript found its way secretly to Italy, where a leading publisher brought it out in translation; soon thereafter it appeared in English and other languages. (By 1960, it had still not appeared inside the Soviet Union.)

The novel, though it had its literary detractors in the West, was generally acclaimed as a masterpiece and Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1958. This event served to unleash a torrent of the most violent criticism of Pasternak in the entire Soviet press; he was likened to a dog and a pig, and was forbidden to travel to Sweden to receive his prize. In turn, a world-wide protest arose in the West against the treatment accorded Pasternak in his own country. He became a symbol of the free spirit in shackles.

What Is the Role of Education in the Soviet World?

"Education in the U.S.S.R.," reads *Pedagogy*, a textbook approved in 1946 by the Soviet government for use in training teachers, "is a weapon for strengthening the Soviet state and the building of a classless society."

"The Soviet schools cannot be satisfied to rear merely educated persons but should instill the ideology of communism in the mind of the young generation, shape a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and inculcate the spirit of Soviet patriotism and Bolshevik ideas," declared the publication *Cultural Life* in August, 1947.

The schools, dictates *Pedagogy*, must turn out "organization-minded and disciplined" people full of "love of our Motherland . . . and of our glorious Communist Party and its leaders . . ."

These precepts also govern education in the satellite states.

Under this system, the Communist Party is the formulator of educational policy which is continuously revised in accordance with the changing needs of the regime.

The lower schools are instruments of indoctrination and propaganda; institutions of higher learning are Communist Party seminars. The courts are, in effect, catechisms in communist ideology.

History is continually rewritten and textbooks revised as the communists falsify past and present in accordance with the changing needs of their strategic situation. Thus, for example, after Beria's execution all mention of his name was excised from communist encyclopedias.

Critical attitudes and free inquiry are forbidden.

"... objectivism and the impartial assembling of economic facts is inadmissible," said the publication *Bolshevik*. In 1947, *Cultural Life* declared the "spirit of political indifference, impartiality and academic neutrality" are "impermissible" and result in "the distortion of historical truth."

Academic freedom does not exist. Public education, however, is free.

Though these basic doctrines of education were formulated in the Stalin era, they have been reiterated forcefully by Khrushchev, and by the party leaders in all the satellites.

In 1959, wholesale administrative and organizational modifications were made in the Soviet school system. Their fundamental import, however, was only to re-emphasize the trend and direction of Soviet education until then.

The system has several aims. The universities and other institutions of higher learning are limited to the admission of some 450,000 freshmen a year. Of these, fully 95% are channeled into technical, scientific and mathematical studies, leaving only 5% for art, literature, classics and the other humanities.

In turn, the secondary schools are geared to this system. The emphasis is overwhelmingly on the technical and practical sides.

In addition, preference is given, both in the secondary system and in higher education, to students who have put in at least two years of practical labor in agriculture or industry. Arrangements are variously made for secondary and university students either to work evenings, week-ends and vacations, or for a full two-year period upon graduation.

The emphasis in the secondary schools is thus on vocational studies and applied science.

This is accompanied by the restriction of the further growth of full-time universities, in favor of the expansion of part-time higher education.

The end result, in Khrushchev's terms, is to produce a younger generation that will take its place in the physical construction of an industrially strong Soviet Union. In terms of higher educational goals as they have been understood in the West, this system is geared to

produce technically competent, but ill-educated and half-cultured, citizens.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Freedom of Movement?

Travel between the U.S.S.R. and its satellites and among the satellites is strictly controlled.

In the U.S.S.R., as in Czarist Russia, internal passports are required for travel.

After completion of their sentences, certain categories of political offenders are not permitted to reside in the larger cities and administrative centers of the country.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Inviolability of Their Persons and Homes?

Constitutionally, yes. In practice, no.

Under Stalin, the power of the secret police was supreme. People disappeared suddenly from their accustomed places of work and homes and were never heard from again. Like the plagues of old, purges carried off millions to prisons, slave labor and death. At one time, shortly before Stalin's death, the number of slave laborers in the forced labor camps was reliably estimated to be 20,000,000.

Since Stalin's death, this system of terror has seriously diminished. But, for example, the right of habeas corpus still does not exist in the U.S.S.R. In the course of a series of amnesties in 1955 and 1957, large numbers of prisoners were released. But the forced labor camps remain, the secret police remains, political prisoners have not been amnestied to the same degree as actual criminals, and it is estimated that some 3,000,000 still remain imprisoned in the camps.

What Is the Nature of Law in the Soviet World?

In the Soviet social system, the interests of the individual are subservient to the interests of the state. The distinction between private and public law, prevalent throughout the rest of the world, is

rejected. In practice, the difference between government policy and law is thin or non-existent.

The primary function of Soviet law is the suppression of all private rights, the regimentation and subordination of the individual to the state and the creation of a totalitarian state.

The primary concern of the law in the Soviet world is what is known there as "socialist legality," which was defined by the late Andrei Vishinsky, former Foreign Minister, Chief Public Prosecutor and author of the official Soviet law text, as "the subordination of the formal commands of law to those of the Communist Party policy."

This situation has remained unchanged from Stalin's day to Khrushchev's.

What Is the Role of the Courts in the Soviet World?

Theoretically the courts in the Soviet system are set up for the fair trial and sentencing of offenders. However, they are not independent of other branches of the government, as in the United States, but are regarded as instruments of state policy.

No decisions adverse to state policy are ever made by the judges. The outcome of trials involving important economic and political issues is predetermined by the Presidium. Virtually all judges are communists.

In the Soviet world, trials are often staged for propaganda purposes to support the domestic and foreign policies of the government.

In the purge trials of 1935-1939 in the U.S.S.R., when the policy of the Soviet government was anti-fascist, the defendants were accused of treason and spying on behalf of Germany.

In the trial held in the satellite states during the "cold war," the defendants were accused of spying on behalf of "Anglo-American imperialism."

What Was the MVD?

Until shortly after Stalin's death and the execution of Beria, the MVD, successor to the NKVD, OGPU, GPU, and Cheka, was the secret police of the U.S.S.R. What follows is a brief description of

what its duties were and how it carried them out. This description is given here because, though many of the worst features of terror which characterized the secret police regime have been eliminated, the secret police continues to exist. And though its existence is more shadowy than it ever was under Stalin, the rules under which it operates remain substantially on the books.

The MVD's chief function, was to insure blind obedience through terrorism. Stalin characterized it as "the unsheathed sword of the revolution."

The MVD had vast powers. It was frequently described as a state within a state. It had its own independent budget within the general state budget. It maintained its own armed forces, including air, tank and infantry divisions. (Since Stalin's death, its budget has been subjected to the control of the Soviet Council of Ministers; similarly, its armed forces have largely been transferred to the Ministry of Defense.)

Secret police forces still guard the borders of the U.S.S.R. Under Stalin's tyranny, it rounded up for deportation to Siberia and northern Russia "politically unreliable" population groups, as well as millions of other suspected citizens.

The MVD spied on the entire population. It kept watch over all officials and representatives of the Party and state, and over economic, social and cultural institutions. It also watched over the officers of the Soviet armed forces. These functions are retained, more discreetly, by the secret police today.

Among the most dreaded powers of the MVD were summary arrest and indefinite detention; imposition of sentence by decree in the absence of the defendant; prolonged interrogation and torture in the extraction of confessions; secret trials of "enemies of the people," that is, persons accused of political crimes; and secret executions. The secret police no longer practices these.

The MVD was the recruiting agency for the slave-labor industries, and it administered the slave labor camps. These functions the secret police still retain.

The MVD also kept careful watch over the communist movement outside the U.S.S.R. and of the satellite governments. The secret police today still have this function.

What Is the KGB?

The KGB — the Committee for State Security — is the successor to the MVD. It is headed by General Ivan Serov, the shadowy figure who supervised the forcible annexation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the U.S.S.R. in 1940, and who was in charge of the brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956.

Though the Soviet regime under Khrushchev is clearly more humane than was Stalin's, under his one-party totalitarian state, the secret police is, as Merle Fainsod, one of the most distinguished students of Soviet society and government, has put it, "ready for use when needed, operative, above all, even when not visible, by the mere fact that it is known to exist."

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Enjoy Freedom of Worship?

No. This, however, does not prevent communists outside the Soviet world, when it suits their purpose, from posing as pious religious believers — whether it is as Catholics in Italy, or as Moslems in the Arab world.

A similar flexibility in tactics characterizes communist policy toward religion behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet constitutions "guarantee" freedom of religious worship and freedom from anti-religious propaganda. Between this nicely balanced phraseology and the reality of communist policy, however, there are wide discrepancies.

Following a Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the Soviet government began a systematic persecution of the Orthodox Church, which for centuries, under the Czars, had been the only recognized religious body in Russia. When Stalin became absolute master of the Soviet state, and the state became a totalitarian autocracy, Stalin revived the old Czarist pattern of state and church relationships. He acquired full control of the church, and the church became an instrument of the state. During World War II, atheist publications were discontinued, while priests accompanied troops to the front. While the legal position of the church has been restored and it enjoys greater latitude than in the first years of the Soviet Union, religious schools, societies and parishes are still forbidden. Every church building is required

to display a Red flag, and when Stalin was alive, a picture or icon of him.

After the war, the Soviet state established the supremacy of the Russian church over the Orthodox churches in the satellite countries. Thus was forged another weapon for control of the Soviet empire. It also aided Soviet religious and political maneuvers among people of the Orthodox faith in lands beyond the Iron Curtain, notably the Near East.

What Is Communist Policy Toward Religion in the Satellite Countries?

The principal element in communist policy toward religion in the satellite countries is the drive of the state to obtain control of the church and make it subservient to the government.

Although all churches in the satellite states suffer under the impact of ruthless communist persecution, world public attention has centered on the conflict between these governments and the Catholic Church. The Orthodox churches have been taken over, and Protestant influence is only a minor factor. But the Roman Catholic Church, with its widespread educational system, its world center in Rome, and its enormous influence on world public opinion, proved a formidable opponent. Despite its serious losses and weakened position, the Catholic Church in the satellite countries remains a center of resistance to communist power.

An outstanding example of such effective resistance, supported by the people, is the situation in Poland. There Gomulka has realized, since he came to power in October, 1956, that he could not renew the traditional communist onslaught on the Catholic Church without incurring the wrath and disloyalty of the vast majority of the people. The Church, for its part, has staunchly defended its minimal prerogatives, secure in the knowledge of popular support. Thus, an uneasy quasi-alliance was formed between Gomulka and Cardinal Wyszynski, the head of the Church in Poland.

Though the regime from time to time engages in fitful incursions into the Church's realm, by and large the faithful are allowed to practice their religion with a considerable degree of freedom. The Church, in turn, does not preach overt or violent resistance to the

regime; both sides want peace, each for its own reasons — Gomulka because he needs it to keep his regime from the devastations of even a muted civil war, the Church because it believes that so long as it retains the loyalty of the faithful it will outlast communism.

Is Communism Compatible With Religion?

No. Communism and religion are irreconcilable. Communism, in theory and practice, is atheistic. It regards religion, in the well-known phrase of Marx, as "the opium of the people."

The Judaeo-Christian tradition treats each man as being individually important. Communism does the exact opposite — it treats man as an instrument of the state. "All phrases about equal rights are nonsense." (Lenin.) This basically anti-religious statement is opposed to the Bible's precept that to deprive a man of his freedom is considered equivalent to murder. (Exodus 21:16.)

Few enemies of Judaeo-Christian ethics have been as unashamed as the communists in expressing their own amoral philosophy. "Communist ethics make it the highest duty to accept the necessity of acting wickedly . . . Evil transforms itself into good through the dialectic of History." (George Lukacs, Commissar of Education in the post-World War I Bolshevik government of Hungary.) This is in direct contrast to one of the basic tenets of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The Talmud, for instance, says that "a good deed performed by means of a sin is invalid."

Thus, no truly religious person, whether Christian or Jew, can possibly accept communism. A doctrine which believes that "To us everything is permitted" (Lenin) is totally irreconcilable with one which requires of its adherents that "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Leviticus 19:18.)

How Are National Minorities Treated in the Soviet World?

Communist propaganda boasts that only in the Soviet world are national minorities free of oppression. The record belies the propaganda.

The philosophy governing Soviet national minorities policy is based on the doctrine enunciated by Stalin in the late 1920s. It was

put in capsule form by the party propagandists: "National in form, socialist in content." In theory, this meant that the more than 200 distinct nationalities and ethnic minorities would be able to hold on to their cultural-ethnic traditions, so long as they supported Marxist-Leninist ideology and the Soviet state. This doctrine should have meant that all these minority cultures would be able to flourish.

In practice, the opposite has been true. "National in form" has remained an empty formula; "socialist in content" became the order of the day. It meant that the newspapers, schools, books, party and state organs in the various national republics and autonomous regions of the U.S.S.R. became carbon copies of their Russian counterparts, exactly aping in their own languages the formulae of Moscow.

During the war years, Stalin abolished a number of the so-called autonomous republics by decree. He had "politically unreliable" population groups — millions of Volga Germans, Poles, Letts, Estonians, Lithuanians, Crimean Tartars, Greeks from the Black Sea region of the U.S.S.R., East Germans, and such smaller nationality groups as the Caspian Kalmucks, the Chechens, Ingush and Balkars — forcibly uprooted from their homes and transported under inhuman conditions to remote regions for slave labor. Strategic border regions were repopulated with Russians and other population groups considered politically reliable.

Though Khrushchev, in his 1956 "secret report," condemned Stalin for *some* of these crimes (in a few cases amounting to genocide), he was silent about most of these policies. And in any event, the Soviet regime has done little or nothing to redress the injustice to these groups.

The oppression of national minorities is also a practice of the satellites.

What Is Birobidjan?

In the late 1920s, the Soviet government initiated on the Siberian-Chinese border the Jewish settlement of the province of Birobidjan. As stated officially, it was to be an agricultural settlement for urban Jews. Its unstated purpose was to counteract the large number of Chinese who had been infiltrating the province.

In the early years, only 30,000 Jews immigrated to the harsh climate of Birobidjan, and in order to attract greater numbers, the

Soviet propaganda machine began hailing the area as a new national homeland for the Soviet Jews. This had no pronounced effect on immigration to the area, however. By 1948, with the rise of official sentiment against the Jews, the policy of the government was reversed. All Jewish schools and publications were closed down and a purge of Jewish leaders was carried out in 1949-50.

Estimates as to the present size of the Jewish population of Birobidjan vary. Some authorities place it as low as 40,000. The Jews in that area constitute 25 per cent of the territory's inhabitants, the rest consisting of Tartars, Ukrainians, and Russians. After a quarter of a century of settlement in this "Jewish territory," no cultural Jewish institutions of any kind are left. There is neither a Jewish school nor a Jewish theatre, but only one dilapidated synagogue without a rabbi. As late as 1960 a Jewish newspaper with a circulation of 1,000 was issued three times a week; however, this paper does little more than parrot official news rehashed from the official Moscow newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

What Is the Background of the Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union?

For about three decades very little came to light about the real situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. The world took at face value the Soviet legal code's definition of anti-Semitism as a crime. No special importance was attached to the indifference with which the Soviet government, in common with other governments, watched first the persecution and then the extermination of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. The borders of the "socialist fatherland" were not opened to Jews.

Following the partition of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, the Soviet government barred the escape of hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing eastward before the onrushing Nazi hordes. And it deported hundreds of thousands of Jews from its own "sphere of influence" in Poland to slave labor in the interior of the U.S.S.R.

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the U.S.S.R.

After World War II, the position of Soviet Jews deteriorated rapidly. Jewish schools were closed. The teaching of Yiddish and

Hebrew was discontinued. All Jewish organizations were dissolved and all periodicals and publications dealing with Jewish problems were suppressed. A purge of Jewish intellectuals was carried out. Relations between Soviet Jews, who were warned not to identify themselves with Israel, and Jewish communities in other parts of the world, were forbidden. Large numbers of Jews were forcibly deported for slave labor in the interior of Russia.

All of this happened in Stalin's last years, from 1948 to 1953, which were known throughout the Soviet Jewish community of 3,000,000 as the "Black Years."

Though the violence, and the threat of even more of it, ended with Stalin's death, no change has occurred in the status of Soviet Jewry: official Soviet facts and figures reveal a pattern of anti-Jewish policies, of differential treatment in cultural and religious affairs, of discrimination in education and government employment, of denigration of the Jew's social image, of scarcely concealed anti-Semitic prejudices.

What Is the Status of Jewish Culture in the U.S.S.R.?

Once the matrix of much of Jewish culture, the great Soviet Jewish community is utterly deprived of any means to express itself in creative terms. Yiddish writers may have some of their manuscripts published in Russian translation, but are not allowed to appear in their own language, for Yiddish publishing house are forbidden. So are the Yiddish press, theatre, schools, newspapers and every other aspect of organized Jewish culture.

How Was Anti-Semitism Officially Expressed Under Stalin?

There is no such thing as an independent journal in the Soviet Union. Everything published in the U.S.S.R. for popular consumption is rigidly controlled by the state, and every opinion expressed in a newspaper is equivalent to an official opinion. It is therefore interesting to note that both *Culture and Life* and the *Literary Gazette*, leading cultural periodicals of the U.S.S.R., initiated in 1949 an editorial policy which effectively brought the real government attitude toward the Jews into the open.

In articles dealing with "pernicious" western influences which had been "contaminating" Soviet literature, both publications listed a large number of writers who were suspect. In each case the Jewish writers whose pen names appeared on this list were additionally identified by their original names, all of which were immediately identifiable as of Jewish origin. Interestingly enough, the magazines did not find it necessary to supply the original names of the non-Jewish writers. But the full extent of communist anti-Semitism was revealed in the Prague show trials and in the so-called "doctor's plot."

During the month of November, 1952, the Czech communists staged a mammoth show trial. Eleven of the fourteen defendants were Jews, all of them veteran communists. They included the Secretary General of the Czech Communist Party, Rudolph Slansky; the editor of the communist newspaper *Rude Pravo*, Andre Simone; and nine other officials in various government departments. The most significant aspect of the trial was the fact that the defendants were tried not as individuals, but as Jews. They were accused of being agents of a world-wide "Jewish bourgeois nationalistic plot." They were forced to confess that they had become traitors and conspirators because of their Jewish bourgeois origin. Although all their lives they had been violent opponents of Zionism, they were forced to admit that they had acted for the benefit of the Zionist movement. Even the three non-Jewish defendants, including the former Foreign Minister Clementis, "confessed" as their main crime that they had placed "Zionist agents" in their offices.

The defendants also had to accept the blame for food rationing, lack of bread, lack of electricity, continued low wages and high prices, and the failure of government plans. A fantastic treason charge linked them with an imaginary spy net masterminded by U. S. President Harry Truman, U. S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Israel Premier David Ben-Gurion, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

These "legal" procedures were accompanied by anti-Semitic outbursts in the press of a virulence unknown in the history of Czechoslovakia. When, on December 4, 1952, the trial ended with the hanging of 11 of the 14 accused, the myth of communist tolerance of minorities was shattered even for the most gullible.

One month later, nine doctors, most of them Jews, were seized in Moscow on the charge of plotting against prominent government

leaders. Again the trial was accompanied by outspoken anti-Semitic editorials in the Moscow press. During the trial the accused "admitted" all charges, including killing the late Andre Zhdanov.

After Stalin's death, in a sudden turn-about, the "guilty" men were completely exonerated, the plot declared fictitious and their "confessions" revealed to have been the result of torture.

How Is Anti-Semitism Officially Expressed Under Khrushchev?

There is a concerted propaganda campaign in the Soviet press and radio to single out Jews and Judaism for special opprobrium. This campaign began in earnest in 1957, with the general ending of the "thaw," and continued unabated thereafter. As of the middle of 1960, it remained at a high pitch of intensity.

This campaign follows a definite pattern. In one strand, the Jewish religion is denigrated and vilified; it is shown to be linked with the vicious twins of "bourgeois nationalism" and Zionism, both of which are intimately associated with "Western imperialism and its Israeli puppet."

A second strand perpetuates the traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews as anti-social types.

The two together create an image of the Jews and Judaism as virtually disloyal and potentially treasonous to the Soviet state.

What Is the Status of the Jewish Religion in the U.S.S.R.?

Communism is militantly atheistic in ideology and practice and all religious groups are seriously disadvantaged in the Soviet Union. But even in religion the Jews are singled out for discriminatory treatment.

They are allowed no Chief Rabbi and, unlike the other religious groups, no central, nation-wide organization of religious congregations.

There are very few rabbis, and the number of students in the one rabbinical seminary that is permitted is kept down to about 20. Many

communities are forbidden to have synagogues, or even to have damaged synagogues repaired. In many communities, synagogues have actually been closed down by police force, private prayer meetings forbidden, and many religious practices, such as the baking of matzos and ritual slaughter of animals for kosher food consumption, prohibited.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Zionism?

In classic communist doctrine, Zionism is a "counter-revolutionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie," which divides the working class along nationalist lines and imperils their revolutionary unity. Zionism has long been persecuted in the U.S.S.R. In Palestine the communists incited pogroms by the Arabs against the Jews.

However, during the struggle of the Jews against the British in Palestine after World War II, the Soviet satellites encouraged emigration to Israel, in order to weaken British power in the Near East. The Soviet Union, however, prevented emigration of "its" Jews.

Subsequently, when the state of Israel was created, and resisted Soviet domination, Soviet policy toward Zionism hardened again.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Israel?

The Soviet regime is violently hostile to Israel for two reasons: foreign policy and domestic policy.

Its foreign policy in the Middle East dictates a close relationship with the Arab countries, and this has led the U.S.S.R. to demonstrate its hatred for Israel both in terms of propaganda and in terms of enormous military aid to build up the Arab armed forces.

Domestically, the Soviet need to present Israel in the worst possible light is based on the official assumption of the alien, hostile and suspect character of its Jewish citizens and on the concomitant conviction that Israel would serve as a magnet to attract Soviet Jews. In consequence, the Soviet press is full of vitriolic denunciations of Israel, of its way of life and conditions of living, and of its alleged alliance with the "imperialists."

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the Satellite Countries?

The bulk of the 6,000,000 Jews who were slaughtered by the Nazis during World War II lived in the countries that subsequently became Soviet satellites. After the war, the remnants of those communities slowly began to rebuild their communal and cultural institutions. This painful process was cut short soon after the communists attained power in the satellites.

Generally, throughout the satellites, all formerly independent Jewish religious, educational and social activities have been nationalized and are operated by communist party members or have been abolished. All Jewish political parties have been dissolved. The number of Jewish schools is dwindling. In some countries the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden. In Hungary, Jewish teachers have been ousted from the public school system and Jewish pupils are compelled to attend school on the Sabbath.

Jewish charity organizations, including orphanages, children's homes and hospitals have been liquidated. Jewish foreign relief organizations have been ousted. Jewish papers are permitted to publish only communist views. Government spies sit in the synagogues, many of which have been invaded and desecrated.

Anti-Semitic attacks by communist cabinet members were not uncommon in Hungary, where pogroms took place in the winter of 1950-51. Hungarian Jews and others "dangerous to the security of the State" were deported for forced labor.

In recent years, the situation of the Jews in the satellites has fluctuated, but it is evidently in better condition than under the worst of the Stalinist tyranny. In Poland, for example, the communist-controlled Jewish community is allowed a daily Yiddish newspaper. And Jews have been allowed to emigrate, from time to time, from both Poland and Rumania.

In these respects, these Jewish communities are better off than Soviet Jewry itself.

How Do Communism and Fascism Differ?

Soviet communism and fascism are forms of totalitarianism, the antithesis of democracy. In many respects they are identical; in others, they are poles apart.

The principal points of identity are the absolute power of the state over all economic, political, social, and cultural activities; the complete subordination of the individual to the state; the abolition of civil rights and individual liberty; regimentation and terrorization of the population; and slave labor.

The main differences are found in the economic bases and ideologies of the two systems. Under fascism, the economy is organized on the basis of private property. Under communism, the means of production, exchange and distribution are national property. Fascist ideology is, in the main, a frank glorification of nationalist supremacy and aggressive power. Communist ideology is a deceitful and deceiving perversion of the ideals of "World Brotherhood" and "Sharing."

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Economy and Labor in the Soviet World

Who Controls the Means of Production in the Soviet World?

In the U.S.S.R. all the principal means of production, exchange and distribution are "socialist property." Ownership and control are vested in the state.

In the satellite states and China, the transformation of private property into "socialist property" is not complete and is still in process.

In neither country can this system be called genuinely socialist — for "socialist property" is not in the hands of the people, or of elected representatives responsible to them. It is owned and controlled by the managerial state which is controlled by the party hierarchy.

What Were the Five-Year Plans?

The five-year plans, the first of a series of which was instituted by Stalin in 1929, were the "state national economic plans." They are regarded, in the Soviet world, as the principal factor in the transformation from the dictatorship of the proletariat to "socialism," and from "socialism" to communism.

What Is the Seven-Year Plan?

In 1959, Khrushchev and his colleagues announced a new economic plan to succeed the last of the Stalin five-year plans. This projected even more ambitious aspirations for the Soviet economy

than any of its predecessors. It was projected for a period of seven years.

The plans provide for rapid industrialization and for collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. They aim at systematic exploitation of the vast resources of the Soviet world. The plans set production goals in each industry and plant, provide a standard for increasing production, set standards of quality, fix prices, and make allotments for wages and social services.

What Have Been the Results of Economic Planning in the U.S.S.R.?

The principal results of the five-year plans in the U.S.S.R. include:

- Transformation of an economically backward country into the second greatest industrial nation of the world;

- Increased urbanization of the population and creation of hundreds of new cities;

- Increase in the size and proportion in the population of the working class;

- Partial transformation of the peasant into a collective farmer and agricultural proletarian.

The incalculable human cost at which these material gains were made can only be guessed at in terms of the following:

- Creation of a new class of 20 million slave laborers as an integral part of Soviet economy.

- Expansion of the secret police to enforce compliance.

- The uprooting and deportation of millions of peasants.

- Creation of a new bureaucracy of party functionaries and military personnel.

- Continued low standard of living for the majority of the people.

Under the Khrushchev seven-year plan, slave labor no longer plays an important role. This plan perpetuates the traditional Soviet emphasis on massive industrial expansion under state control and farm collectivization. It also promises better living conditions, in terms of increased housing and more and varied foods and clothing.

What Is the Position of the Peasant in the Soviet World?

Peasants comprise an overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet world.

The peasant is the main target of the communist plan of social development. The aim of communist policy is to transform the peasant into an agrarian worker. In the meantime, the peasant is the principal source of slave labor.

Peasant support of communism is won by land reform — the expropriation of large landholdings and their distribution among the peasants.

After a time, varying in length according to circumstances, the peasants are induced, coerced, or forced at gunpoint into collective farms where they work under state direction and control.

The production of the collectives is the property of the collectives. A fixed proportion is sold to the state at prices set by the state. Another portion is taken by the state in payment of various services and for various funds. The net income is distributed among the peasants of the collectives, partly in money, partly in kind, in proportion to the quantity and quality of their work, at rates determined by the state.

Collective farmers are permitted to cultivate crops and raise livestock on their own small garden plots. They are also permitted to dispose of a part of their private production on the open market.

Whenever, in consequence, peasant income rises, the state increases agricultural taxes. The revaluation of the ruble in 1947 was especially designed to decrease the value of the peasant's cash savings by 90%. The peasant in the Soviet world lives a life of drab poverty. On more than one occasion, famine, resulting from the perpetual antagonism between the state and the peasants in the U.S.S.R. has carried off millions of peasants. Millions more were driven from their homes to become slave laborers.

A growing number of state farms are operated by the government of the U.S.S.R. with agrarian workers who receive wages and are in fact agricultural proletarians.

What Is Labor's Standard of Living in the Soviet World?

It is apparent from the record of Soviet behavior that the goal of the system is not primarily to better the life of the consumer, but to enhance the power of the state. Consumers receive improved

benefits only as the rulers believe more goods or shorter hours will increase productivity and keep unrest within manageable limits.

The Statistical Office of the United Nations reported on December 3, 1950, on the basis of official reports, that with the exception of Poland, a Soviet satellite, the Soviet Union has the lowest per capita income of all industrialized and semi-industrialized nations of the world. National income per capita in the Soviet Union was equivalent to \$308 a year in 1949 U.S. dollars.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study estimated that in the Spring of 1953 a Moscow worker had to work up to twenty-five times as much as a worker in New York to buy basic foods, and up to twenty times as much to buy basic clothing.

A 1957 study prepared by the Library of Congress for the Joint Economic Committee, on the subject of "Soviet Economic Growth," revealed that the per capita personal consumption in the Soviet Union is only about one-fifth to one-seventh as great as that in the United States.

Labor's income in the Soviet Union is lower than the national per capita average. In theory, a comprehensive system of social services supplements labor's income. In practice, the social services benefit only a minority of workers.

While the state concentrates on heavy industry and armaments, labor suffers from an acute and chronic shortage of housing and consumer goods.

Can a Worker Choose His Place of Work in the Soviet World?

Only within narrowing limits. Since 1940 the government of the Soviet Union has followed the practice of transferring skilled workers from plant to plant without regard to the workers' wishes.

The graduates of the Labor Reserve Schools are required to work for four years at the direction of the government.

Can a Worker Quit His Job in the Soviet World?

Only for reasons approved by the state, and only with the permission of his plant managers.

Leaving a job without permission is a criminal offense in the U.S.S.R. The punishment is imprisonment for two to four years.

Workers in the transportation industries work under martial law; those who leave their jobs without permission are tried by court martial and may be sentenced to prison for five to eight years.

How Are Lateness and Absenteeism by Workers Punished in the Soviet World?

In the U.S.S.R., a worker who is late more than twenty minutes three times in a month, or four times in two months, is considered unjustifiably absent. He may be sentenced to as much as six months' compulsory labor at his regular place of employment and, during the period of his sentence, he receives only 75% of his normal wages.

How Are Wages Determined in the Soviet World?

By the state.

The government makes an allocation for wages, industry by industry, in the five-year plan. Administrative and managerial personnel and workers are bound by the allocation.

Piece rates prevail as the method of paying labor in the Soviet world. This method, against which labor in the free world has long struggled as unjust, enables Soviet state continually to speed up production. As productivity is increased, piece rates are lowered. "The reduction of pay rates," said the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in 1947, "is an indispensable condition for the reduction of production costs."

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Collective Bargaining?

Collective bargaining is used by the state to achieve increased productivity, speed up the workers, improve labor discipline, safety conditions, and recreational facilities. Wages, hours, and other matters of vital concern to workers are excluded from the scope of collective agreements. In the sense in which collective bargaining is understood

in the free world, as a means of determining the rates and conditions of work, it is non-existent in the Soviet world.

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Strike?

The law in the Soviet world does not forbid strikes, but the secret police do. Strikes are virtually unknown in the U.S.S.R. They are suppressed by force in the satellite states.

Do Labor Unions Exist in the Soviet World?

Organizations called labor unions are a prominent feature of industrial relations in the Soviet world. The membership of these unions is estimated at considerably more than fifty million, which is more than the number of unionists in the free world.

In name and structure, these unions are like the unions outside the Soviet orbit. In function, however, they are not voluntary organizations of workers dedicated to the improvement of the position of their members, as are the unions in the free world.

In theory, membership in unions in the Soviet world is voluntary. But the disadvantages of non-membership are so marked as to constitute an overwhelming incentive for joining. Membership in the U.S.S.R. is as high as 90% of those eligible for membership. Slave laborers are ineligible.

The Soviets believe that a union movement free to act in behalf of its members' interests is incompatible with economic planning. In addition to insuring labor discipline and increasing productivity, they also act as direct government agents in the administration of social insurance benefits, "carry out control over the condition of labor safeguards and safety techniques, negotiate collective agreements with the administration of enterprises, and perform other prescribed tasks."

The unions in the Soviet world are run by the communist party. All leading positions in these unions are held by communists, and units of the communist party function in all union bodies. Unions in the Soviet world are instruments of the state for the enslavement of the workers.

How Did Slave Labor Originate in the U.S.S.R.?

Slave labor in the Soviet Union developed from the institution of correctional labor, established after the revolution for the avowed purpose of the social rehabilitation of criminals and class enemies.

It developed in consequence of two principal factors.

One was the need, as a result of the high cost of production and low level of productivity in industry under the five-year plans, of finding a way of reducing the overall cost of production in the Soviet economy.

The second factor was the availability of a large potential labor force, created by the forcible deportation in the early 1930s of millions of peasants who resisted collectivization.

Thereafter, slave labor assumed increasingly large proportions. The supply of slave laborers was replenished and enlarged by political offenders, their relatives, persons caught up for various reasons in the periodic purges, peasants who resisted government policies, "politically unreliable" national-minority population groups, and prisoners of war.

At one time, there were up to 20,000,000 human beings in the slave labor camps, which were operated by the MVD.

The entire production of slave labor was planned, as part of the totally planned economy of the entire country. Slave labor was predominantly used in the construction of the U.S.S.R.'s atomic program, in the mining of gold and other metals, in transportation and construction of railroads, highways and defense works.

Slave laborers were not paid. They lived and worked in camps surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by the MVD, under literally inhuman conditions. Thousands of affidavits, memoirs and reports by former slave laborers who escaped or were fortunate enough to be released testify to the vast extent and brutality of the system.

Since Stalin's death, a measure of rationality has been introduced into the whole system. Though the camps and forced labor and secret police remain, conditions of life and work are not as bestial as they were. There may be no more than one million forced laborers there today, mostly political prisoners.

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Communist China

What Is Maoism?

Maoism is the strategic doctrine developed by the top Chinese communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, for communist conquest of power in China, which now serves as a model of communist strategy and tactics for colonial and ex-colonial countries in Asia and Africa.

Because this doctrine addresses itself to the problem of achieving power in underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries and therefore is based on a peasant rather than proletarian movement, some observers have believed that it represents a Marxist "heresy," or a fundamental divergence from Lenin's and Stalin's teachings. Actually, Mao's political record over the past forty years reveals the most rigid adherence to Moscow's "party line" at least until Stalin's death; since then, Peking has consistently adhered to the doctrine of the U.S.S.R.'s supremacy in the communist world; and Mao's teachings are unmistakable applications of Lenin's and Stalin's views on how to gain power in backward peasant countries.

How Is Communist China Ruled?

Since 1949, when the "People's Republic of China" was established, mainland China has been ruled by a ruthless communist dictatorship which differs in no essential respect from the regime of total terror created by Stalin in the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party, which has the same structure as all other communist parties, quickly established through the use of military force, police

terror and massive propaganda a regime which some observers believe actually outdoes Stalin at his worst in the imposition of monolithic party dictatorship and coercion.

What Are Communist China's Economic Goals?

The Chinese communists set themselves the task, from the beginning of their regime, of making China a mighty military and industrial country. They have done this in ways very similar to those used by Stalin in the U.S.S.R. after 1928 — by forcing the pace of heavy industrialization, paid for by a sweated peasantry and a population deprived of opportunities for consumption.

Just as did the Soviet Union, Communist China has undertaken this program through a series of five-year plans, the first of which covered the years 1953-57 and the second of which projects industrial advances from 1958 to 1962.

There is no doubt that heavy industrial production has soared in Communist China. At the same time, as the result of tight controls on consumption (through the manipulation of distribution, price fixing, heavy taxation, etc.) and de-emphasis of production of consumer goods, consumption in China has dropped to a lower level than ever in its modern history.

How Did Communist China Make Its Agrarian Revolution?

The vast majority of China's 650,000,000 people are peasants — fully 100,000,000 peasant families. Their fate is decisive for China's future.

In 1950, just a few months after the communists attained power, all farm land was distributed. The truly big landlords, few in number, were dispossessed, and the land distributed to peasants. Owners of small and middle-sized holdings were left in possession of their fields.

But just a few months later, still in 1950, through massive waves of mob demonstrations, lynch trials and murders, all but the tiniest parcels of land were confiscated by the state. The land distribution proceeded in such a way that the masses of peasants held even smaller

land tracts than they had had before. In the next few years, tremendous propaganda and social pressures, combined with confiscatory tax policies, led increasing numbers of peasants to give up their land to the state.

In 1955, a further change of policy occurred, still moving in the ultimate direction of total collectivization of the land. A huge chain of "cooperatives" was established on semi-collectivized state farms. Peasants worked the land cooperatively and were then paid wages for their labor.

In 1957 the penultimate stage of the agrarian revolution was reached, with the complete forced collectivization of the land and the elimination of even the smallest private ownership of land. This was a stage comparable to that achieved in the U.S.S.R. during the Stalin era.

In the short space of a few months during 1958, the final stage was reached with the establishment of the communes.

What Are the Communes?

The communes represent a total revolution of family life and economics on the farms of China. They are an attempt to introduce military concepts into farming.

China's 100,000,000 peasant families have been completely broken up through the establishment of the communes. Families do not live together; children are completely separated from their parents, so that after school hours they eat, play and sleep (and work when they are of age) with their own groups. The men and women eat in separate mess dining halls constructed for each commune.

The communes vary in size from a few thousands of people to many thousands, depending on the nature of the work to which the inhabitants are assigned. In any case, this type of group organization, under para-military discipline, permits the greater coordination of large numbers of people for work projects.

The effect of the communes is essentially to break up the traditionally strong Chinese family unit, not only to facilitate more controlled and more disciplined work organization, but also to destroy

the one potent institution that stood in the way of total party and state *gleichschaltung* (forced deprivation of individuality in the interest of total social conformity dictated from above) of the population.

How Do the Chinese Communists Employ Terror?

The Chinese communists have added to the lessons they learned from Stalin's terror system the refinements of Chinese mental and physical torture. The secret police system extends down to every street and every dwelling. Wholesale mutual spying and public denunciation are the rule.

There have been four major periods of state-supervised terror since the communists came to power. The first was known as the "Counter-Revolutionary Suppression Campaign" which was waged in 1950 and early 1951. The second was called the "Three Anti Movement" directed at rooting out actual, alleged or even potential corruption, waste and bureaucratism; this campaign was waged in 1951. The third, the "Five Anti Movement," was directed, during the latter part of 1951 and 1952, against tax evasion, theft of government property, theft of state economic secrets, fraud and bribery.

In the course of these campaigns, conducted at an incredibly high pitch of intensity of terror and propaganda, literally millions of Chinese were killed and millions more deported to slave labor in the far reaches of China.

Those who survived with lighter penalties were considered to be successful products of what the Chinese communists have called "brain-washing."

What Is Brain-Washing?

Though the term is uniquely Chinese communist, the process is not original with Mao's Party and regime. It is actually a more outspoken version of the standard practice of all communist parties, in and out of power, when they conduct sessions of what they call "criticism and self-criticism."

Whether it is done publicly and before great crowds, as is frequently the case in China, or in the privacy of a secret party meeting, the procedure is very much the same. An individual who has fallen

suspect of some alleged crime is brought before his party peers, or his neighbors, and subjected to a microscopic examination of his errors or crimes. After a severe enough mental flogging, which may continue over considerable time and more than one meeting, the accused then rises to acknowledge the correctness of the accusations, to outdo his accusers in denunciation of himself, and to promise repentance. If his self-denunciation is accepted — that is, if the authorities have predetermined that the accused is not to be put in prison, deported to slave labor or executed — he is placed on probation for a period, to demonstrate the effectiveness of the brain-washing process.

What Were "The One Hundred Flowers"?

By the spring of 1957, Mao evidently considered that the party and regime were sufficiently impervious to any resistance to allow for an extremely limited "liberalization" of the regime's rigorous control of thought and expression. In April, then, Mao made a speech in which he magnanimously proposed that the communist garden need not produce only one flower: "Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom!" he declared; the communist flower was big and sturdy enough to withstand any competition.

For six weeks the lid was off, and the steam of resentments, bitterness and frustration began to escape. It was chiefly the intellectuals, the writers, the academicians and the students who took advantage of what they supposed was a new-found right to express criticisms and to call for more rights and a generally more relaxed atmosphere. At the end of six weeks the lid was suddenly clamped down again as tightly as ever. The One Hundred Flowers began to have their heads chopped off.

All the writers and teachers and others who had expressed mild criticisms were subjected to the full process of brain-washing. Without exception they were forced to repudiate their statements, and in many cases were sentenced to penal labor or worse. In a number of cities, university student outbreaks were bloodily suppressed. Since May, 1957, no word of dissonance has been heard.

It is conceivable that Mao really believed that, in relaxing the rigors of the regime, he would encounter little outspoken criticism,

and that he and his colleagues were stupefied by the extent and scale of the criticism which burst forth, and so felt it indispensable to return to the old repression.

It is at least as likely that the "Hundred Flowers" period was deliberately planned to evoke the criticism so as to lead to the discovery and liquidation of the "malcontents."

What Is the Status of Sino-Soviet Relations?

It is extremely difficult to gauge these relations accurately, since both regimes are not given to allowing open inspection of their policies. What does seem clear is that the Chinese communists are in a considerably more "revolutionary" and intransigent mood than the leadership of the U.S.S.R., that the Chinese freely concede the primacy of the Kremlin in the international movement, but that they consider themselves the first among the junior partners. They acknowledge the ideological supremacy of Moscow and proclaim the industrial achievements of the U.S.S.R. as examples to be followed by their own people. And the Soviet Union, for its part, has made China the recipient of its largest grants of economic and military aid, an increasing share of its trade; has poured hundreds of millions of rubles into China and sent scores of thousands of technicians and economic and military experts there.

That there have been conflicts between the two ruling hierarchies seems beyond doubt. Potentially there may be growing conflict in the future. But the two parties and governments have given no outward sign of encouragement to the belief that a wedge can be driven between them through outside pressures. All the evidence points to a protracted period of a solid phalanx vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

What Is China's Role in Asia?

In recent years, China has made increasingly larger claims for dominance in Asia. Its active support, with men and arms, of communist aggressions in Korea and Indo-China reflects these aspirations, as does its outright annexation of Tibet in 1950. In Malaya, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia and other parts of South and Southeast Asia, the Chinese communists have, with the help of some elements among the colonies of overseas Chinese in those areas, built very active communist outposts.

Ever since the Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950, the people of Tibet carried on overt and covert resistance. They strenuously objected, in the first place, to foreign [Chinese] domination; they resented the communist efforts to destroy their religious institutions and practices, which are a variant of Buddhism; and they refused to accept the forcible break-up of their traditional tribal form of social and economic life. The resistance took its most overt form in the activities of Tibetan tribal guerillas against Chinese communist military formations, railroads, highways and other strategic points held or built by the Chinese.

This bloody struggle continued from 1950 to 1954, when India's Prime Minister Nehru gained the acquiescence of Tibet's temporal-religious ruler, the Dalai Lama, to China's suzerainty over Tibet on the basis of an agreement Nehru made with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The agreement incorporated the five points of peaceful co-existence among states known in India and throughout much of Asia as "Panch Shila." But despite this agreement, the Chinese continued to behave as brutal conquerors in Tibet.

The struggle came to a head in March, 1959, when the people of Lhasa, Tibet's capital city, rose against the oppressors in the belief that they planned the deposition and imprisonment of the Dalai Lama. Secretly, and in the dead of night, the Dalai Lama escaped from his communist-patrolled palace and made his way through a tortuous route over the Himalayas into refuge and asylum in India. In Lhasa and throughout Tibet, in subsequent weeks and months, the Chinese communists carried out bloody repressions at least comparable to the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Hundreds of thousands of Tibetans have been slaughtered, imprisoned, or deported to forced labor in China, and thousands of Chinese are steadily being brought to Tibet to inhabit a country increasingly depopulated of its natives. The whole process has ramifications of genocide.

- Berger, Carl
THE KOREA KNOT, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.
An account of the background of the Korean War.
- Feis, Herbert
THE CHINA TANGLE, Princeton University Press, 1952.
A heavily documented American view of the Chinese situation.
- Hunter, Edward
BRAIN-WASHING IN RED CHINA, Vanguard, 1953.
A study of the calculated destruction of men's minds.
- Levi, Werner
MODERN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY, University of Minnesota Press, 1953.
China's foreign policy with special emphasis on its activities in South and South East Asia.
- Moraes, Frank
THE REVOLT IN TIBET, Macmillan, 1960.
Provides the historical background for the revolt, and describes Asia's revulsion against China's brutality.
- Tang, Peter
COMMUNIST CHINA TODAY, Praeger, 1960 (revised edition).
The best up-to-date study.
- Vatcher, William H., Jr.
PANMUNJOM, Praeger, 1958.
The detailed story of the Korean military armistice negotiations.
- Walker, Richard L.
CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM, Yale University Press, 1955.
One of the best books on the subject.

Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, *national chairman*; Meier Steinbrink, *honorary chairman*; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, Philip M. Klutznick, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, William Sachs, Benjamin Samuels, Dore Schary, Melvin H. Schlesinger, Jesse Steinhart, *honorary vice-chairmen*; Abe Goldstein, Harold Lachman, David A. Rose, *vice-chairmen*; Benjamin Greenberg, *treasurer*; Herbert Levy, *secretary*; Benjamin R. Epstein, *national director*; Paul H. Sampliner, *chairman, executive committee*; Joseph Cohen, *vice-chairman, executive committee*; Label A. Katz, *president, B'nai B'rith*; Maurice Bisgyer, *executive vice-president, B'nai B'rith*; Mrs. Charles Solovitch, *president, B'nai B'rith Women*.

Staff Directors: Nathan C. Belth, *public relations*; Oscar Cohen, *program*; Alexander F. Miller, *community service*; J. Harold Saks, *administration*; Lester J. Waldman, *organization planning*; Arnold Forster, *general counsel*.

Editors of Freedom Books: Oscar Cohen, *director, national program division*; Oscar Tarcov, *director, publications department*.

UNITED STATES

Mem

TO : M. DeLoach

DATE: 4-28-61

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL)

B'NAI B'RITH

OMISSION OF "MASTERS OF DECEIT"
IN ADL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Reference is made to your memo of 4-24-61 to Mr. Mohr in which you indicated that you had called Herman Edelsberg of the ADL concerning the omission of "Masters of Deceit" from the bibliography of "The Profile of Communism." You attached a suggested letter to [redacted] advising her that an official of the ADL had stated the omission of the Director's book was an oversight and they intend to list the book in the next printing.

Subsequently we received a copy of a letter to [redacted] from Oscar Cohen of the ADL advising that they had attempted to deal with the theoretical, not so much the descriptive aspects of communism in "The Profile of Communism" and would consider her suggestions in the next printing.

The Director noted on your memo that he did not intend to give the ADL any such clearance inasmuch as the ADL letter to [redacted] stated that "Masters of Deceit" was purposely omitted.

Accordingly, it is felt that the attached letter should be sent to [redacted] expressing appreciation for bringing the matter to the Director's attention and deleting the statement that an official of the ADL had indicated the omission was an oversight.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to [redacted] MAY 8, 1961

Enclosure sent 4-28-61

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure

50 MAY 8 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/81 BY [redacted]

Tolson
Parsons
Mohr
DeLoach
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

April 7, 1961

Dear Mr. Hoover, *Re: anti-Defamation League*

I'm enclosing a copy of the letter which I sent Mr. Schultz as well as a copy of "The Profile of Communism." As you can detect from my letter I was deeply disturbed and upset when I didn't see your excellent book listed. In fact, I forced myself to wait a few days, to allow my redheaded temper to cool, before writing this enclosed to the ADL.

I've been asked if you have ever publicly stated or written your views on outlawing the Communist Party. If you have may I have a copy of the statement; if not are you in the position to express your opinion for the record.

Respectfully,

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DATE 9/6/81 BY [redacted]

COPY: hdb

significant, particularly when in Masters of Deceit we went out of our way to praise the ADL for which I have been roundly criticized from many sources

REC-65

MAY 12 1961

EX 104

MAY 12 1961

CRIM. SEARCH

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ENCLOSURE

Ltr asked \$

memo to [redacted] 4/26/61

UNITED STATES

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: April 24, 1961

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH
OMISSION OF "MASTERS OF DECEIT"
IN ADL BIBLIOGRAPHYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/10/81 BY [redacted]
7/18/81 #257,356

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Mohr	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

The Director received a letter from [redacted]

dated April 7, 1961,

(received April 17, 1961,) in which [redacted] deplored the omission of "Masters of Deceit" in the list of books contained in the ADL's bibliography for "The Profile of Communism."

I called Herman Edelsberg of the ADL April 21, 1961, regarding this matter. I told Herman that it appeared rather strange that the Director had gone all out in "Masters of Deceit" to give the ADL credit for fighting communism yet when the ADL published a list of outstanding books regarding communism they had omitted "Masters of Deceit." I told Herman this certainly denoted a slap in the face rather than the extreme credit that was deserved.

Herman was obviously very disturbed. He stated this was a perfectly stupid oversight and definitely a big boner on the part of ADL. He stated naturally this would certainly be rectified in the next printing of their book and he would contact appropriate ADL officials by long distance telephone immediately in this regard. He asked that his apologies be expressed to the Director. He stated he wanted the Director to know it was not his fault personally but most certainly the fault of the ADL officials who had done the editing.

ACTION:

There is attached a suggested letter to [redacted]

1 - Mr. Jones

CDD
(3)

50 MAY 19 1961

XEROX

MAY 12 1961

I don't intend to give the ADL any more clearance. The letter to [redacted] from the ADL [redacted] was an over- [redacted] right and stated the "Masters"

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 5-2-61

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE PROFILE OF COMMUNISM,
A FACT-BY-FACT PRIMER"
PREPARED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

The Bureau has received a copy of the above-captioned pamphlet which is a revision of a pamphlet entitled "Primer on Communism" first prepared in 1951.

GENERAL COMMENTS

This booklet (119 pages) is a question and answer primer on the subject of communism. A review indicates that the booklet is well-written and gives succinct answers to questions about communism. A brief bibliography is listed after each chapter. As previously noted, the Director's book "Masters of Deceit" is not listed among any of the reference books suggested for additional reading.

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF BOOKLET

"The Profile of Communism" is divided into two parts: (1) "World Communism: Strategy and Tactics," and (2) "Communist Rule." The first half deals primarily with questions pertaining to communist theory, such as what is communism, what is historical materialism, what is the class struggle, what is Leninism, what is imperialism. The booklet then analyzes the organization of the Communist Party asking how the Party is organized, what is Democratic Centralism, are Communist Parties independent, what was the Comintern. The booklet describes the various tactics utilized by the communists over the years and tells how the Party attacks institutions in a free society. Here, for example, questions are asked such as what is a communist front, a fellow traveler, how do communists undermine representative government, how do communists exploit trade unions, what are communist propaganda schools.

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

(5)

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DATE 9/3/81 BY 7/14/81 #259,396

55 JUL 13 1961

CRIME RES

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Malone
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Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

100-530-425

JUL 11 1961

Jones to DeLoach Memo
Re: "The Profile of Communism,
A Fact-by-Fact Primer"

The second part of the book deals with Communist Rule, explaining the nature of totalitarian rule behind the Iron Curtain. Here questions are asked, such as how is the Soviet empire controlled, what is Soviet Russification, how is Government selected in the Soviet world, what was the Pasternak Case, what is the role of education in the USSR, what is the nature of law under communism. A considerable section of the booklet is devoted to the place of Jewish institutions and culture in the communist world. For example, mention is made (page 95) that the Soviet Jewish community is utterly deprived of any means of expressing itself in creative terms. Yiddish writers may have some of their manuscripts published in Russian translation, but are not allowed to appear in their own language. Communism singles out the Jews for discriminatory treatment. There are few rabbis in Russia and the number of students in the one Rabbinical Seminary that is permitted is held to about 20. In many communities, synagogues have been closed by the police, private prayer meetings forbidden and many religious practices prohibited. (page 9)

The last chapter is devoted to communist China. Here "Maoism" is defined as the strategic doctrine developed by Mao Tse-tung for the communist conquest of power in China. Mention is made that the communist secret police system extends to every street and dwelling. (page 113)

In a foreword, the Primer is described as an effort to alert Americans to the dangers of communism. The pamphlet is described as presenting no formula; interpreting no theories, arguing no beliefs, but dealing only in facts.

MENTION OF FBI

On page 26, in talking of Party membership, the statement is made: "And by March, 1960, it had further diminished to a membership estimated by the FBI to be approximately 10,000." This, of course, is not true, in that the FBI has not released such a figure.

A copy of the pamphlet is attached.

RECOMMENDATION

That Herman Edelsberg of the Anti-Defamation League (a good contact of the FBI) be contacted and advised that the FBI has not issued any Communist Party membership figure of 10,000 as of March, 1960, and that in any further printing of the brochure the FBI's name be deleted.

b7C [redacted] - 2 - ✓ yes. [initials]
[initials] Rec'd
Fdc
7/6/51
b7C [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOV

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: November 2, 1961

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: HERMAN EDELSBERG
WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE
① ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
DeLoach ☒
Evans ☒
Malone ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Ingram ☒
Gandy ☒

Herman Edelsberg called 11-1-61. The members of the Anti-Defamation League in New York and of B'nai B'rith have noted recent statements by the Director, regarding religious leaders in communism. Edelsberg specifically noted statements by the Director indicating that there is a need for a ~~neutral~~ and realistic appraisal of the menace of communism rather than wild charges being hurled against individuals whose views may accidentally coincide with those of the communists.

Edelsberg wondered if the Director could write an article for the B'nai B'rith publication concerning the above points. I told him that the Director had recently written an article for Dr. Daniel Poling which would appear within a short time in a national religious publication. Edelsberg told me that they would like very much to see a copy of the article the Director had written for Dr. Poling upon publication. He stated that they would then request the Director's permission and that of Dr. Poling to reprint the article.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/3/81 BY [redacted]

1 NOV 13 1961

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100-530-427

9 NOV 9 1961

CRIM

UNITED STATES GOV

Memorandum

TO : **Mr. Mohr**

DATE: **February 13, 1962**

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE--
B'NAI B'RITH

Tolson _____ ✓
Belmont _____ ✓
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____ ✓
DeLoach _____ ✓
Evans _____ ✓
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____ ✓
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

For record purposes, I had lunch on February 12, 1962, with Herman Edelsberg, Director, Washington office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. He had with him Arnold Forster of their New York office. Their conversation was generally commendatory concerning the Director and the Bureau. They appeared to be somewhat concerned about the activities of radical right-wing organizations and particularly the activities of

ACTION:

For record purposes.

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

CDD
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/3/81 BY [REDACTED]

61 FEB 20 1962

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100-530-429

27 JUL 1963

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The Profile of Communism

A Fact-By-Fact Primer

Edited and Revised by
Moshe Decter

The Profile of Communism



COLLIER BOOKS

Essential reading for
all who must fully
understand the theory
and practice of
communism

Revised and edited by
MOSHE DECTER

THE
OF

PROFILE
COMMUNISM:

A Fact-by-Fact Primer



COLLIER BOOKS
NEW YORK, N. Y.



The Profile of Communism is based on the Freedom Pamphlet "Primer on Communism," the first edition of which was prepared under the editorial guidance of Dr. Frank N. Trager and Dr. Joseph L. Lichten in 1951. *The Profile of Communism* was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Joseph L. Lichten and Mr. Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League, and revised and edited by Mr. Moshe Deeter.

This revised Collier Books edition is published by arrangement with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

First Collier Books Edition 1961

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 61-17489

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Printed in the United States of America

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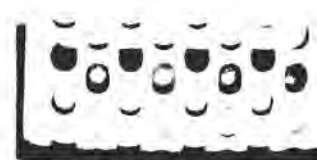
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It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations. . . . Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence. Hence it is not a tactical move, but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy.

—*Nikita S. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Moscow, February 1956.*

We must realize that we [the Communist world and the West] cannot coexist eternally, for a long time. One of us must go to the grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They do not want to go to their grave either. So what can be done? We must push them to their grave.

—*Nikita S. Khrushchev, at a Polish Communist Party meeting in Warsaw, April 1955.*

FOREWORD

THIS is a primer on communism.

As with scores of books, tracts and articles in which the printed word is serving freedom's cause in the present ideological conflict, this pamphlet is enlisted in the cause of American democracy.

But why a primer, a book of definitions?

It is an uncomfortable truth that the intensity and volatility which characterize our approach to the problems posed by communism—is there a more sustained topic in the press or on television, in the halls of Congress or at our dinner tables?—are exceeded only by the weight of ignorance, misinformation and wishful thinking surrounding it.

America, and the free world which it leads, faces today and for the foreseeable future an unprecedented challenge to its free institutions, security and growth. That challenge stems from the rise to power of communist regimes in Russia, China and their satellites.

It matters a great deal, then, in coping with the challenge, to know which of the above statements by Soviet Premier Khrushchev—both of which he has repeated endless times in one form or another—represents the true face of the communist challenge. This primer hopes to meet that need.

The communist challenge to the free nations, and to the fledgeling nations emerging from colonialism in Africa and Asia, is posed on many fronts at once—military, economic, political and ideological. It is a challenge that can be adequately met only through proper understanding, steady nerves, and a spirit of greatness.

Not enough Americans have a "working" knowledge of communism's features and characteristics and of its historical background. This is an unwholesome situation, for it is precisely this knowledge which is indispensable



to meet the challenge; to fend off, on the one hand, the attempts of opportunists, demagogues and bigots to exploit fears based on ignorance, and, on the other hand, the siren songs of the communist appeals on the international scene.

At home, extremists try to mislead the nation into believing that American patriotism consists solely of hatred of communism. We must fight communism, yes; but we must also love democracy more. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution were too dearly won to be surrendered to the Trojan Horses of totalitarianism.

Free men, at home and abroad, will not be able to cope with the communist challenge and threat unless they are aware of its theory and history. What are its principles? What are its objectives? What is its mode of operation? What is its historical record? And what of the language it speaks, and the meaning of its own brand of semantics? How many Americans comprehend—and how many more are bewildered—when a communist leader speaks of such things as “peaceful co-existence”?

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, as an organization dedicated to the American ideal and to the continuing security and welfare of the Jewish community in America, has long recognized the incompatibility of communism with the moral concepts of Judaism and the political concepts of democratic America. Hence, our sponsorship of this pamphlet. It presents no formulae, interprets no theories, argues no briefs. It deals in facts. And it is presented to the learner (it was written for those who want to learn, not read) in question and answer form.

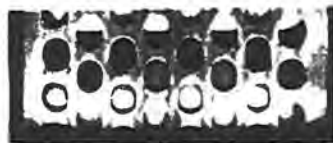
Because the League's objective in presenting *The Profile of Communism*, as well as its earlier versions, has been an educational one, we are pleased that the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company has undertaken to publish this latest revised edition and to bring it to the attention of a wider public. We are indebted to Mr. Moshe Decter, author, long-time student of Communism and former Managing Editor of *The New Leader* magazine,

who revised and edited this publication. We are also grateful to Frank N. Trager, who originated the idea for this book, and to Dr. Joseph L. Lichten and Mr. Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League, under whose supervision this book was prepared.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith



PART ONE
WORLD COMMUNISM—
STRATEGY AND TACTICS



Chapter 1

The Communist Program

What Is Communism?

It is an integrated, centralized, world-wide movement, motivated by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, propelled by the apparatus of the supranational Communist Party, abetted by the Party's auxiliaries, powered and directed by the ruling hierarchy of the Communist Party and dictatorial government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

What Is the Objective of the Communist Movement?

According to communist ideology, the communist movement has a double objective: to destroy all democratic and other non-communist governmental systems and ways of life and to replace them with the universal rule of the communist system, under the leadership of the U.S.S.R.

What Is the Function of the Communist Party?

Again according to communist ideology, the forces of history are working toward the inevitable collapse of capitalism throughout the world and the revolutionary triumph of the international proletariat. The function of the communist party, which is proclaimed as the "vanguard party of the working class," is to hasten the historical process by leading the proletariat to its triumph.

What Is the Role of the Soviet Union in the International Communist Movement?

Since the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, the Soviet Union has come to occupy a unique position in communist ideology, strategy and tactics. As the first, and still the most powerful, communist state in the world, the

U.S.S.R. became the embodiment of communist mystique and prestige, the source of tangible power and material means, the shrine of unquestioned authority in theory and practice, the model of a successful revolutionary communist party and government.

For the communist party member, then, the achievement of communist objectives has long since become indistinguishable from the advancement of the U.S.S.R.'s interests and power throughout the world. This transformation is most clearly reflected by the fact that the communist party's accession to power—whether in Russia, China or their satellites—has invariably been accompanied not by the triumph of the working class, but by the subjugation of the working class (and all other elements of the population) to the monolithic, totalitarian and terrorist rule of the party.

By the same token, the party's function has been transformed into that of a professional apparatus which uses every conceivable legal and illegal tactic and technique in the service of Soviet power and policy.

Is Communism a Soviet Invention?

No. The term "communism" was coined in the 1830s in the secret revolutionary societies of Paris. Originally, it meant the belief in, and practice of, common ownership, use and disposition of property.

In that sense, communism signified a protest against existing social evils and injustice. It represented an ancient religious and utopian ideal of a social system free of economic and social inequality and political oppression. In that sense, too, it is synonymous with socialism, a term also coined *before* Marx, in 1827 in the Owenite *Co-operative Magazine*. This term was used at first to describe the beliefs and experiments of the idealistic social reformers, Robert Owen, François Fourier and Claude Saint-Simon among others.

But communism did not long remain an eloquent protest and visionary social ideal. It acquired a systematic program and a flexible strategy. It became organized as a world-wide revolutionary movement. And it culminated

finally in a new, odious, totalitarian social system embodied first in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, subsequently in the empire created by the Soviet Union in Europe, and finally in China and its satellites in Asia. The specter of militant, aggressive Soviet communism now haunts the world.

Who Formulated the Basic Doctrines of Modern Communism?

Until Marx's death the basic doctrines of modern communism were formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in collaboration, and then by Engels alone until his own death late in the nineteenth century. To distinguish their ideas from those of their utopian socialist predecessors and contemporaries, Marx and Engels called their theories "scientific" socialism. But "scientific" socialism, to them, meant communism, and the first organization they founded was named the Communist League. Its declaration of aims was stated in the *Communist Manifesto*.

In addition to Marxism (so called because Marx is considered to have contributed more significantly than Engels to the formulation), others have helped shape the basic doctrines of modern communism. Among these later contributions, the most important were made by the founder of the Soviet state in Russia, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov, known as Lenin. Lenin's theoretical ideas, as explicated in a multitude of books, pamphlets, editorials and speeches that he poured forth in the quarter-century from 1898 until his death in 1924, are called Leninism. And the entire body of communist doctrine is now customarily called Marxism-Leninism.

During Joseph Stalin's dictatorship, from 1924 until his death in 1953—and especially after his firm consolidation of power in 1928—the few doctrinal ideas he advanced were added to the communist canon, and the whole was designated Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Since Stalin's death, and especially since his official downgrading in the "secret report" (still unpublished in the U.S.S.R. today) given by Premier Khrushchev to the

20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1956, Stalin is referred to, if at all, not as a theoretician, but as a "builder" of communism, who contributed much to the growth of Soviet power but who also committed many "errors" as a result of his "cult of personality." The name of the doctrine has now reverted to "Marxism-Leninism."

Khrushchev himself has introduced no doctrinal innovations, though he has greatly enhanced and expanded the flexibility and range of application of traditional communist strategy and tactics. He constantly reiterates his devotion to "Leninist principles."

What Is Marxism?

The theory of Marxism comprises four principal doctrines: the theories of "historical materialism," "dialectical materialism," "surplus value," and the "class struggle."

What Is Historical Materialism?

The materialist conception of history, generally called "historical materialism," holds that the nature of the political institutions and intellectual life of society are determined by the economic forces which are their foundation. And the history of civilization, in the Marxist view is, primarily, a series of social systems—Asiatic society, chattel slavery, feudalism, capitalism—each based on a particular method of exploitation of labor and each divided into exploiting and exploited, ruling and opposed classes.

What Is Dialectical Materialism?

Dialectical materialism is the communists' term for their theory of social change. It comes from a concept adapted from a German philosopher, Hegel.

According to dialectical materialism, every force in the life of a society brings into existence an opposing force. From the inevitable clash between the two, results a third force combining elements of both original forces. In this way, Marx believed that capitalism produces within itself the seeds of its own destruction—revolt among its workers—and that out of this conflict would come eventually a new force, the communist society.

What Is the Theory of Surplus Value?

According to this theory, 1) labor is the sole creator of value; 2) the wages labor receives represent less than the total value it creates; and 3) the value created by labor in excess of its wages (i.e., the surplus value) is appropriated by the capitalist who thereby exploits labor. This, according to Marxism, accounts for the major inequalities and evils of capitalist society.

What Is the Theory of the Class Struggle?

"The history of all human society, that is all written history, past and present," declares the *Communist Manifesto*, "has been the history of class struggles."

The class struggle is a "perpetual warfare" which is "sometimes masked" and "sometimes open and acknowledged," between "oppressor and oppressed," exploiting and exploited classes.

In the past, the class struggle "invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Marx held that this is bound to happen to capitalist society as well.

What Outcome of the Class Struggle in Capitalist Society Did Marx Foresee?

In his view, the class struggle in a capitalist society would culminate in a proletarian revolution. The revolution would be, ultimately, world-wide in scope and would be violent in nature.

"The communists" says the *Manifesto*, "disdain to conceal their views and aims." They "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In Marxist theory, the capitalist state is the organized power of the exploiting class. Its functions are 1) the perpetuation of the economic system on which it is founded, and 2) the suppression of the exploited class. Regardless of its form, Marxism holds, whether monarchy,



republic, or corporate state, the capitalist state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class.

Such being the case, the working class, said Marx, cannot use "the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends." The working class must seize power through revolution, smash the capitalist state, and crush the resistance of the capitalists. Then, "organized as the ruling class," it can proceed to the eventual building of a communist society.

In 1872 Marx modified his original position by admitting that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism might take place in England, the United States, and perhaps Holland.

What Was Marx's View of Communist Society?

Marx believed that in a communist society the means of production and exchange would be socially owned and the exploitation of man by man would be eliminated. Hence, the state and all forms of political coercion would be unnecessary and non-existent. The character of man would be transformed through the elimination of self-interest as the primary motive of social conduct and through the free development of individual human personality based on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Thereby would be opened a new and fruitful epoch in the progress of humanity. The earlier or "lower phase" of the future society, in which economic inequality and the state would still exist, Marx called "socialism."

What Is the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

"Between the capitalist and communist systems of society," Marx wrote in 1875, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

By "dictatorship of the proletariat," he meant a dictatorship of the working class over the defeated capitalists,

landlords, and other "exploiters." Like other seers he was vague about when his prophecy would be fulfilled. He did not predict how long the transformation from capitalism to communism would take, nor how long the dictatorship of the proletariat would last. But he thought that as socialism was realized the need for the state would disappear and it would "wither away."

Do All Socialists Accept Marx's Views?

No. Beginning in the 1890s, another current of ideas became predominant in the thinking of socialists. The central doctrine of this current, known as "revisionism" because of the revision of Marx's ideas on which it was based, held that the working class could achieve its rightful place by peaceful means—through elections—and construct socialism gradually and democratically. These ideas became the cornerstone of democratic socialism as distinguished from communism.

The best-known non-Marxist application of these ideas took place in England, following the victory of the Labor Party in the general election of 1945. There, as in several other West European, Scandinavian and Asian countries, democratic socialism has come to be regarded as a constructive force for individual freedom and against all forms of totalitarianism.

What Is Leninism?

Lenin, unlike Marx, was neither an original scholar nor a philosopher of history. His genius lay in the field of political action, in the application of Marxist analytical categories and doctrines to the paramount problem of seizing, maintaining and extending revolutionary power.

In the process, he developed, modified, and more often than not, drastically revised the structure of Marx's ideas. Thus, Lenin agreed with major Marxist doctrines: the total rejection of present-day society, the inevitability, totality and irreconcilability of the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But whereas for Marx these ideas were primarily intellectual categories for understanding the processes of



history or predictions based on his analysis of history—in Lenin's hands they were transformed into instruments for achieving political power.

What Were Lenin's Chief Innovations?

Lenin did not by any means confine himself to adapting Marx's theoretical ideas. He was, after all, the creator of the first successful revolutionary communist party, and thus the founder of the Soviet state. All his theoretical innovations must be seen in the context of his work as an organizer and tactician in order to be understood. His major contributions are extensions of or departures from Marx's ideas on: the nature of capitalism, the nature of the revolutionary party, the tactics that the party should use, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How Did Lenin View Capitalism?

Lenin had to adjust Marx's prediction about the ultimate development of capitalism to new circumstances. For the fact was that, contrary to Marx's expectations, the workers' standard of living under capitalism steadily improved, and the tensions between capital and labor were somewhat ameliorated.

Lenin's answer, however, was not to regard Marx's analysis as unrealistic and to revise the doctrine accordingly, as was being done, for example, by such Western Marxist theoreticians as Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky. Lenin's hostility to capitalism was, if anything, even more implacable than was that of Marx. He merely filled the old structure with new content.

Thus, his fundamental point was that since Marx's time capitalism had evolved to a higher stage—in fact, its last stage of development. Instead of an economic system controlled by huge industries and powerful industrialists, he saw capitalism as a system run by financial forces which, in turn, controlled the industries and industrialists. Moreover, this higher form of capitalism was no longer characterized by competition between industrial interests, but by monopolistic control of financial interests.

This analysis is intimately associated with Lenin's doc-

trine of imperialism, which is as relevant today as when he first formulated it in 1916.

What Was Lenin's Theory of Imperialism?

The real motor power of capitalism, according to Lenin, is no longer, as Marx thought, merely the need of capitalists to compete with each other in the domestic market and necessarily to exploit the working class in the process. It is the need of the financial and banker monopolists to obtain new markets outside their countries, to export excess capital to those markets, to control them exclusively, and, in the process, to exploit the resources and labor of colonial countries. Through such exploitation the greatest profits are to be gained. Out of these profits, made at the expense of the colonial peoples, a portion of the working class in the industrialized countries get a share—which explains, at one stroke, why the workers' lot has improved and why their revolutionary zeal has been dimmed. This whole process Lenin called imperialism.

But imperialism leads to severe competition between international monopolies and cartels, and between the governments associated with them, for such markets. It is this competition that leads to a struggle among the world powers, culminating in wars. As Lenin saw it, the struggle had reached an apocalyptic climax; there was nothing left for the imperialists but to fight with growing violence over the division and redivision of the world's resources. This is the highest, and last phase of capitalism, setting the stage for the victorious emergence of a new era in historical development—revolutionary socialism.

What Is the Relevance of

Lenin's Theory of Imperialism Today?

This doctrine laid the groundwork for the total protracted struggle for power of the communist movement on the national and international levels at once. Thus, the "exploiters" are not just the factory owners, but all the rich countries; the "exploited" are not just the majority of workers in advanced countries, but the colonial peoples;



and the class struggle is not merely restricted to the domestic conflict between capital and proletariat, but between exploiters and exploited on the international scene.

Thus, the socialist revolution need not necessarily take place first, as Marx had held, only in the most advanced countries. On the contrary, it can as well, or better, occur in backward countries.

It is this thesis that provided the theoretical foundation for Lenin's successful conquest of power in backward Russia, which served as a guiding line for the communist revolution in China, and which today points the way for communist activists in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

How Did Lenin Conceive of a Revolutionary Party?

Lenin took over and transformed Marx's idea of a revolutionary party as the "vanguard of the working class." But whereas Marx believed that the majority of the proletariat would spontaneously come to follow the leadership of the party toward the revolution and socialism, Lenin asserted that the proletariat could not be relied on to develop revolutionary class-consciousness spontaneously. For, left to its spontaneous feelings, the proletariat would tend to fall back into the inertia of old habits of thought and action and would rest content with minor reforms and gains. To make the revolution, he held, the proletariat had to be won over and led by a vanguard party that was fully conscious of its role, tasks and objectives.

Such a conscious party could only and always be a tight-knit minority, a combat organization of full-time professional revolutionists—people devoting themselves wholly, under centralized control and para-military discipline, in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism. This was the kind of party Lenin created to make the revolution, the party whose secret, conspiratorial and disciplined nature was brought to fulfillment by Stalin, and perpetuated by Khrushchev. It was equally the kind of party which the Soviet leadership ceaselessly molded in every other country.

What Was Lenin's Prescription for the Party's Tactics?

Lenin believed that the ultimate, inevitable triumph of communism would be preceded by "protracted conflict," first against the capitalist world, then against all other dissidents. Nevertheless, he realized that for a long time the party would be a weak minority, isolated and impotent to make the revolution unless it sought allies from among the "class enemies." These could be found, depending on the circumstances, among the peasants, the intellectuals or the petty bourgeoisie.

The allies could not, of course, be trusted, nor could the alliances last long; they were to be used for as long as the situation required, and then discarded. The party must feel free to use both legal and illegal means, and to operate both underground and overtly. And one of the key tactics was to be the infiltration and exploitation of every conceivable non-communist institution, group or association, which is to be transformed into a "transmission belt" of communist ideas and objectives.

The purpose of an alliance with a "class enemy" is to isolate and destroy another enemy who is even stronger. When that task is accomplished, another alliance is made so as to isolate and destroy the erstwhile ally—and so on until every enemy force has been eliminated. This tactic, perfected by Stalin, was once graphically described by one of his most rigid and ruthless followers, Matyas Rakosi, former communist dictator of Hungary: "The opposition is to be destroyed by tactics resembling the slicing of a salami."

How Did Lenin Foresee the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Where Marx had been rather unspecific about the revolution, the transition from socialism to communism—he believed the revolution would be brought about in one enormous apocalyptic sweep, to be followed by a vague period of transition to communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, culminating in the "withering away of the state"—Lenin was much more precise.

He realized that the achievement of communism involved a protracted conflict, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats, and that the party's struggle must be waged incessantly even after the triumph of the revolution and the achievement of socialism. For even under socialism, there would remain powerful residues of non-communist classes that were to be destroyed, along with old habits of thought—and this too is to be part of the protracted conflict to be conducted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, so long as there remained a country outside the socialist domain, so long as backward and colonial peoples had not attained the level of the socialist state, so long, indeed, that residues of older patterns of thought and action persisted even inside a socialist state—the state would not wither away. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be even more necessary than ever, and it must conduct its conflict with the internal and external enemies, using ruthless force, terror and lawlessness. Thus Lenin wrote:

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence . . . in the work of organizing socialist economy. . . . The dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule—unrestricted by law and based on force—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

Lenin's revolutionary doctrine conceives of the dictatorship of the proletariat as covering the entire "period of transition from capitalism to communism . . . the period of the overthrow and complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." Since by "bourgeoisie" he meant not only capitalists but every dissident element—including workers and even Marxists who disagree with his doctrine—and since "complete abolition" also applies to the "force of habit of millions and tens of millions"—he concluded that the "period of transition" during which the dictatorship of the proletariat must prevail ". . . inevitably becomes a period of unusually violent class struggles in their sharpest possible forms. . . ."

What Theoretical Contributions Did Stalin Formulate?

In the fundamentals of communist doctrine, Stalin was an orthodox Marxist and Leninist. His theoretical contributions consisted wholly of adaptations of Lenin's ideas to the situations he confronted. This is true of his doctrine of "socialism in one country," of his conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of his view of the relation of the Soviet Union to the rest of the world.

Just as Lenin was the creator of all the ideas and institutions characteristic of the Soviet regime and of the international communist movement which it leads, so Stalin was the man who brought them all to fruition.

What Is the Theory of Socialism in One Country?

This theory, projected in 1924, after a whole series of revolutions in Europe had been defeated, asserts that the construction of socialist society in a single country is possible.

"We can build socialism," Stalin wrote ". . . for we possess . . . all the requisites for the building of a complete socialist society by. . . our own efforts."

But like his master, Lenin, Stalin saw the U.S.S.R. as encircled by hostile capitalist states awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack it. Should an attack materialize, it would, of course, prevent the construction of a socialist society.

Therefore, Stalin held that for the "final victory of socialism," there was necessary a "complete guarantee against attempted intervention and restoration of capitalism" in the U.S.S.R. And this could be achieved only by the support of the Soviet Union by the "workers of all countries, and still more the victory of these workers in at least several countries. . . ."

It should be stressed that the Soviet use of the word "socialism" is a complete distortion of its true meaning. As used by the Soviets, the word represents a system of repression of individual rights and liberties, a totalitarian managerial state that is the very opposite of socialism. That was the system Stalin had in mind with his theory



of "socialism in one country," and that is what contemporary Soviet doctrine means when it calls the U.S.S.R. a "socialist" country today.

True socialism, on the other hand, as it is viewed, for example, by the British Labor Party and by the socialist parties of Scandinavia, Western Europe, the United States, and India, is profoundly committed to democracy, and to the civil, political and economic rights of the individual.

What Was Stalin's Conception of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

This doctrine, like that of socialism in one country, is actually only the further application of Lenin's ideas. Like Lenin, Stalin accepted the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he followed Lenin's revision of the doctrine that as socialism comes into being the state will wither away.

The Stalin constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted in 1936, proclaimed the achievement of socialism in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the state showed no sign of withering. In fact, as was evident in the great purges which were in full swing when the constitution was adopted, the state was a terroristic autocracy.

Stalin tried to explain the difference between Marxist theory and Soviet reality. As long as the Soviet Union is encircled by a hostile capitalist world with aggressive designs on the U.S.S.R., he said, the Soviet state must increase its coercive powers; it will wither away only when the capitalist environment of Soviet society is replaced by a communist environment.

What Is Khrushchev's Contribution to Communist Doctrine?

Khrushchev is commonly credited with proclaiming the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" and the denial of the inevitability of war between the communist and the non-communist worlds. Actually, he has only adapted in a skillful and flexible way all the basic doctrines laid down by Lenin and furthered by Stalin. This is the meaning

of his constant iteration of his dedication to "Leninist principles."

Thus, Lenin preached the gospel of all-out hostility to the non-communist world:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable."

Similarly, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, meeting in Moscow in 1928 after Stalin had fully consolidated his dictatorial power, declared:

"The Soviet Union harbors no illusion as to the possibility of durable peace. . . . Wars of proletarian dictatorship against world capitalism are inevitable and revolutionary. . . ."

No less than Marx, Lenin and Stalin does Khrushchev believe in the inevitable triumph of communism. In 1958, he said:

"It is now becoming more and more clear that the end of the sway of capitalism is drawing near in other countries, too, and that capitalism is a system that has outlived its age and is bound to perish. The future is ours! The future is for Marxism-Leninism! The future is for communism! . . ."

Meanwhile, however, the forces of communism are still not strong enough to take over the whole world. And it is for just such a period as this one that Lenin and Stalin laid down the lines which Khrushchev now follows.

From the beginning of the Soviet state, Lenin applied to its foreign policy the same general principles of revolutionary strategy as he advocated for the party during the period when the party would be a weak minority: it must maintain alliances, agree to a certain amount of tactical cooperation with the enemy, and be prepared to conduct a protracted conflict. This adds up to a doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" in Soviet foreign policy, accompanied by active exploitation of weak spots in the non-



communist world. This double line runs through all communist thinking, from Lenin to Stalin to Khrushchev.

Thus Lenin clearly implied the principle of "peaceful coexistence":

"Dictatorship is a state of acute war. We are precisely in such a state . . . Until the final issue is decided, the state of awful war will continue . . . Our point of view is: for the time being—important concessions and the greatest caution, precisely because a certain equilibrium has set in, precisely because we are weaker than our combined enemies . . .

"The proper tactics for the communist to adopt is to utilize these vacillations [of non-communists] and not to ignore them; and utilizing them calls for concessions to those elements which are turning toward the proletariat . . . while simultaneously fighting those who turn toward the bourgeoisie . . .

". . . To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and those political leaders of the revolutionary class who are unable 'to tack, to maneuver, to compromise,' in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle, are good for nothing."

This is how Stalin perpetuated this doctrine:

"We must not forget Lenin's statement that as regards our work of construction very much depends upon whether we succeed in postponing war with the capitalist world, which is inevitable, but which can be postponed either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe matures, or until the moment when the colonial revolutions have fully matured. . . .

"Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us. Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible."

And, Khrushchev elaborates:

". . . The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has always

been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

"It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence . . .

"In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle . . .

"Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters . . ."

What Is the Current Blueprint of Communist Strategy and Tactics?

On December 6, 1960, the leaders of 81 communist parties from all over the world, who had been meeting in the Kremlin for exactly one month, issued a lengthy manifesto detailing their consensus on strategy and tactics for the coming period.

On January 6, 1961, Nikita Khrushchev, in a speech to the top representatives of the most important communist party organs inside the U.S.S.R., clarified and expanded upon the manifesto issued the preceding month.

Though none of the ideas in these two documents is exactly new, they represent, in concentrated form, an authoritative portrait of the meaning of peaceful coexistence in the present state of world affairs. Together, these neglected but decisive documents clearly present the guidelines by which the Kremlin and its allies intend to secure the victory of the world communist movement.

The three inter-related keys to the current communist blueprint are: "the world socialist system," "the peace movement," and "the national liberation movement."



What Is the Soviet "Third Program"?

The first program of the Bolshevik Party was adopted at its Second Congress in 1903. This program called on the working class of Russia to fight for the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The second program, which reflected Lenin's adherence to the theories of Marx, was adopted by the 7th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1919. With this program as its base, the Communists set out to establish a dictatorship in the U.S.S.R.

The third program was prepared by Khrushchev to be presented to the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in October 1961. The new manifesto claims that since the tasks of the first two programs have been "carried out" the third program is necessary "for the building of Communist society."

Despite all the quasi-ideological language and tenor of the document, it represents a major political expression of the current attitudes of the Khrushchev government as related to the contemporary problems of the world. On the one hand the program reverses Lenin's (and Mao Tse-Tung's) thesis that war is necessary to destroy capitalism, and states that peaceful co-existence is possible, thus deviating from Marxist principles. On the other hand, it heralds the "triumph of Socialism and Communism on a world-wide scale." It states also that as long as the whole world has not become communist, war is possible, and therefore, the Soviets will continue the build-up of their armed forces. In addition, the document declares that the Soviet Union will be ready militarily, politically, economically and through propaganda means to back its thesis that "socialism will inevitably succeed capitalism everywhere." These inconsistencies of the new program have been viewed by the West as a concession to the Chinese point of view which considers war with non-Communist countries as inevitable.

Among the many promises which the "third manifesto" contains is a pledge to include the people of the Soviet Union in the processes of government (no mention is

made, however, of individual freedom and the rule of law), free education, free medical services, free housing, and overtaking the United States in production. All of these promises, however, are qualified by "conditions of peace"—for, as long as the international situation remains complicated, "the resulting necessity of increasing defense expenditures may hold up the fulfillment of the plan." Some observers believe the many escape clauses listed in Khrushchev's plan are indications that the goals of the third program are unrealistic.

What Is the Role of the World Socialist System in the Communist Blueprint?

The "world socialist system," in Moscow's definition, is in fact the world communist movement, which includes the Soviet and Chinese regimes and all their satellites in Europe and Asia (and in Cuba) and the communist parties elsewhere in the world.

As Khrushchev has repeatedly emphasized in many speeches during the past few years, and as the current official blueprint spells out in greater detail—there has now occurred a significant shift in the balance of world forces. This shift is increasingly in favor of the powerful world socialist system. Concomitantly, the "camp of capitalism and imperialism" is increasingly consumed with internal and external crises and is growing ever weaker. Thus the manifesto declares:

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. . . . Today it is the world socialist system . . . that determines the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

It is this faith which is the basis and the source of communist dynamism throughout the world today. The ebullience with which Khrushchev and his cohorts proclaim that the future is theirs is not just a matter of



faith, however. Their dynamism is bolstered both by the growing weakness and vacillation of non-communist powers and the technological advances of the U.S.S.R. Whether or not these advances are indeed as great as claimed, they have become an effective instrument in the arsenal of the political-psychological warfare which the Kremlin conducts to persuade non-aligned peoples that the future belongs to communism.

What Is the Role of the Peace Movement in the Communist Blueprint?

As the manifesto has it, "the peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace."

Precisely because the balance of world power is shifting in favor of the world communist movement, the blueprint envisages the likelihood of the revolutionary overthrow of "capitalist imperialism" without a major world war. And the widespread, understandable fear of nuclear holocaust is to be exploited and manipulated as a major instrument with which to render the non-communist world wholly ineffectual. The manifesto defines a fundamental aspect of the policy of peaceful coexistence as "the broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U. S. imperialism."

And Khrushchev defines it as the "maximum utilization of the revolutionary possibilities of the various classes and social strata and for drawing all allies—no matter how inconsistent, shaky and unstable—into the struggle against imperialism."

What Is the Role of National Liberation Movements in the Communist Blueprint?

The struggle for national independence going on all over the less developed part of the world is one of the two main international phenomena (alongside the universal desire for peace) which the communists seek to

subvert, control and manipulate as a weapon against the West. As the manifesto puts it: "The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system."

The manifesto proclaims the support of world communism for this movement: "All the socialist countries and the international working class and communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny."

This support was decisively clarified, in fact, by Khrushchev, who declared that it is "an outright lie" that the "national liberation movement can develop independently of the struggle which the working class wages for socialism, and [independently] of support from the socialist countries." In so many words, then, Khrushchev makes it clear that national independence of former colonial peoples is quite meaningless unless it is guided and controlled by the communist movement.

Nowhere, of course, do these documents indicate that it is precisely such "capitalist, imperialist" countries as England and France that have massively liberated their colonies in Asia and Africa—and that today the only colonial powers of significance are the U.S.S.R. and Communist China, who hold hundreds of millions of people in their Asian and East European satellites subject to their tyrannies.

Does Peaceful Coexistence Presage an Ideological Truce?

No. The manifesto is quite explicit on this point:

"Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

"In conditions of peaceful coexistence, favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class



struggle in the capitalist countries and in the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. . . .

"Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas."

A more open and forthright declaration of ideological and political warfare could not be asked for.

Does Peaceful Coexistence Preclude Violence Against Democracies?

No. The Khrushchevian manifesto reiterates the Latin-Stalin doctrine that in a number of capitalist countries the time may soon come when the "working class" (the communist party) may be in a position to seek power through peaceful, legal parliamentary means. But:

"In the event of the exploiting classes' resorting to violence against people, the possibility of *non-peaceful* transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case, the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles' using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism."

In other words, no democratic resistance to a communist uprising is legitimate. When the party is ready to opt for a coup, any violence against democratic institutions is legitimate.

Does Peaceful Coexistence Preclude Violence in the National Liberation Movement?

No. The new communist manifesto applies the same rule in the "anti-colonial" struggle as in the anti-democratic struggle:

"The peoples of the colonial countries win their inde-

pendence both through armed struggle and by non-military means, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting."

This is, in short, a threat and a promise that the communist movement has committed itself to "armed struggle" in behalf of communist-led national liberation movements, which are, by definition, the only ones worthy of the name. In fact, the manifesto goes so far as to justify such armed struggle:

"Communists have always recognized the *progressive*, revolutionary significance of national liberation wars."

And Khrushchev has characteristically dotted the I's and crossed the T's with his flat assertion that "national liberation wars will continue to be inevitable as long as Western imperialism continues to exist."

Who Is the Main Enemy in This Struggle?

"U. S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction."

So declares the new communist manifesto.

What, Then, Is the Communist Conception of the Relation of the Soviet Union to the Free World?

No clearer blueprint has been provided than the military plan offered by Stalin. It can well be studied alongside Khrushchev's present international diplomacy:

". . . Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the defeat of imperialism in all countries . . . The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-



bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International [democratic socialists throughout the world] . . . Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries."

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Chapter 2

The Communist Movement

What Kind of Party Is the Communist Party?

ALL COMMUNIST parties are modeled on the Soviet Communist or Bolshevik party, which proclaims itself the only true representative of working class interests and of progress generally. All other parties are, in its view, representatives of anti-working class interests and actually or potentially counter-revolutionary.

What Is Bolshevism?

The term "Bolshevism" is derived from the Russian word for majority. It originated as a convenient epithet to distinguish Lenin's majority group in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party from his principal opponents who comprised the minority or Menshevik group. Mensheviks opposed communism and favored the ideals of democratic socialism in Russia.

In the course of time, as Lenin's group developed into an independent organization and formulated a distinctive program, and strategy, Bolshevism came to signify the teachings, strategy, tactics, and organizational forms and practices first of Lenin, and after his death, of Stalin.

In a narrow sense, Bolshevism is, therefore, Russian and Soviet communism. In a broader sense, because of the domination of world communism by Lenin and Stalin, Bolshevism is what most people understand today by the simple term "communism."

What Is Trotskyism?

The essential idea in the teachings of Trotsky is the theory of the permanent revolution. This theory, which Trotsky claimed to have derived from certain ideas of Marx and Lenin and which he opposed to Stalin's theory



of socialism in one country, rests on three central propositions:

1—"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries . . . democratic and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ."

2—"The conquest of power by the proletariat" (in any country) "does not terminate the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle on a national and international scale."

3—"The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable . . . the socialist revolution . . . attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

At first, Trotsky thought his theory would prevail as the basis of communist doctrine and Soviet policy, and that Stalin would be ousted as a result of a factional struggle within the communist movement. Later, he advocated a political revolution in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Stalinist government. In Soviet propaganda and law, Trotskyism is now another term for fascist, counter-revolutionary thinking and action.

What Is the Relation Between Bolshevism and the Soviet Communist Party?

The Soviet Communist Party is the direct descendant of the Bolshevik, or majority, faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, created by Lenin in 1903, which later became an independent party. In 1918 it changed its name to the Communist Party. After formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it was renamed Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

At the Party's 19th Congress, held in Moscow in 1952, the word "Bolsheviks" in parentheses was dropped and the name it now bears is simply, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After the seizure of power in Russia in 1917, the principal function of the Bolshevik party was altered. It now aimed at the organization, direction and administration of the state, the implementation of government policy, and the maintenance of power. In all of these functions, after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin played the principal role.

In the Soviet Union and other Soviet societies, the communist party is the only legal party. According to the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the communist party is "the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." Communists hold the key positions and communist party units function in virtually all political, economic, military, and cultural institutions and organizations.

How Is the Communist Party Organized?

Structurally, the communist party is a centralized organization based on a caste system. From its base in small cells, units, or branches it rises through intermediate and superior local, district, and regional bodies to its summit in the Central or National Committee. In theory, the Central Committee is the highest authority in the party. In practice it is subordinate to the Presidium, the successor of the famous Politburo.

What Is the Presidium?

Structurally, the Presidium is one of the three fundamental subordinate bodies of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The others are the Secretariat and the Party Control Committee.

Nominally, the Presidium directs the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions. The Secretariat verifies the fulfillment of party decisions and the selections of cadres; and the Party Control Committee supervises the internal policing of the party.

In reality, the Presidium is dominant. Established by the 19th Party Congress, it has assumed the functions of the dissolved Politburo (Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party) and of the Orgburo (Organiza-



tion Bureau of the Central Committee), and it stands at the peak of the party pyramid. Its table of organization calls for ten full members and four alternates, but in fact its policies are determined by a small, unofficial "inner bureau" within the Presidium, whose members wield the ultimate power in the entire international communist movement.

The composition of this inner bureau and of the Presidium has changed several times since Stalin's death. Lavrenti Beria has been shot, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovitch, Nikolai Bulganin, V. M. Molotov, Dimitri Shepilov and Mikhail Pervukhin have all been demoted and dispatched to remote parts of the country to assume lowly tasks. And Nikita S. Khrushchev has emerged, if not as the undisputed dictatorial tyrant that Stalin was, clearly as the single most powerful and decisive figure in the leadership of the party, and thus of the government.

But regardless of changes in its make-up or its name, the directorate of the Soviet Communist Party is the seat of ultimate power in Soviet Russia. All organs of the party and the state, including the secret service, the army and bureaucracy are under its complete domination.

What Is Democratic Centralism?

In communist theory, "democratic centralism" is a combination of centralized authority and discipline with democratic practices in the life of the communist party. Theoretically, party policy is decided in free discussion by the membership which also elects the leadership. But once a decision is made, it is binding on all members of the party, and once elected, the leadership must be obeyed. In action, discipline is on a military basis. Theoretically, centralized authority and democracy balance each other and are of equal importance.

In practice, authority and discipline are supreme and democracy is non-existent. Policy is decided and changed at will by the leadership. The membership may or may not be consulted. Party congresses and conventions are postponed by the leadership sometimes for years in violation of the party constitution. The Comintern was dis-

solved by its executive committee without a mandate from the Comintern Congress, nominally the highest body of the Third International.

When held, congresses are sounding boards for the announcement of decisions made by the leadership. Criticism and opposition are not tolerated. The leaders of communist parties outside the Soviet Union are appointed and deposed by decision of the Presidium of the Bolshevik party. The communist party, said Stalin, must be monolithic. It is exactly that.

Who Are the Communists?

"The Communist Party is formed," reads a statement of the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in 1920, "of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers."

That the communist movement attracts such workers in many countries is a fact. But it is also a fact that where workers are free to leave the movement, the communist party fails to hold them and even repels them by its policy.

Persons of non-working class origin are also included in the membership of the communist parties. But by choice, the communist parties in capitalist countries and in east and central Europe have their strongest roots among the industrial workers. These they regard as the historically destined leaders of the revolution.

In China, however, the Communist Party is now composed of an overwhelming majority of peasants. This despite the fact that when the party was first organized in 1920 it was essentially a party of workers.

The ultimate nature of all communist parties is indicated by the experience of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1928 when the five-year plans were instituted in the U.S.S.R., the membership of the Soviet party consisted of industrial workers (more than 60%), peasants (over 20%), and clerical workers, intellectuals, and persons of non-working class origin other than peasants.

However, by the time of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, workers were a distinct minority



in the Bolshevik Party. Men and women of the social strata created or enlarged by the industrialization and collectivization programs of the preceding years—plant and farm managers, technicians, engineers, government and party functionaries, and military officers—the elite of Soviet society, comprised a large majority of the Communist Party. Once the workers had performed their revolutionary function in seizing power, in fighting the civil war and enduring the rigors of industrialization, they were relegated to a minor role in the party which controlled the state. This has resulted in their present subordinate and subservient role in Soviet society.

Today, manual workers represent only 30% of the total party membership of 8,708,000: exactly half of their proportion in the '20s.

Why Do People Join the Communist Party?

Some people are attracted by communist propaganda about an "ideal" society based on economic and social equality and on brotherhood. Some workers and peasants, unable to detect the red wolf in the sheep's clothing, take the communist party at its face value as a fighter for their immediate interests.

Some people are deceived or deceive themselves into thinking that the communist party will further the cultural, scientific, fraternal, and other causes in which they are interested. More cynical persons see in the large communist movement opportunities for careers.

Inevitably, when those who were induced, persuaded, or enticed into the communist fold discover that they were deceived, they leave. The number of ex-communists is many times greater than the number of party members.

But new recruits are always obtained. The membership rolls fatten on the poverty and misery which constitute the lot of many peoples and races. As long as poverty and misery continue on a large scale, the communist parties will continue to feed on the hopes and aspirations of men to achieve security, freedom, and dignity. As the free world continues to eliminate poverty, and continues

to give men hope, it will cut away the ground under communism.

In the Soviet world, people join the communist party because of conviction, hope, indoctrination, a desire or pressure to conform, expediency in getting an education or building a successful career. And also, as the only legal party, it is the only available medium for political life and the realization of political ambition. To quit the communist party in the Soviet world is a risky undertaking.

How Many Communists Are There?

No one knows exactly. The membership of communist parties varies widely. The turnover is large. In addition to those who leave because of disillusionment, large numbers are expelled in the periodic purges which are a prescribed feature of communist party organization.

As of June 1961, statistics published in Moscow (which must be approached with some caution) estimated the membership of 87 communist parties throughout the world at 36,000,000.

Of this number, the vast majority were in the communist bloc of nations. The largest single party was that of China, with more than 15,500,000 members and candidate members. The second largest was that of the Soviet Union, with almost 9,500,000 members and candidate members. More than 4,500,000 members belonged to the communist parties of the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe—Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania.

The same statistics estimate membership in Western Europe (chiefly France and Italy) at 2,500,000, in non-communist Asian countries at about 2,500,000, in the Western Hemisphere (chiefly Latin America) at over 250,000, and in Africa at 50,000.

It is sobering to learn of the officially claimed increase in membership in Asia and Africa since 1939. In Africa, the number has grown from about 5,000 before World War II to 50,000 today. And in Asia, the number has grown in the corresponding period from around 20,000



to some 2,500,000 *outside* Asian countries ruled by communists.

The Communist party in the United States had reached its historic peak of 75-80,000 members in 1949. By July 1961 the number of party members was variously estimated at between ten and twenty thousand.

Do the 36,000,000 in Communist Parties Constitute the Entire Organized Communist Force?

No. Each communist party has a youth organization and other auxiliaries, many of them larger than the party itself, under its direction.

The Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R., for example, whose members are 15 to 26 years of age, numbers about 18,000,000; and the Young Pioneers, children 9 to 15 years old, numbers about 16,000,000. Altogether the organized, active communist force of the Soviet Union comprises about one-sixth of the population. Similar proportions prevail in Communist China.

In addition to their youth auxiliaries, the parties of the communist bloc of nations, as well as those of France and Italy, also control large and powerful trade union organizations. And all communist parties create auxiliary economic, political, cultural and other civic movements—or seek to infiltrate and subvert non-communist ones—to serve their ends.

Does the Size of a Communist Party Indicate the Danger It Represents?

Not necessarily. Of course, when communist parties are large, they are a greater danger than when they are small. But the fact that they are small does not mean that they are not a potential danger of great importance.

In the United States it is customary to point to the small number of organized communists and dismiss them as an insignificant national force. It is of course true that the Party in this country has, in addition to its tiny numbers, other difficulties which are reflected in the fact that the Party's official organ, the *Daily Worker*, was transformed, for lack of readership support, to a weekly, *The*

Worker. It is also true that the Party has been unable to get on the ballot in New York State, where its largest number of members reside, for lack of supporting primary petitions.

Despite this, it is worthwhile to note an official statement issued in June 1961 by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, immediately after a United States Supreme Court decision ordering the party to register as an agent of the Soviet Union. Mr. Kennedy said:

"After ten years of litigation, the Supreme Court has held that the Communist Party of the United States is directed, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union. . . . This is a momentous decision. . . . The Communist Party has made every effort to promote a public image of a legitimate political party. . . . In fact, it always has been under the discipline of a foreign country and has been a tactical means of advancing both the short and long-range interests of the Soviet Union.

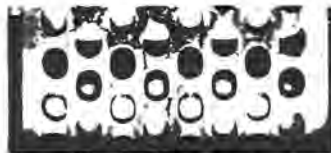
"It is this point which I believe is of crucial importance. The case and the evidence on this point presented to the Court should be studied by all non-Communist governments and groups, such as teachers, students and labor organizations around the world. What the Communist Party preaches and what it practices is for all to see. . . .

"The Communist Party as it exists in the United States and other countries is not a legitimate political party. . . . It is the Trojan Horse assuming the form of a so-called political party in the democratic countries around the world—agrarian reformers in China, guerrillas in South Vietnam, or rioters in Japan. . . ."

So spoke Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

The fact is that a communist party of *any* size is a serious danger. Any organized, disciplined force with a definite goal and the determination, shrewdness and courage necessary to achieve its ends presents a menace. It is, moreover, a detachment of an international army which commands vast material and human resources upon which it can draw when necessary.

At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March,



1917, the Bolshevik Party had only some 40,000 members. One month later, the Bolshevik Party membership doubled. Six months later, the force which organized and led the armed insurrection of October, 1917, numbered only 240,000 in a population larger than the present population of the United States.

After establishment of the Soviet state, the communist parties of the world were able to draw on the enormous resources it commanded.

In June, 1936, one month before the outbreak of the fascist rebellion and the civil war, the Spanish Communist Party had grown from about 150 in 1931 (when the democratic forces overthrew the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera) to about 50,000 members. It was still a minor force compared with the powerful Spanish anarchist and socialist movements. Nevertheless, after the civil war began, the Spanish Communist Party, as a direct result of Soviet pressure on the republican government of Spain, to which it sent limited amounts of aid in cash, became the dominant political force in the republican state. Soviet and Spanish communists were vested with control of the anti-fascist military and police forces of the republic, which they used to establish a reign of terror against anarchists, socialists, and others. They looted the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain and sent them to Moscow. In general they made a major contribution to the defeat of the republican state and the triumph of fascism.

Are Communist Parties Independent and Autonomous?

No. They are directed and controlled by the ruling hierarchy of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow. This control has, since 1919, assumed various forms, but the degree of control has rarely varied. The first, and perhaps the most famous organ of Moscow's control and direction of the world communist movement was the Third (Communist) International, generally called the Comintern International or Comintern.

What Was the Comintern?

From 1919, when it was founded, until 1943, when it was dissolved, the Comintern, created chiefly by Lenin,

served as "the general staff of the world revolution."

Its headquarters were situated in Moscow. In theory, the Comintern was independent of the Soviet government. Again, in theory, all affiliated parties of the Comintern were subject to its directives. The Soviet government, controlled by the Soviet Communist Party, was thus at the disposition of the Comintern for purposes of world revolution.

Actually, however, the Comintern was dominated by the Soviet Communist Party and was in fact only an appendage of the latter and, through it, of the Soviet government.

How Was the Communist Movement

Directed After 1943?

After the Comintern was dissolved, the coordination and direction of the communist parties was entrusted to the Secret Police of the U.S.S.R. A member of this service was invariably a secret member of the central committee of every party; this is probably still the case today.

In addition, from 1947 to 1955, Moscow's control of the international communist movement was organized through an institution known as the Cominform.

What Was the Cominform?

In 1947, nine European communist parties, including the Soviet, French, and Italian parties, and a number of east and central European parties, established an Information Bureau, since known as the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform. Subsequently, other communist parties affiliated with the Cominform.

Originally, Cominform headquarters was situated in Belgrade, but after the breach between Titoist Yugoslavia and Stalinist Russia in 1948, it was transferred to Bucharest.

The ostensible purpose of the Cominform was "to organize and exchange experience and, in case of necessity, co-ordinate the activity of Communist parties on foundations of mutual agreement."

In reality, the Cominform which, like the Comintern



before it, was dominated by the Soviet Communist Party, was launched as a part of the Soviet Union's retaliation for the Marshall Plan. Its real tasks were:

Consolidation of Soviet power in eastern and central Europe.

Intensification of communist political warfare in western Europe, chiefly through the French and Italian parties.

Creation of an appearance of equality and democracy in relationships among communist parties in the Soviet world.

The Cominform was officially disbanded in April, 1956. Its place has been taken by a variety of formal and informal institutions and organizations. Among these are the Warsaw Pact and the periodic congresses of communist parties of the Soviet bloc. International communist contacts are also maintained through visits to and from Moscow by the Soviet leaders and leaders of other parties in and out of the bloc.

What Is the Warsaw Pact?

The Warsaw Pact is a treaty of "Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" concluded in May, 1955, between the governments of the Soviet Union and its seven East European satellites. It is essentially a military pact, offering a show of governmental independence for all the satellites, which formally coordinates the military policies and actions of the Soviet bloc in Europe. It is headed by Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev.

In fact, of course, the Warsaw Pact members are no more independent than were the "autonomous" communist parties that belonged to the Comintern and the Cominform.

The Warsaw Pact has also given rise to formal institutions of economic coordination within the bloc, such as the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. In Stalin's day, this economic coordination, undertaken for the exclusive benefit of the U.S.S.R.'s economy and resulting in enormous exploitation of the resources and labor of the satellites, was simply ordered ruthlessly from Moscow. Since Stalin's

death, the worst features of this economic exploitation have been ameliorated; in addition, there is a show of consultation among the various "independent" governments, and a greater degree of rationality in the bloc's total economic planning.

Nevertheless, the satellites still remain subordinate in every field. This is demonstrated by the shift in their economic planning since 1958. In that year, Khrushchev, instead of continuing the traditional five-year plans for Soviet economic development embarked on an ambitious seven-year plan. All the satellites, who had coordinated their own five-year plans with those of the U.S.S.R., fell into line. They terminated their own shorter plans as swiftly as possible and now have adapted their own countries' economic plans to that of the Soviet Union.

Are Communist Parties Really Agencies of the Soviet Government?

Yes. The communist parties always speak in the name of idealistic objectives and of the welfare of the working class and nation in which they function, but their chief purpose and highest duty in peace and war is to serve the interests of the government of the U.S.S.R.

Any service they may render to the working class or to any cause other than their own is for the purpose of advancing their primary aim. According to the situation, they pose as the only true patriots or as the only genuine revolutionary internationalists. Both poses disguise their unchanging subservience to Soviet nationalism and imperialism.

How, for Example, Did the French Communist Party Serve Soviet Interests?

Before Hitler came to power in Germany in January, 1933, the French Communist Party, in common with the German and Soviet governments and with other communist parties, opposed the status quo in Europe created by the Versailles Treaty ending World War I.

In 1935, alarmed by Hitler's victory, the Soviet government made an alliance with France, directed against



Germany. The French Communist Party then became a defender of the status quo.

Following consummation of the Nazi-Soviet alliance in 1939, which provided for the partition of Poland and was the signal for the outbreak of World War II, the French Communist Party opposed the war against Germany as an imperialist war. And after the fall of France in 1940, it collaborated with the German occupation authorities.

But when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the French communists became French patriots and entered the resistance movement in force.

During the cold war between the Soviet world and the West, which followed World War II, the French Communist Party fought the Marshall Plan and the shipment of arms from the United States to France.

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Chapter 3

Communist Tactics

THE YEARS from 1900 to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 were a period of blueprinting by Lenin of the principles of strategy and of his struggles to build a party with which to gain power.

The history of communist tactics may be said to begin with the Bolshevik Revolution. In that history, up to the present time, eight principal periods may be distinguished.

What Was the First Period of Communist Tactics?

The first period opened with the Bolshevik Revolution and ended about 1921. This was the phase of the consolidation of power by the Bolshevik state and of the fostering of immediate world-wide revolution. It was responsible for the revolutionary tide which engulfed a great part of Europe after World War I.

In this phase occurred the civil war and the Allied intervention in Soviet Russia. This was the period of "war communism" in Soviet Russia, marked by the forcible requisition of grain from the peasants, the creation of labor armies under military discipline, and other extreme measures.

In this phase the Comintern was established to organize the world revolution and bolster Soviet Russia.

What Was the Second Period of Communist Tactics?

The second period, from 1921 to 1928, was basically a transition stage of communist tactics.

It began, following victory in the civil war and failure of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe to achieve success, with the adoption in Soviet Russia of a moderate economic policy. This was known as the New Economic



Policy, and it remained in force until adoption of the first five-year plan.

While waiting for revival of the world revolution, Lenin projected the policy of resuming relations with "capitalist states." Under the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922, Soviet Russia and Germany undertook political and military collaboration against the Versailles system. In this stage, Lenin also initiated the united front policy of collaboration with socialists in other countries.

After Lenin's illness and death, there occurred the tremendous struggle between Stalin and Trotsky over communist tactics. As Stalin controlled the party and state apparatus, communist tactics during this stage became increasingly nationalistic in substance and somewhat, but not altogether, nationalist in form.

Stalin destroyed the opposition in 1927-28, and the Sixth Congress of the Third International, in the latter year, adopted the Comintern program which embodied his concepts of communist tactics.

This marked the end of the second period and the opening of the third period of communist tactics.

What Was the Third Period of Communist Tactics?

In the period from 1928 to 1935 two goals were sought: on the one hand, the defense and development of the U.S.S.R. as the bastion of world communism; on the other hand, overt extreme revolutionism, the attainment of the world-wide collapse of capitalism, and the triumph of communism everywhere as a result of wars between the capitalist powers and destructive depressions in these countries.

During these years, industry in the U.S.S.R. was developed rapidly under the first five-year plan. Agriculture was collectivized forcibly, resulting in a man-made famine in which several million peasants perished; and the social structure of the Soviet Union was profoundly modified—a new elite ruling class of several million was created. Slave labor assumed tremendous proportions.

In the democratic countries, which were in the throes of economic depression, the Communist International pur-

sued a general policy of revolutionary extremism. In the communist view, this was the "third period," following the first period of revolutionary upsurge and the second of capitalist stabilization. Now, the world revolution again stood as the "order of the day."

At the same time, the communists abandoned the tactic of the united front, which had more or less characterized their second period. They refused all collaboration with the socialists and other democrats, whom they denounced as "social fascists," and they split the unions and other working class organizations controlled by socialists and other democratic forces.

In Germany, the communists collaborated with the Nazis against the socialists. They offered no organized resistance to Hitler's assumption of power—on the theory that the Nazi triumph would only exacerbate Germany's political and economic ills, and power would then fall to the communists.

What Was the Fourth Period of Communist Tactics?

The communist tactics of this period—which began with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in August, 1935 and lasted exactly four years, until the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in August, 1939—were motivated by a new-found fear of the Nazi regime. By 1935 Stalin began to realize that Hitler meant business and Moscow feared that the powerful Nazi state, which had begun to disappoint Soviet hopes for continued German-Soviet collaboration, would become the spearhead of a coalition of powers against the U.S.S.R. And indeed, by 1936, Hitler had already constructed his Anti-Comintern Pact, with Mussolini's Italy and Tojo's Japan as his partners.

Reflections of this fear were to be seen in the sweeping purges of 1935-39 in the U.S.S.R. which destroyed the greater part of the generation of Bolsheviks who had made the revolution, fought in the civil war, and built the Soviet state. Among other things, the victims were accused of espionage and treachery on behalf of Nazi Germany.



Communist strategy to prevent a Nazi-led, anti-Soviet coalition centered on the collective security policy of the Soviet government and a revived popular front policy of the Comintern.

The popular front policy called for a coalition of communist, socialist, democratic and progressive forces against fascist and reactionary elements. In a number of instances it was conspicuously successful in building communist strength.

The real objective of the collective security policy was to sharpen existing differences among the European powers. The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, denounced by Lenin as an imperialist "thieves' kitchen." It made alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, directed against Germany. In 1935, it denounced the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, which threatened British domination of east Africa and the Red Sea, but it supplied the Italian navy with oil. In the Spanish civil war of 1936-39, the Soviet government intervened on the side of the republican government against the fascists supported by Germany and Italy.

In 1939, the Soviet government, alarmed by Hitler's triumph at Munich in 1938 in dismembering Czechoslovakia, undertook simultaneous negotiations with England for an alliance against Germany, and with Germany for an alliance directed against France and England. The outcome was the infamous Nazi-Soviet pact.

What Was the Fifth Period of Communist Tactics?

This period, from August, 1939 until June, 1941, opened with the partition of Poland in accordance with the secret clauses of the Nazi-Soviet pact. During the war when Germany fought England and France, the Soviet Union supplied Germany with wheat, oil, and other essential materials.

The communists denounced the war as an imperialist struggle. Stalin, writing in *Pravda*, official organ of the Soviet Communist Party, charged England and France with responsibility for the war. Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that "Hitler-

ism . . . is a matter of taste." *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government, supported Hitler's proposals of October 8, 1939, for ending the war, including settlement of the "Jewish problem." In France, the communists spoke of turning the imperialist war into civil war. In the United States, the communists opposed the draft, lend-lease, and other measures, and sponsored the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

The communist strategy employed in Europe to buttress the U.S.S.R. and to pit the powers against one another, was applied also in Asia. In 1938, Japan and the Soviet Union had fought a short but full-scale undeclared war along the Soviet-Manchurian border. In April, 1941, when Japanese preparations for war with the United States were well advanced, the Soviet government signed a five-year neutrality pact with Japan, which included Soviet recognition of the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria. The Soviet government thus secured its position in the Far East, at the expense of China and the United States, and sold out the Chinese communists who were waging guerilla war against the Japanese in Manchuria. -

In Asia, Soviet strategy was momentarily successful. But in Europe, expanding Soviet power threatened vital German interests in eastern Europe and was a powerful factor in Hitler's decision to attack the U.S.S.R., in June, 1941.

What Was the Sixth Period of Communist Tactics?

This was the period, from June, 1941 until May, 1945, of the "Great Patriotic War" and the "National War of Liberation" against Germany and of the Soviet-American-British coalition against the fascist axis.

After Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the communist parties in the free countries reversed their attitude on the war, demanding in chorus with the Soviet government that their own governments open a second front in Europe to aid the Soviet armies. In the United States, the communists became super patriots and now shouted, "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late."

In 1943, the Comintern was dissolved on the ground



that it was "a hindrance to the . . . national workers' parties." In reality it was superfluous. Its dissolution was a convenient and deceitful sop to the anti-communist sentiments of the Soviet Union's allies in the wartime coalition. In the United States, the Communist Party enacted a farce in "dissolving" itself and forming the Communist Political Association. Browder, then Stalin's loyal American minion, proclaimed his acceptance of free enterprise.

But as Russian armies cleared the Soviet Union of the enemy and pursued the Nazis into their homeland, Soviet imperialism realized new and greater opportunities. At conferences with the United States and England in 1943 and 1945, the Soviet government won recognition of a "security" zone in eastern Europe and the promise of large territorial and strategic advantages as its reward for its agreement to enter what all then thought would be the long and costly war against Japan.

Altogether, by the end of the war, the Soviet world had been enlarged by part or all the territory and population of more than ten states in eastern and central Europe and Asia. In total, the Soviet world gained some 260,000 square miles and extended its sway over approximately 125,000,000 additional victims. And all this preceded the conquest of China.

What Was the Seventh Period of Communist Tactics?

This period lasted from the end of World War II until the death of Stalin in March, 1953.

The end of World War II found the Soviet Union in military occupation of a vast territory in eastern and central Europe. It proceeded to consolidate this area into an empire of satellite states with the same social system as its own. In Asia, it created a satellite in North Korea and gave enormous aid to the Chinese communists. The conquest of China by Mao Tse-tung altered the world balance of forces to the advantage of communism and opened a new epoch in the history of Asia.

The United States, supported by the West European states and countries in Asia and Latin America, challenged the expansionist drive of communist imperialism

and undertook to contain it. Post-war differences developed into a cold war between the Soviet and democratic worlds. Communist strategy in the "cold war" comprised four principal sets of tactics:

1) Sustained attempts by the communist parties to weaken the economy and political life of the western countries, especially in France and Italy, and also in West Germany;

2) Armed uprisings and prolonged rebellions by guerrillas, as in Greece in 1946-49, and in French Indo-China, which in 1954 led to an uneasy truce between communist and non-communist forces;

3) Open aggression by the communist state of North Korea against the non-communist state of South Korea, with the support of the Chinese communists; and

4) Propaganda and diplomatic campaigns for peace and disarmament to divert attention from the steadily mounting Soviet war preparations; propaganda and diplomatic offensives against "American imperialism" as the aggressor in Korea against the peoples of Asia and as instigator of atomic war to destroy the Soviet world; and diplomatic maneuvers designed to sharpen differences between the United States and its allies over such issues as negotiation of peace in Korea, disposition of Formosa, and the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.

What Is the Eighth Period of Communist Tactics?

This is the period from Stalin's death to date. Actually, it has been a period characterized by a number of fluctuations in the Party line and tactics, resulting chiefly from the struggle for power in the Kremlin, the uncertainties about who would emerge as his victorious successor, and the consequent lack of assurance about the future of the leadership and policy in Moscow and throughout the whole international communist movement.

Thus, shortly after Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, while the struggle for his succession raged behind the scenes, a series of crises shook the Soviet world. With the bloody tyrant gone, workers, peasants, intellectuals



and most other segments of the population began to hope that some of the worst features of his tyranny throughout the Soviet empire would be eliminated. Quite spontaneously, people undertook demonstrations for better economic conditions and a loosening of the totalitarian political reins. Presumably, many people felt that the disorder in the ranks of the communist leadership might provide an opening for such improvements.

The demonstrations began with the unprecedented uprising of workers in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, and was followed in quick order by similar strikes in other parts of East Germany, and among organized Czech factory workers, Hungarian peasants, Bulgarian tobacco workers, and even the slave laborers of Siberia. The historic uprising in East Berlin was quickly suppressed by the use of Soviet tanks and soldiers, against whom the rocks, stones and slogans of the heroic workers were obviously futile.

Even more unprecedented was the reaction of the various communist governments. Unsure of the outcome of the power struggle in Moscow and evidently getting no firm directives from there as to how to handle the uprisings, they fell back to a more defensive posture. Instead of executing all participants, as they would have done under Stalin, they compromised. The strikers remained unmolested when they returned to work, and far-reaching governmental reforms were projected and, to some extent, undertaken.

On the domestic front, a new course of action was undertaken which appreciably modified the existing repressive policies. This was especially true for the satellite countries where people still could remember living conditions under democracy. Economic concessions, such as price reductions, cancellations of tax arrears, reduced farm delivery quotas and, most significant of all, a shift from heavy to light industry, were the norms. Political relaxation included amnesties, decline in purges, relaxation of governmental direction of cultural and scientific activity, and the avowal to cooperate with the land-owning peasants.



Foreign policy was equally conciliatory. The tempo of the "peace offensive" was stepped up, cultural delegations crossed the iron curtain from both sides with increasing frequency, and Malenkov spoke of the terrors of the "A-Bomb" and of the futility of war. Only the Chinese struck a discordant note, humiliating France and the free world at the Geneva conference early in 1954, by enforcing the partition of French Indo-China. In order to reassure both the Russian people and the outside world against the spectre of a new Stalin, collective leadership was incessantly stressed.

This state of affairs did not last long. As the struggle for supremacy in the Kremlin reached a crisis, the line changed again: the key to the change in the line was the shifting alliances that were made by Nikita Khrushchev in his rise to power. He followed the old Stalin-Rakosi prescription of "salami tactics" in destroying every effective opposition to his taking power.

At first, he allied himself with Malenkov, Bulganin, Molotov, Kaganovitch and Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet war hero, in destroying the chief of the secret police (MVD) Lavrenti Beria. Each of these men had reason to fear Beria's use of the MVD for his own power aspirations, and he was executed in June, 1953.

The period of domestic and international conciliatory tactics coincided with Malenkov's premiership. But then Khrushchev proceeded to ally himself with the "tough" faction in the Kremlin leadership to eliminate Malenkov. This was achieved in February, 1955, when Khrushchev's ally Bulganin became premier. The tough faction then proceeded to tighten the reins again. At home, first priority was again given to the production of armaments and heavy industry, to the neglect of consumer goods. Foreign policy, too, hardened for a time; Marshal Zhukov, the newly appointed defense minister, warned in an official speech that Russia was not afraid of America's atomic weapons.

As soon, however, as Khrushchev felt himself strong enough, he began to move against his allies in the "tough"



camp, chiefly the old Stalinists, Molotov and Kaganovitch.

This move against his "tough" allies was reflected in both domestic and foreign policy. In the former, for example, while the emphasis on heavy industry and armaments remained intense, Khrushchev began to call for a concomitant increase in consumer goods. In foreign policy, the Kremlin also became more conciliatory. It participated in a "summit meeting" of Big Four leaders at Geneva in the summer of 1955, and friendly overtures to the West became the order of the day.

What Was the Purpose of Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956?

By February, 1956, when the 20th Congress of the CPSU convened in Moscow—the first such meeting since 1952 and the first since Stalin's death—Khrushchev felt strong enough to undertake a major coup.

The fundamental import of the "secret report" he made to the Congress was to downgrade Stalin: he presented him as a paranoid megalomaniac, especially in the last eight years of his life and accused him of perpetrating a whole series of criminal acts—though Khrushchev's citation of these acts was significantly far from exhaustive. A tremor shook the whole communist world when it heard of this violent attack, for Stalin had for thirty years been the virtual godhead of the movement.

Khrushchev had several purposes in making this attack. In the first place, he desired to give the people, and the new privileged elite class of managers, technicians and middle stratum officials who had risen in the post-Revolutionary generation, some assurance that the sanguinary rule of terror was over. People wanted some relief from the total fear they had lived with for decades, and the destruction of the symbolism and "cult of personality" of Stalin was a dramatic means of giving assurances of relief.

Khrushchev also used this attack on Stalin to destroy the power of the old Stalinists completely—and soon

Molotov and Kaganovitch were demoted and, in effect, exiled.

By this means, too, Khrushchev sought to shake up the whole structure of the party at home and abroad in a drastic fashion—and soon old office-holders, Party and government officials began to be replaced with new appointees. Khrushchev thus systematically began to create his own power regime, supported by his own chosen functionaries. It was, in sum, a repetition of precisely the same means by which Stalin systematically achieved one-man rule over the period from 1924 to 1928.

What Was the Effect of De-Stalinization in the Satellites?

The policy of downgrading Stalin produced uncertainty and insecurity in the minds of party officials, and raised to the surface the people's hopes, aspirations and even demands for a better life. The effect was like that of lifting the cover slightly from a kettle of boiling water: a small amount of steam emerges. But if the water keeps boiling, it will sooner or later blow the lid off entirely—or else the lid has to be clamped down as tightly as before.

Thus, in June and July of 1956, workers in Poznan and other Polish cities streamed out of their factories to demonstrate under the slogan of "Bread and Freedom." Polish military and police forces suppressed the demonstrations bloodily, but Polish resentments against Soviet domination and communist exploitation were not stilled. On the contrary, four months later, in October, 1956, they precipitated what is known as the "Polish October" (in symbolic recollection of the Bolshevik Revolution, which had also taken place in October).

What Was the "Polish October"?

It was, in effect, a bloodless half-revolution to meet the exigencies of the moment: it represented a desperate, uneasy effort by the communist leadership to keep the lid slightly off the kettle so as to allow some steam to escape.

The stifled resentments of Polish workers, peasants



and intellectuals had become even more intense as a result of the suppression of the Poznan demonstration. By the middle of October, the atmosphere in Poland, especially in Warsaw, was heavy with the threat of violence and civil war. The frightened Polish communist leadership saw no alternative but to recall to power, as First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Wladyslaw Gomulka, who in 1951 had been demoted, disgraced and imprisoned as a "Titoist," and who had a reputation among the Poles as a communist who was slightly more independent of Moscow and more concerned for Poland's welfare than his more rigid Stalinist colleagues.

Gomulka came to power on October 20, cheered on, as the "lesser evil," by masses of people throughout the country. The same day, Khrushchev and his closest Kremlin cohorts arrived in Warsaw to the accompaniment of the movement of Soviet troops around the city. In a showdown between the two communist leaders, Gomulka warned that the Soviet use of force to preserve the old-line Stalinist regime in Poland would lead to war and civil war. Khrushchev, evidently persuaded that this was so, and that Gomulka, a steadfast and loyal communist for decades, was the only man who could save the situation for communism in Poland, and at the same time keep the country within the Soviet bloc, relented. Political and economic concessions were made by Moscow to Poland.

The key to this unprecedentedly triumphant defiance of Moscow by a satellite lay in Khrushchev's belief that Gomulka did not represent any sort of threat to Khrushchev's leadership in the international communist movement and to the U.S.S.R.'s unquestioned supremacy in foreign affairs. It was not, as events in Hungary just one week later were to demonstrate, any reluctance on Moscow's part to use force in the face of what it considered an unmistakable revolt for freedom from its domination.

The success of Gomulka's regime since October, 1956 has rested on one factor—the people's realization that they have no alternative. This conviction stems, in turn, from certain clear facts, such as the continued presence

of large Soviet forces inside Poland as well as on the Soviet-Polish frontier, and the demonstrated inability of the Western powers to help the Polish people achieve their freedom. The regime's understanding with the Catholic Church in Poland for a minimal degree of religious liberty has also helped stabilize the situation.

For about a year after 1956, Gomulka granted various political and economic concessions to the workers, the peasantry and the intellectuals—certain foods were made more available, living conditions were slightly improved, a stop was put to farm collectivization, writers were given somewhat more freedom of expression. But toward the end of 1957, the regime began to tighten the reins again in all of these areas.

What Was the Meaning of the Hungarian Revolution?

The process of de-Stalinization had repercussions in Hungary as well as in Poland, both on the party leadership and on the people. The people became increasingly restive and the leadership grew correspondingly insecure, uncertain and frightened. As early as mid-1953, Hungarian intellectuals and writers began with increasing boldness and explicitness to discuss the need for less party control of cultural and artistic life. They, and the people at large, were encouraged when Imre Nagy, a communist leader who had been in disrepute for several years, became premier in 1953. His tenure in office, marked by a certain leniency in political and economic policies, coincided with the period of Soviet leadership headed by Malenkov. And soon after Malenkov's demotion and a turn to a tougher line in Moscow in 1955, Nagy too was ousted, and the arch-Stalinist Matyas Rakosi resumed his rigid terroristic rule.

This only served to exacerbate the resentments of growing numbers of Hungarians in all walks of life—chiefly the intellectuals, students and workers. As the people grew more restive, the regime grew more tyrannical. By mid-1956, the Rakosi regime, unsettled by the



trauma of Soviet de-Stalinization, felt forced to make one small concession after another, beginning with the resignation of Rakosi. The lid was slightly off the kettle of furiously boiling water, and it was too late to put it back on tightly and impossible to keep it in suspension. On October 23, 1956, the lid blew off completely.

Inspired by the events of a few days before in Poland, groups of workers and students began to issue manifestos for liberalization of life in their country. On October 23, many of them spontaneously moved toward key symbolic positions of communist power in Budapest—a statue of Stalin and the headquarters of the hated, dreaded Hungarian secret police. Thousands congregated before them, pulled down the statue and tried to storm the headquarters as well as the offices of the official radio station. The secret police opened fire on the crowds, and thus began the short-lived revolution in which some 25,000 people were slaughtered.

Swift-moving events saw the recall of Nagy to power, less as a leader of a revolution than its slightly confused symbol; Moscow's decision, made on the spot by Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, to quell the revolt; the subsequent Soviet agreement, in the face of continued and even growing Hungarian resistance, to withdraw from Budapest at the end of October; Nagy's declaration of Hungarian neutrality and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact; and finally, the Soviet decision, made as early as November 1, to intervene forcibly a second time, a decision that was implemented by the return of massive Soviet military forces to Budapest and the wholesale crushing of the revolt. In addition to the tragic number of casualties, some 125,000 Hungarians, most of them youths and many of them Freedom Fighters, fled into Austria to escape the certain doom that awaited them at the hands of the Soviets and the reconstituted Hungarian secret police. Nagy himself was replaced by Janos Kadar, a pliable tool of Moscow; two weeks later, Nagy and his closest political friends and advisors and their families were arrested and imprisoned despite a Soviet-guaranteed safe-conduct. In

1958, Moscow and Budapest revealed that they had been tried in secret and executed. The Hungarian Revolution had gone down to defeat.

What Strategic Considerations Accounted for Moscow's Different Reactions in Poland and in Hungary?

Faced with defiance in Warsaw, the Kremlin speedily arrived at a *modus vivendi* with Gomulka. Faced with revolt in Budapest, the Kremlin responded with force.

The difference in response was accounted for by the essential difference between the Polish and the Hungarian revolts. In Gomulka, Khrushchev recognized a perfervid communist who was the only man who could control the situation inside Poland, prevent the outbreak of violent revolt, and remain a loyal supporter of Soviet strategic interests and foreign policy objectives.

In Nagy, and more importantly, in the revolution which swept him to power and actually carried him far beyond his own intentions, Khrushchev recognized an open break with Soviet hegemony, a declaration of total independence in foreign policy and of freedom in internal affairs. This was a situation which the Kremlin could not tolerate on both ideological and strategic grounds.

The clear object lesson of the Hungarian Revolution was that the Kremlin was willing to risk Western displeasure and indignation—perhaps even to risk war—for the sake of retaining its hold on the empire it has molded since 1945.

How Did the Free World Respond to the Hungarian Revolution and Its Object Lesson?

The free world's sympathies were clearly with the Freedom Fighters, and the brutal Soviet repression aroused fierce indignation—perhaps all the fiercer because it was wholly impotent.

Undoubtedly Khrushchev calculated, when he unhesitatingly took the risk of bloody intervention, not only that the West's protests at the time would not be followed through, but that it would forget the object lesson



and that indignation and protest and even recollection of the Revolution would soon die down in the West. For this was precisely what happened.

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Chapter 4

Communist Techniques

How Does the Communist Movement Try to Weaken and Destroy the Democratic World?

THE INTERNATIONAL communist movement uses two basic tactics to achieve its ends: armed force and political warfare. These tactics, in all their variety of permutations and combinations, were originally formulated by Lenin and by the Comintern under him and Stalin, and are today perpetuated by Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung and their colleagues in every part of the world.

The tactical guide lines laid down by Lenin, and carried through in expanded and flexible form by his successors, cover methods for the weakening of existing institutions, methods for subversion of representative government, the duties of elected communist representatives, and the use of armed force.

How Do Communists Weaken Existing Institutions?

Their main attack is on law and representative government.

For obvious reasons, communists prefer a state of affairs in which they can function legally. But because they regard the state as the "executive committee of the ruling class" with which they consider themselves perpetually at war, communists, in the words of the Statutes of Admission to the Comintern,

"... can have no confidence in bourgeois laws ..."

Where the law forbids communist activity, the Statutes directed, the communists must find a way of acting legally through "front" parties and organizations and, at the same time, must continue to function illegally.

"... a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."



How Do Communists Undermine Representative Government?

The Second Congress of the Comintern made the answer to this question unmistakably clear in *The Communist Party and Parliamentarism*.

The guiding thought is:

"... bourgeois parliaments ... cannot be taken over by the proletariat ..."

"The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up ... all the parliamentary institutions ... whether they be republican or constitutional monarchy."

"The same applies to the local government institutions."

The "fundamental means" of accomplishing this task was defined as "mass demonstrations ... carried out ... under the direction of a ... Communist Party" and "logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist state."

It is necessary "in this warfare ... developing into civil war" to "secure every and all legal positions making them ... auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the ... mass struggle."

Chief among such "auxiliary supports" are election campaigns and "the rostrum of parliament."

Elected communist party candidates enter parliament as "scouting parties" in order to prepare "the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and parliament itself from within."

This work of "preparation of a proletarian uprising ... for the destruction of the bourgeois state and for the creation of the new proletarian state" consists "chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform ..."

But "if the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must:

a) carry on revolutionary propaganda against the bourgeois central authority;

b) ... attempt to establish an armed workers' militia ...

c) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils (soviets) for the municipal administration."

What Are the Duties of Communist Representatives?

In every country, elected representatives, including communists, take an oath, prescribed by law, which generally commits the swearer to uphold the laws and government of his country.

Nevertheless, *The Party and Parliamentarism* directed:

"Each communist representative must remember that he is not a 'legislator' who is bound to seek agreements with other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there."

"The communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own communist party—whether legal or illegal."

The communist representative must propose "demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed ... but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation, and organization ..."

He must get "preliminary instructions" on all important political questions from the central committee of the party to which he must submit "for confirmation" the "thesis of his speech, or the text," at each "forthcoming important debate."

He "is bound to combine legal work with illegal work."

He must use his "inviolability," or parliamentary immunity from arrest, to render "assistance to the illegal organizations ..."

The communist movement, it is clear, is always partly or entirely conspiratorial and underground.

How Do Communists Use Armed Force to Tear Down the Democratic World?

Lenin forecast the use of armed force by a communist state against non-communist nations. Before coming to power, he wrote:

"The victorious proletariat ... having expropriated



the capitalists and organized Socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the capitalists, launching, in case of necessity, armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states."

It should again be noted, of course, that the communist use of the phrase "socialist production" has no connection at all with genuine democratic socialism, or with genuine socialist modes of production such as exist in England, Scandinavia and Israel.

What Forms Has the Communist Use of Armed Force Taken?

Since the Bolshevik Revolution, communist armed force has assumed three basic forms.

—Direct, overt military aggression. Examples: the forcible seizure of the then-independent Georgian Republic and its incorporation into the U.S.S.R. in 1921; abortive communist putches in Germany in 1921 and 1923; Soviet encouragement of an unsuccessful communist coup in Canton, China, in 1927; the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in September, 1939 (based on the terms of the Stalin-Hitler Pact); the conquest of Finland during World War II (an aspect of the Red Army's westward sweep against the German forces); North Korea's invasion, massively supported by armaments and money from the Soviet Union and by "volunteers" from Communist China, of South Korea in 1950; the U.S.S.R.'s suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956; Communist China's assault on the Tachen Islands in 1957, resulting in the Chinese Nationalist evacuation of the islands; Communist China's incessant bombardment, since 1958, of the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu; Communist China's sanguinary suppression of Tibetan resistance to communist domination in 1959.

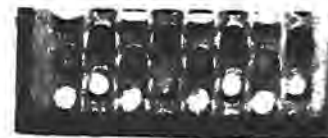
—The threat of communist armed forces massed on a neighboring country's borders. Examples: the Soviet conquest of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in 1940; the

communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948; the U.S.S.R.'s attempt to seize Berlin through a blockade in 1948-49 (foiled only by the firm, united resistance of Britain, France, the United States, and the people of West Berlin).

—Insurrections by politically disciplined communist guerrilla forces. Examples: the tight bands of communist armed groups in the French and Italian anti-Nazi underground resistance movements, and the Yugoslav partisans led by Marshal Tito (all of them active in World War II); the civil war undertaken by the Chinese communists in 1945, culminating in their seizure of power in 1949; civil war conducted by communist guerrillas, aided by the neighboring communist states of Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia, against the legitimate government of Greece in 1946-47 (stopped only by the resistance of the majority of the Greek people with the support of Britain and of the United States under the terms of the Truman Doctrine); civil war conducted against the French in Indo-China by communist guerrillas exploiting the anti-colonial and nationalist sentiments of the native peoples, culminating in the communist domination of the northern portion of the new state of Vietnam; communist guerrilla activities since the end of the war and until today in Indonesia, Burma, Laos and Malaya.

What Is the Communist Objective in Laos?

In the last months of 1960 and in the first half of 1961, a new world crisis emerged in the tiny Southeast Asian kingdom of Laos (population—little more than 1,000,000). In the northeast provinces of that country, communist and pro-communist guerrilla forces, trained and led by officers of neighboring communist North Vietnam and massively supplied with arms by the U.S.S.R., stepped up a campaign of infiltration, sabotage and outright military assault on the legitimate government, backed by the United States. So intent was world opinion on this explosive confrontation of the forces of East and West in this obscure part of the world, that many people



tended to ignore the real objective of the communist campaign.

It is not so much Laos as the Republic of South Vietnam which the communists seek to take over. There, a staunchly anti-Communist, reform government began, in 1955, to cope with the enormous difficulties that were the legacy of 90 years of French and Japanese colonial rule. This government, headed by President Ngo Dinh Diem, undertook one of the largest and most effective land reform programs in all of Asia, while stimulating modest industrial growth. South Vietnam is the strategic and economic gateway to the entire Southeast Asian peninsula; any predatory power that controls it can also hold sway over Thailand, Cambodia, Malaya, and perhaps even Burma. During World War II the Japanese used Vietnam in just that way. It was precisely because of the growing success of South Vietnam's far-sighted economic reforms, because of the example for all of Asia that was provided by this anti-communist government working effectively in behalf of its people, that North Vietnam, backed by Communist China and the U.S.S.R., began a campaign of subversive infiltration and terror in many parts of the Republic.

When the South Vietnamese army effectively sealed off its border with North Vietnam, the Communists found a new and more deadly way of conducting their guerrilla war—through neighboring Laos, which has a long, winding border with South Vietnam, a border difficult to seal or defend because much of it is covered with jungle and mountains. Thousands of specially trained communist guerrillas have been able to filter through this border and to wreak havoc among the villages and farms of South Vietnam. As more of the Laos-South Vietnam border area has come under the control of communist guerrillas in Laos, this penetration has become more massive, easier to effect and more difficult to counter. The conquest of all or much of Laos, then, is directed at the more decisive objective of South Vietnam, which, in turn, is the key to all of Southeast Asia.

What Is the Meaning of the Cuban Revolution?

The revolution led by Fidel Castro against the bloody tyranny of Fulgencio Batista did not begin as a communist movement. It was heartily supported by the mass of the Cuban people who had had enough of the dictatorship. It was a revolution carried out in the name of democratic rights and social justice, and the revolutionary army contained not only communists, but a wide range of democratic forces.

Irrespective of Castro's previous politics, it is clear that his key advisors were communists and fellow travelers, including especially the professional Latin American communist revolutionist, Ernesto "Che" Guevara. And despite certain immediate benefits for the people—such as housing, schools and hospitals—the Castro regime was very quickly transformed into an authoritarian dictatorship increasingly inclined to the tutelage of the communist party and to a close political and economic alliance with the bloc of Soviet nations, who supplied Cuba with military and economic aid and hosts of "technicians" and other specialist advisors. So the ideals and promises of democracy and of economic and social justice, in the name of which the revolution was fought and supported by the mass of the people, were betrayed.

Cuba is today a full-fledged communist satellite—the only such, in fact, that achieved this status without the presence or threat of external Soviet force. It is an armed camp which is a military, political and ideological threat to the United States and the rest of Latin America. Cuba serves as the militant base for the export of virulent anti-Americanism, communist ideology and propaganda, and the violent exploitation of the legitimate grievances and bitterness of the oppressed or deprived masses of Latin America.

What Are the Principal Techniques of Communist Political Warfare?

Communist power constantly seeks to present itself as the very opposite of an aggressive, expansionist imperial-



ism. It has, therefore, invariably relied heavily—indeed primarily—on an almost inexhaustible arsenal of varied *political warfare* techniques to explain away the use of armed force, to cover up its real objectives, and to delude people's minds with persuasive myths about those objectives.

The keys to communist political warfare techniques are best summed up in two communist terms—the “party line” and “transmission belts.”

The party line is the specific communist position on any given issue, for which massive propaganda is to be made in order to further communist aims and serve Soviet interests.

Transmission belts refer to the vast apparatus whose function is to transmit this propaganda through the creation and manipulation of a whole array of auxiliary organizations.

Among the tactics used in this apparatus are: infiltration and manipulation of trade unions and other mass organizations, espionage, the creation of “front” organizations, manipulation of international trade, and intensification of political and racial differences.

How Does Communist Propaganda Operate?

A very special role is assigned to communist propaganda. Where the more direct tactics are impracticable or feeble, propaganda prepares the way for them; where they are effective, propaganda complements them; and where they have been successful, propaganda consolidates the victory.

Communist propaganda has two facets: domestic and foreign. At home, it is, along with political, social and police pressures, the most valuable instrument for insuring the continuing loyalty of the people by massive doses of constant indoctrination aimed at denigrating the non-communist world and glorifying the communist regime.

Outside the communist empire, enormous sums are spent annually and large numbers of party functionaries are employed, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the attempt to undermine the peoples' faith in

democracy and to gain adherents to the communist cause. This propaganda is directed at all segments of the population, and every grievance held by workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals, is exploited.

Though the party has a large apparatus for direct propaganda aimed at winning members or voters for itself, by far the larger and more dangerous apparatus is that which the party has created for indirect propaganda. This is the apparatus of auxiliaries—the transmission belts—of individuals, organizations, and institutions. They include fellow travelers, front groups, special campaign organizations and special schools.

What Is a Fellow Traveler?

A fellow traveler is a person who knowingly supports communist policy and collaborates with the communists in various ways, but is not a member of a communist party. He is very useful to the communists in reaching and influencing people who would be repelled by direct contact with the communist movement.

What Is a Communist Front?

A communist front is an organization ostensibly non-communist, formed to serve a liberal cause, but actually established and controlled by communists for their own revolutionary purposes. Or it is an organization which communists have captured and turned into a communist front. The activities of communist fronts are often harmful to legitimate liberal organizations which pursue democratic ideals and principles.

The Progressive Party, which ran Henry Wallace for President in the 1948 election, was, unbeknownst to many of its members, an example of the first kind of front organization. The American Labor Party in New York State, since the split in its ranks which resulted in formation of the Liberal Party in 1944, is an example of the second kind of communist front. Other communist fronts include the National Negro Congress, Civil Rights Congress, World Federation of Democratic Youth, and In-



ternational Workers Order. There are scores of others listed by the Attorney General of the United States.

Though many of the communist fronts listed by the Attorney General are largely inactive today, the communist party apparatus which created and used them in the past remains vigorous and alert to any opportunities that might arise under new circumstances to create new fronts.

Since the fervent desire for peace is always strong in the hearts of free people, spurious propaganda for peace has always been one of the chief gambits used by the communist apparatus of auxiliaries and fronts. This is a danger that must be especially guarded against, in an international atmosphere where the communists are using the "peace issue" as one of their most effective weapons of political warfare.

An earlier instance of highly successful communist exploitation of this issue in the United States is presented by a front which started its existence under the name of the American League Against War and Fascism.

There are, of course, perfectly legitimate democratic groups of a genuinely pacifist nature, such as the American Friends Service Committee and other Quaker groups, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters' League.

What Was the Twisted History of the American League Against War and Fascism?

In 1932, this organization was founded to spearhead communist protests against the rising menace of Germany and Italy. It refused all cooperation with non-communist groups equally interested in protesting fascism.

In 1935, in line with communism's switch to a "popular front" with other parties, the League changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy. It now collaborated with the same liberal forces which, only yesterday, it had called "social fascists." (During this period, the front was composed of affiliated organizations whose total membership came to nearly two million.)

In 1939, in the wake of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the

League name was changed once more, this time to the American Peace Mobilization. It now proclaimed the necessity of America's living in peace with the Nazis and fascists. Collaboration with recent liberal allies was now rejected.

In 1941, when Hitler plunged into Russia, the name of the League changed again, becoming the American People's Mobilization. Now, again, collaboration with other groups was the order of the day.

The organization had followed diligently the twists and turns of the "party line," while pretending to be politically independent and morally pure.

Another type of highly effective communist front on an international scale was that created by the Soviet Union itself under the name of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

What Was the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee?

In October, 1939, one month after the partition of Poland in accordance with the Nazi-Soviet pact, Victor Alter and Henry K. Erlich, prominent Jewish labor leaders of Poland, were arrested and imprisoned by the Soviet government. In September, 1941, after the abrogation of the pact and the invasion of Russian territory by its former friend and partner, Russia released the two men from their Moscow prison. The Soviet government felt that Alter and Erlich would be able to help them in what was now a war for Russian survival. They were Polish, they were Jewish and they were labor leaders. Indeed, immediately after their release, Erlich and Alter issued a call to all Polish citizens to join the new Polish army, then being organized under Soviet auspices, to fight against the Nazis.

The two men also presented a plan for organizing a Jewish anti-Hitlerite committee. It aimed to "mobilize Jews throughout the world for the struggle against Hitlerism, to organize aid and assistance to the Jewish masses in countries under Nazi control" and to serve as a relief agency for Jewish refugees in the Soviet Union. The Committee would also maintain contact with the underground

movement in Poland. The Alter-Erich plan was projected along purely democratic lines, assuring representation on the Committee to Jewish delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other Nazi-dominated countries.

After having served their function in providing the Soviet government with the means of organizing and controlling anti-Nazi sentiment in the German-dominated countries, Alter and Erlich were re-arrested and shot. In a few short months, a new organization called the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee made its appearance. Having appropriated the Alter-Erich idea, the Soviets proceeded to pervert it to their own purposes.

The Committee no longer put its main emphasis on helping persecuted Jews, nor did it aim to help the Allies generally. It was now dedicated to enlist world support for the Soviet Union in particular. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, now the direct instrument of the U.S.S.R., was used as a propaganda machine for generating world support for the efforts of the Red Army and to spread throughout the world the story of Soviet "accomplishments." This became its exclusive function.

By 1948, with the end of the war and the emergence of the real nature of Soviet aims, plus the stepping-up of the anti-Jewish campaign, the Committee had ceased to be an effective instrument for U.S.S.R. propaganda abroad. It was therefore suppressed.

What Are Some of the Effective Communist Fronts in France Today?

Every country in the world, including even those where the party apparatus as such is small, has an effective apparatus of auxiliaries, crypto-communist organizations and fronts functioning today.

In France alone, where the party is especially strong, 140 such groups exist, each with its own offices, staff and publications. Their objectives are sometimes apparent from their names and at other times disguised. Among them are the following:

The General Confederation of Workers, Fighters for Peace, France-U.S.S.R., the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the French University Union, the Association for Municipal Studies and Information, the Sport and Gymnastic Federation of Labor, the Committee for the Development of International Trade, the Association of Scientific Workers, the National Union of Intellectuals, the Friends of Nature, the Federation of Rent-Payers, the People's Musical Federation.

What Are Some Effective Communist Fronts in Asia and Africa Today?

Communist front organizations seek to play an important and decisive role in underdeveloped, ex-colonial countries. Since proto-Soviet propaganda there chiefly exploits nationalistic and anti-colonial feelings, the true face of communism is almost completely hidden. Random examples of some of these groups are:

The Association for the Advancement of Asian Peoples, the Union of the People of Cameroon, the Association of Frenchmen of Tunisia, the Study and Action Committee for Peace in Algeria, the General Union of Algerian Workers. This last has its chief headquarters in Prague.

What Are Communist Propaganda Schools?

One of the most distinctive traits of this apparatus is to establish special schools to train propagandists. France has six such schools. Moscow and Leningrad Universities have special institutes for this purpose, where such distinguished personalities as the Number Two Chinese communist, Liu Shao-chi, and President Ho Chi Minh of the Communist Vietminh Republic (North Vietnam), studied. The Arab communist leader, Khalil Bakdash, also studied there.

In 1960, following the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the pro-communist leader of the former Belgian Congo, the Soviet authorities renamed a new special college for African students the Patrice Lumumba Friendship of the Peoples University. The function of this segregated school

is to prepare African students to return to their countries with some skills and friendly, complaisant attitudes toward Soviet purposes in their continent.

In Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Turkmenistan, there is a "University for Afro-Asian Studies," attended by thousands of students, chiefly from Ghana, Guinea, Sudan and Cameroon.

Prague has two schools for elites, which have been attended by such men as President Sekou Touré of Guinea, the brother of President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Raul Castro, the brother of Cuba's Premier, Fidel Castro.

In the Buriat-Mongolian Republic, Moscow has established a "seminary" to train Buddhist lamas who then spread out all over Asia, especially Tibet. Since they are of the same race as the Tibetans, they are likely to be more welcome there than the lamas trained in Peking.

But Peking has itself become the center of general schools for producing "anti-colonialist" fellow-traveling propagandists who operate throughout South and South-east Asia.

How Do Communists Exploit Differences and Unrest?

The classic example of the exploitation of differences within a nation is, of course, Russia. When the Czarist regime was overthrown in 1917 and was replaced by a provisional democratic government, the Bolsheviks, a minority party which had played a distinctly minor role in the revolution, began its subversive agitation. By hammering on the theme—Land, Peace, Bread—during a critical period, they skillfully increased disaffection among peasants and workers, and by raising the slogan—All Power to the Soviets—they turned large numbers against the provisional government. In nine months they paved the way for the success of the armed uprising by which they came to power.

After securing power, the Bolsheviks permitted elections to a constituent assembly which they, in common with other anti-Czarist parties, had previously demanded. When the constituent assembly, in which the Bolsheviks were a minority, refused to do the bidding of the Bol-

shevik government, the latter dissolved it by armed force.

For Russia, which in the spring of 1917 was in the midst of a world war and in the throes of revolution, the Leninist tactics of subversion by agitation and armed insurrection were sufficient to guarantee success. For other situations in other countries, the communists subsequently developed appropriate tactics. Their greatest success was, of course, China, which will be treated in a separate section. (See Part Two, Chapter 4.)

What Is the Communist Record on the Negro Question in the United States?

Ever since its foundation in 1919-20, the Communist Party in the United States has posed as a militant champion of the Negro. Except for a small number, almost all of whom subsequently regretted their mistake, Negroes in the United States have shunned the Communist Party.

At various times and in the name of various policies, the communists have tried to exploit the grievances of the Negroes in order to promote sharp political conflict leading to civil war.

From about 1921 to 1928 they concentrated their activities on Negro industrial workers, whom they regarded as destined leaders of colonial revolutionary movements. In effect, they ignored the bulk of the Negro population, who were sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, and bitterly attacked the Negro middle class and the handful of Negro capitalists.

After receiving a directive from the Comintern, the American communists agitated for the next seven years, until 1935, for self-determination, including the right of secession, for Negroes in the Black Belt in the South. In this period, all Negroes were their brothers.

In 1935 the communists reversed themselves and beat the drums for a united front to realize equal rights for Negroes, that is, to win first-class citizenship for them in our society. This policy endured until 1939.

While the U.S.S.R. and Germany were allies in World War II, from 1939 to 1941, the American communists



strove to use the tactic of equal rights and the slogan of self-determination, which they revived as means of opposing the Roosevelt Administration's policy of aiding England against Germany.

Then, after the Soviet Union was invaded by Germany in 1941, the communists called for "unequivocal support by Negroes of the war of National Liberation—for the 'socialist fatherland!'"

Following the onset of the Cold War, the American communists urged Negroes to "Stop Wall Street Imperialism!"

It goes without saying, of course, that Negroes in the United States have long had legitimate grievances, and are now in the process, with the aid of all Americans of democratic instincts, of pressing for the realization of their legitimate political, legal, and socio-economic aspirations. But they are moving toward this objective through bona fide democratic organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Congress on Racial Equality.

How Have the Communists Exploited Trade Relations?

The Soviet Union uses trade as a weapon in political controversies, as in the case of the reduction of Soviet purchases ordered from Great Britain in the 1920s and 1930s, during political disputes with that country. At times, too, it has conducted business with foreign countries in such a way as to aid local communist parties there. For example, in the spring of 1946, just before the French parliamentary elections, the U.S.S.R. offered to sell 500,000 tons of grain to France, negotiating directly with Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communist Party.

In more recent years, the Soviet Union has sought a double objective in its political use of trade and aid: steady infiltration and subversion of underdeveloped countries, and, in consequence, the ultimate cutting off of the free world's reserves of vital raw materials of which these countries possess nearly one-half. Even when it has no

use for the products of an underdeveloped country, it will frequently buy up those products, if only to gain a foothold there. This is the essential meaning of the deal made in 1960 by which the Soviet Union purchased a sizable portion of Cuba's sugar production for the following three years.

In other parts of Latin America, the Soviet Union has discouraged the production of raw materials by dumping on the world market its own competitive supplies of those materials at ruinous prices. Among such raw materials are antimony, manganese and tungsten.

Both the U.S.S.R. and Communist China are now sending large numbers of technicians and supplies to various underdeveloped countries in Africa and Asia. To this they have added strategically calculated purchases of economic surpluses, such as cotton from Egypt and rice from Burma, neither of which they need. Another example of such a strategic calculation by which the communist powers and their satellites entrench themselves economically—and ultimately, politically and militarily—in underdeveloped countries is the Soviet subsidization of Egypt's construction of the vast Aswan Dam.

What Is Communist Policy on Trade Unions?

The thesis of the Second Comintern Congress on the trade union question reads in part, "Communists should have communist factions in all trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means an influence over the labor movement and direct it."

The aim of these factions is to "subordinate the unions to the leadership of the party . . ." in order to make of them efficient and conscious organs of the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and for the establishment of communism.

But this is not always possible. In some unions, communists are not allowed and, when discovered, are expelled. They may even be "insulted, hounded and persecuted," wrote Lenin in his *"Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* shortly before the Second Congress.

In that case, said he,



"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this . . . if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on communist work in them at all costs."

On the other hand, there are situations when, from the communist point of view, it is better to split the unions.

"Placing the object and essence of labor organization higher than the form of organization," reads the thesis of the Second Congress, "the communists ought not to hesitate before a split . . . if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle . . ."

What Is the Communist Record in Labor Unions?

In consequence of the communist attitude toward unions, the history of communist trade-union policy has rung every change from boring-from-within unions in order to capture them, to splits.

When successful in capturing unions, communists use them either to aggravate labor strife or to restrain labor from acting to improve its position, according to the needs of the moment of Soviet foreign policy.

Splits because of communist leadership of unions have resulted in a whole series of separate labor movements beginning with the Red International of Labor Unions (1921-35) and extending to the present World Federation of Trade Unions, whose claimed membership of more than fifty million includes almost thirty million in the U.S.S.R. and millions more in the Soviet satellite states.

In the view of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which includes the British Trades Union Congress, the AFL-CIO, and other large affiliates, the WFTU is not a true trade-union movement, but a tool of the Soviet government.

In the United States, the communists, disguised as liberals, began boring from within the AFL. In addition, in 1929, they established the Trade Union Unity League as

their federation of revolutionary unions. Under this policy, communists worked in the AFL in order to "win over," that is, split off, "the advanced workers" and "unite" them in the T.U.U.L.

This policy, a dismal failure, was abandoned in 1935 and communists reoriented themselves away from the AFL in time to become a factor in the organizing campaigns of the CIO, following the latter's break with the AFL. They secured control of, or heavily infiltrated, unions of maritime, longshore, electrical, mine, transport, fur, warehouse, retail, office, and other workers.

During the period of communist opposition to American preparedness in World War II, following arrangement of the Nazi-Soviet pact, communist control of unions was used to promote strikes. After the Soviet Union was invaded by Hitler, the communists stifled every show of discontent by the workers in the unions under their control.

In the late 1940s, after the communists were again pursuing a course of disruption, their hold on the CIO was broken in a series of sharp struggles. Communist-controlled unions were expelled from the CIO.

Today, the united AFL-CIO maintains a vigilant guard against any communist attempts at infiltration. And on the international scene, the organization, alone and through the ICFTU, plays an important role in advancing liberal, labor and general democratic objectives while combatting communist-dominated unions in the advanced countries and communist efforts to gain control of labor movements in underdeveloped countries.

How Do Communists Conduct Espionage?

Espionage is a skilled trade, requiring specialized aptitude and personnel. Soviet espionage is conducted on a global scale by Soviet military intelligence and the MVD (the secret police). As disclosures of Soviet espionage in Canada and Australia a few years ago revealed, they function in cooperation with the Soviet diplomatic corps.

In the world-wide communist espionage net, the communist parties serve principally as recruiting services for



agents. Also, by penetrating government services and winning members for the party in important industries and among research scientists they acquire a vast amount of important information and establish opportunities for the operations of spies.

Revelations of the activities of Soviet espionage rings in Canada, England, Australia, and the United States, indicate that Soviet espionage is an enormously successful enterprise.

Spies in the United States, many recruited from the ranks of the Communist Party, succeeded in the last twenty years in stealing hundreds of important military, industrial, and political secrets.

Among the military secrets are details relating to the production of the H-bomb and the plans of the atom bomb. Also the plans of sonar anti-sub devices, aircraft anti-sub radar, the proximity fuse, guided missiles, and various explosives.

The industrial secrets included precious chemical formulae, photographic and synthetic-rubber processes, and research data.

Among the political data acquired by Soviet espionage agents were the espionage files of the Justice Department and many secret dispatches from U. S. diplomatic officials.

What Is the Communist World Peace Movement?

Typical of all communist fronts is the World Peace Movement, an international communist-controlled organization which circulated the Stockholm Appeal. This was a petition to outlaw the atomic bomb and it was signed by hundreds of millions of persons in many countries, including the United States. The Appeal, described by the Cominform as the "pivot of the entire activity of the communist parties," was circulated while the North Korean aggression against South Korea was in preparation.

The real purpose of the Appeal was made clear in a speech by Mikhail Suslov, Stalin's private secretary, at a secret Cominform meeting on July 21, 1951, in Berlin. Public disclosure of the speech was made by the National

Committee For A Free Europe, in a pamphlet, *The Soviet Peace Myth* by Leon Dennen.

Suslov said that "an intensification of the campaign to condemn the atom bomb and Anglo-American imperialism would also result in the election of municipal and county councils" which under "conditions of war," if "properly politicized by party factions," would form "the basis for the formation of local Soviets."

He thought that "the great peace movement created by the Stockholm Appeal can also be used . . . to penetrate . . . unions . . . organizations of war veterans, war victims, peasant and workers' societies . . ."

But the "most significant aspect of our campaign for the Stockholm Appeal" is the success in "attracting young men who . . . are joining our military sections" and "are our assurance of successful revolutionary and insurrectionary action."

Suslov remains one of the most powerful and influential figures in the Kremlin, as a key member of the CPSU's Central Committee whose First Secretary is Nikita S. Khrushchev. The latter's views on peace and peaceful coexistence has already been clarified. (See Part One, Chapter 1, page 19.)

There are, of course, legitimate non-communist groups devoted to promoting peace, e.g., American Friends Service Committee.

What Is the Soviet Record in the United Nations?

The Soviet Union has sabotaged the work of the United Nations from the very beginning. Its chief weapon has been the veto, which, by June, 1961, was cast 82 times.

The Soviet delegates have several times walked out of the Security Council. They have refused to participate in the work of numerous U.N. agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Labor Organization and many others. Instead, they have used the United Nations as a sounding board for their propaganda, abusing the prestige of the world organization for their own purposes.

By attacking the United States, England and France as



imperialist powers and by sponsoring Communist China for a seat in the Security Council, they have attempted to create the impression that they are the protectors of the weak nations of Asia. However, the discrepancy between communist propaganda in the U.N. and communist aggressions in Korea, Tibet and Indo-China has made the free countries of Asia more aware of the dangers of communism than ever before.

In sharp contrast with the illusory promises of the communist party are the genuine advances made by the truly democratic governments of the world. It is these democratic governments which are solely responsible for the social progress which has bettered the lot of the average man. And the United States in particular, within the constitutional framework of its American democracy, has achieved significant social advances along with the highest standard of living in the world.

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PART TWO
COMMUNIST RULE



Chapter 1

The Soviet Empire

How Is the Soviet World Organized?

POLITICALLY, THE Soviet world is organized, according to the communist version, as a free association of independent republics in which two types of states are distinguished: socialist states and people's republics or people's democracies.

The U.S.S.R., by its own definition, is the only socialist state. All the other nations in the Soviet world are people's democracies. A people's democracy is defined as a proletarian dictatorship without soviets, that is, as a Soviet state at a lower level of political and economic development than the U.S.S.R.

Actually, the Soviet world is in greater part an empire ruled by the government of the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R. is the geographic, economic, political, and military heartland of the Soviet world.

The "people's democracies" of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet zone of Germany, and the Mongolian and Korean People's Republics as well as the Vietminh (formerly French Indo-China) in Asia are vassal states, satellites of the Soviet Union.

By its social system, Yugoslavia is akin to the Soviet world, but politically it claims it is "neutralist."

Current opinion is divided with respect to China. In one view, China, because of its vast territory, population, and resources, and its relationship to the other nations of Asia, is the most valuable of the Soviet satellites. In another view, based on the same considerations, China is a potential center of great power with its own satellites, equal in status to the U.S.S.R. and in many respects antagonistic to the latter's interests.

How Was the Soviet Empire Established?

Chiefly by force and chicanery. This was the pattern:

With the help of the victorious army of the U.S.S.R., coalition governments were established in the satellite countries. Though the communists were a minority, they held the ministries controlling the police, the armed forces, and government propaganda; they penetrated rival parties and took over unions and other mass organizations. The authentic leaders of other parties were ousted or compelled to resign and the coalitions were dominated by the communists.

Non-communist parties were still tolerated on paper at this stage, but communist-controlled unions refused to print their publications and gangs broke up their meetings while the communist-controlled police looked on.

Finally, all opposition was crushed. Other parties were dissolved or absorbed by merger with the communist party; a monolithic regime was established and the fake "new democracy" was born.

The experience of Hungary is instructive. In the elections held in 1945, the communists, who had the active support of the Soviet occupation authorities and secret police, and who were led by men trained in Moscow, received only 17% of the vote. In the succeeding years, opposition parties were outlawed and the social democrats were forced to merge with the communists. In the 1949 elections, in order to insure a parliament properly subservient to the U.S.S.R., voters were offered only a single list of candidates, featuring the names of communists and communist puppets.

How Is the Soviet Empire Controlled?

Four principal instruments are used by the U.S.S.R. in controlling its satellites. The most powerful, though least active, is the Soviet army.

The most active and important are the satellite communist parties, led by men trained in and loyal to Moscow.

A third instrument is the Soviet diplomatic corps, a direct link between the Kremlin and its outpost govern-

ments. This instrument would also include the semi-diplomatic, military and economic officials of the Warsaw Pact and the Council on Mutual Assistance.

Last, but very far from least, is the secret police of the U.S.S.R., which penetrates the satellite parties and governments, and keeps the diplomatic corps and the U.S.S.R.'s military commanders under surveillance.

What Is the Pattern of Soviet Economic Relations with the Satellites?

Under Stalin, the Soviet Union exploited its satellites, which, except for Czechoslovakia, are less developed economically, in order to build its own economy at their expense. The principal method used was the integration of the satellites' economy with that of the U.S.S.R., in such a way as to insure the satellites' dependence on the Soviet Union.

The principal means used were:

- 1) Trade treaties, providing for the export of armaments to the satellites, and for exchange of goods at prices favoring the U.S.S.R.;
- 2) Bi-national corporations, controlled by the U.S.S.R., in the major industries of the satellites;
- 3) Loans to the satellites, control of banks issuing notes, and dependence of the satellite currencies on the ruble;
- 4) Appointment by the government in Moscow of managers, directors, advisors, and experts to key industries in the satellite countries; and
- 5) Control of those agencies in the satellite governments which supervise the political reliability and efficiency of workers, clerks, managers, directors—in fact, of everyone.

After Stalin's death, and especially as a result of the impact of the "Polish October" and the Hungarian Revolution, these exploitative measures were substantially eliminated or weakened. And Khrushchev has introduced a far greater degree of rationality into Soviet-satellite economic relations, with the objective—largely successful—of tremendously building up the industrial-military might



of the bloc as a whole. Moscow's control, thus, is no weaker than it ever was; it still controls the trade of the satellites with the non-communist world and is still the main buyer, seller, broker and clearing house for the entire Soviet empire. But this control, exercised through such institutions as the Council on Mutual Assistance, has simply been put on a more effective footing for the economic warfare which Khrushchev has explicitly declared on the non-communist world.

What Is Soviet Russification?

Soviet Russification is the policy by which the government of the U.S.S.R. dominates the ideological and cultural life of the satellites.

The program of Russification includes compulsory schooling for all communists in the history and ideology of the Bolshevik party, the "liberating role" of the army of the U.S.S.R., and the necessity and advantages of alliance with the Soviet Union.

It includes such measures as the organization of intellectuals into Soviet Friendship Societies to study and popularize the "achievements of Soviet science and technique."

Under the Russification program, the study of Russian as a second language is compulsory in all schools.

And films, plays, books, and musical works produced in the U.S.S.R. predominate in the satellite countries, yielding huge profits to producing and publishing establishments in the Soviet Union.

What Is the Iron Curtain?

The Iron Curtain, an expression popularized by Winston Churchill in a speech given in 1946, comprises the system of controls by which the government of the U.S.S.R. isolates the population of the Soviet world from the non-communist world.

This consists of the prohibition of free communication and transit, generally across national borders which are everywhere patrolled by armed guards. Under this policy diplomats are restricted in number and in their move-

ments. Few journalists from the free world are admitted and their dispatches are censored. The culture of the western world is decried as "bourgeois cosmopolitanism."

Since Stalin's death, the Iron Curtain has been lifted to a certain extent. Suspicion, rather than hatred, of foreigners is now cultivated. The staged spy trials involving diplomats, churchmen, businessmen and newspapermen from outside the Soviet world are no longer prevalent in the U.S.S.R., though they are as common a feature of political life in China as they were under Stalin.

Under Khrushchev, cultural and technical exchanges with the non-communist world are no longer forbidden, though they still do not come anywhere near the kind of free travel and exchange characteristic of the free world. Every Soviet delegation that visits a non-communist country is prudently composed of politically reliable people, including at least one member of the secret police, and hostages, e.g., relatives, are kept at home to insure their return.

The Iron Curtain remains primarily to keep Soviet and satellite citizens from having too close a relation with the non-communist world and to keep them safely at home. Despite such precautions as barbed-wire frontiers, electrified and mined borders, and three-mile "security zones" patrolled by armed guards, millions of East Europeans have managed to escape to freedom since the end of World War II.

For example, after the end of the war, more than a million men and women, forcibly taken by the Nazis from the U.S.S.R. for slave labor and as prisoners, refused to return to the Soviet Union. They chose to remain in the free world at some personal risk.

Numerous diplomatic officials and secret police agents of the Soviet world have deserted to the haven of the free world.

A vast number of people "voted with their feet" and testified to the tyranny behind the Iron Curtain by escaping to the West. Here are some figures of the number of escapees, by country, as of 1960:



- a. East Germany—3,000,000 to an estimated 3,400,000
- b. Hungary—370,000
- c. Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) — 250,000
- d. Poland—210,000
- e. Czechoslovakia—61,000
- f. Rumania—30,000
- g. Bulgaria—9,000
- h. Albania—8,000

What Is Titoism?

Basically, Titoism, a form of communism, is a protest by a small, economically underdeveloped country against economic and political oppression by the U.S.S.R. It is affirmation of communist nationalism against the imperialism within the Soviet world.

Tito successfully opposed Stalin's attempt to dictate Yugoslav policy and determine the rate of industrialization and collectivization in Yugoslavia. He was successful largely because the Yugoslav partisans had taken power with American and British aid and because the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. were not stationed on Yugoslav soil.

Since Stalin's death, an uneasy *modus vivendi* has been reached between Tito's Yugoslavia and the Soviet world.

Tito and his colleagues continue to guard the independence of their government and party as jealously as ever. But for all that and for all the subtle modifications of the police state regime (comparable to those instituted by Khrushchev inside the U.S.S.R.), Yugoslavia remains a one-party state, ruled by a hierarchy of dedicated Leninists who are committed to the ultimate establishment of communism in their country. Civil liberties are unknown, collectivization of agriculture and industry continues apace, as does rigid state control over the tiny segment of petty commercial enterprise which is allowed to small businessmen, professionals, and some artisans.

A profound symbolic indication of the state of affairs in Yugoslavia is the nine-year prison term, beginning in

1957, to which the former Number Two Yugoslav communist, Milovan Djilas, has been subjected. Djilas' crime was to write a series of articles exposing the intrigue and high living of the ruling party hierarchy, and subsequently a searching theoretical analysis of the inevitably dictatorial and oppressive nature of the ruling clique in any communist society. This analysis he incorporated in a book entitled *The New Class*.

But despite Yugoslavia's political independence of Moscow, Tito and his colleagues not only remain Leninists in their domestic aims, but continue, for all their "revisionist" views, to look upon the Soviet Union as a "socialist" state, which, for any Leninist, is obviously superior to non-socialist, capitalist states. This explains, for example, the fact that in international affairs, Yugoslavia has hardly veered from the line laid down in Moscow: at the United Nations, for instance, Yugoslavia has voted with the Soviet bloc on virtually every issue. Thus, the basis of the Titoist reconciliation with the Kremlin has been ideological—the undeviating acceptance of the U.S.S.R. as a socialist, Leninist state.

This has been made all the easier for Belgrade in view of Khrushchev's pragmatic acceptance of Tito's divergences. Ideologically, Khrushchev has explicitly not accepted the legitimacy of "Tito's way" to socialism. But it is worth Moscow's while to accept the status quo vis-à-vis Belgrade. For Moscow's accommodation to a "revisionist," neutralist Yugoslavia enables it to use Titoism as a cutting edge for its objectives among its satellites, in the free world, and in the neutralist world of Asia and Africa.

Among the satellites, especially among those elements who hope ultimately for a modicum of independence from Moscow's total control, this accommodation seems to hold out the hope that through the right kind of "cooperation" with Moscow, that modicum may be achieved. It thus serves to weaken those forces among the satellites who seek or hope for more complete independence of Moscow.

In the free world, this accommodation has the impact of impressing wishful thinkers with the idea that Moscow



has perhaps given up its aims of world domination and is prepared for genuine peaceful coexistence.

And in the neutralist world, it has the impact of impressing some Asian and African governments and leaders with the idea that they can in the long run remain neutral and avoid being swallowed up by Soviet imperialism. This, in turn, also has a weakening effect on the free world, for it makes it all the more difficult to demonstrate to the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa that their convictions about their long-range relations with the Soviet empire are illusory.

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Chapter 2

Totalitarian Nature of the Soviet World

What Are Soviets?

THE RUSSIAN word "soviet" means simply council. The first soviet was formed spontaneously in the Russian revolution of 1905 and consisted of representatives of anti-Czarist political parties and of unions and other working class organizations; in the countryside, it also included peasants.

Subsequently, Lenin defined soviets as "organs of insurrection . . . organs of revolutionary power." After the establishment of Soviet Russia, they were redefined as "the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." They were organized on a hierarchical and centralized basis, exercising both legislative and executive functions, with the Supreme Soviet at the apex of the governmental power structure. Under the Stalin Constitution, soviets are essentially legislative in function.

However, under both Lenin and Stalin, as well as under Khrushchev, the soviets have only been, as Lenin's doctrine specified they should be, "transmission belts" connecting the Communist Party with the population. They were "conductors of the general line of the Party."

How Is the Government Selected in the Soviet World?

Nominally, by elections. But the only candidates are Communist Party nominees or candidates put up by blocs consisting of the Communist Party and organizations controlled by it. The elections are not free and the outcome is predetermined.

Who Runs the Government in the Soviet World?

The government is run by the Communist Party. All important posts are held by communists. The most im-

portant positions are held by members of the Presidium.

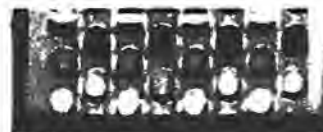
The Soviet Presidium rules the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. While Stalin was alive, he was the acknowledged leader of the Presidium and of the Soviet empire. Stalin, whose real name was Yosif Djughashvili, was an old Bolshevik who joined Lenin's party before the Russian Revolution. During World War II, he assumed the premiership of the U.S.S.R. His power was greater than that of most rulers in history. He decided all important (and a vast number of lesser) questions. His decisions were considered infallible, and there was no appeal from them.

At the historic Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU in February, 1956, Khrushchev, in his famous "secret report," condemned this entire mode of tyrannical leadership, which he called "the cult of personality." This cult consisted of two related phenomena: one-man dictatorship and widespread adulation of that one man. Khrushchev countered with what he proposed as the only proper means by which the Party and government were to be ruled: "collective leadership."

Thus, in the first three years after Stalin's death, many people in the West and behind the Iron Curtain were deceived into believing that collective leadership (a) was a new doctrine and (b) had actually been put into practice by Stalin's heirs.

The fact is that both Lenin and Stalin had glorified the notion of collective leadership; and Stalin especially always took pains to affirm that he was speaking not in his own name but in the name of the collective leadership. This theme was particularly prominent during the first few years after Lenin's death, at the very time that Stalin was craftily intriguing and maneuvering to get rid of the "collective leadership." Under cover of that formula Stalin destroyed the political power and status of his peers and betters in that collective leadership—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and many, many others—on his road to absolute tyranny. And later he physically liquidated them.

It was during a comparable period—the period of struggle for succession after Stalin's death in 1953—that his



heirs, especially Khrushchev revived the same theme, at the very time when he was in process of destroying the political power and standing of his peers in the "collective leadership." In the years since he has gotten rid of all potential rivals, just as Stalin did—Beria, Bulganin, Malenkov, Kaganovitch, Molotov, Zhukov, and many others. He has not yet physically liquidated them. Neither did Stalin with *his* peers during the comparable period. And Khrushchev may never do so because such blood-letting is no longer necessary.

But in the very speech in which he condemned Stalin in 1956, Khrushchev explicitly reaffirmed the doctrinal basis on which Stalin himself had gone about his bloody purge business. And today, no less than before, the doctrine of a war against any and all opposition elements is bolstered by laws which permit it, and by the existence of the secret police.

By the same token, Khrushchev, in destroying the cult of Stalin's personality, created a vacuum which a totalitarian society must needs fill; and it has indeed been filled by the ever-growing adulation of Khrushchev, his personality, ideas and policies.

Do Freedom of Speech, Press, and Assembly Exist in the Soviet World?

All constitutions in the Soviet world "guarantee" civil liberties. But in practice civil liberties are non-existent.

All media of mass communication are in the hands of the government. The contents of all publications and public speeches must conform to official policy. Conformity is insured by censorship and severe punishment for deviation.

Do Writers, Artists, and Scientists Have Freedom of Expression in the Soviet World?

No. In the communist view, "art is a class weapon" and so is science. Art and science must serve the interests of the state.

The general function of art is to extol life in the Soviet

world; the general function of science is to develop methods for building up the Soviet world.

The communist party and the secret police are the final judges of artistic questions and scientific problems.

Individual works of art and the work of scientists are judged by their service to state policy. What was once approved because it fulfilled a need of the state, may later be officially condemned if the policy it served has been changed.

Artists, scholars, and scientists wear invisible uniforms in the service of the state. They are acclaimed, rewarded, criticized and purged in accordance with the shifting tides of state needs.

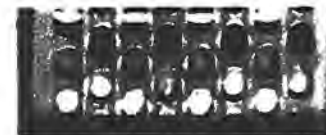
The casualties in the war of the Soviet state against the mind and spirit of man are legion.

Typical of the Stalinist attitude toward science and culture was the settlement of a dispute among biologists by the politicians of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. These politicians pronounced correct the new theory of T. Lysenko that personality and cultural characteristics acquired through environmental influences could be inherited. At that time, it did not bother the central committee that all reputable biologists in the rest of the world had arrived through sound experimental evidence at a contrary conclusion. What the central committee was interested in was that Lysenko's "theory" could be used in support of the party's goal of remaking man in the image of Marxist theory.

Therefore, the teaching of formal genetics was forbidden. A purge of textbooks, scientific works, instructors, and scientists was carried out. A science was murdered and the secret police took its quota of victims for slave labor.

What Was the "Thaw"?

Along with the general decrease of terror and the easing of conditions of life that accompanied the insecurity of Stalin's heirs during their struggle for the succession, there came what was known as a "thaw" in Soviet cultural life.



It took its name from a short novel by Ilya Ehrenburg, always a literary bellwether of Soviet cultural policies. In effect, this novel, and the short two-year period that took its name from it, appeared to call for a greater degree of freedom from party control in cultural and literary matters.

The period reached its height in 1956. Its outside limits were defined by the publication of the book, *Not By Bread Alone*, by Vladimir Dudintsev. Regardless of its artistic merits, it was a mild, though genuine, attempt to go beyond the traditional themes of glorification of communism and the Soviet state to which writers had had to confine themselves. In this novel, the author actually portrayed a party official who was guilty of bureaucratic excesses; against this villain he counterposed a hero who had some original ideas which the villain in part squashed and in part took over. Criticism of Soviet life did not go beyond this; the Soviet system itself continued to be glorified.

Since all publication in the U.S.S.R. is official, the appearance of this novel and the reappearance in print of a number of older writers who had been silent for years, was taken as a measure of the new regime's greater leniency. The picture was blurred, however, by the fact that other official organs began to criticize Dudintsev and the other writers. It was all indicative of the relative confusion that existed at the time, stemming from the absence of a clear-cut policy at the top.

By 1957, however, the dust had begun to settle in the Kremlin leadership, and, in addition, it had learned the lesson taught by the 1956 revolutions in Poland and Hungary, of allowing writers and intellectuals too much leeway. In that direction lay danger for the one-party state. The lid had been taken off for a short while in the Soviet world. After 1957 it was put back on tightly. The "thaw" had ended. No better illustration of this fact can be found than the treatment given to the Soviet author, Boris Pasternak (who died of natural causes at the age of 70 in May, 1960).

What Was the Pasternak Case?

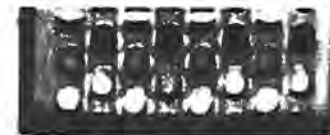
Pasternak, a pioneer figure in Soviet poetry of the 1920s and 1930s, wrote a novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, which was refused publication in the U.S.S.R. because of its clear non-communist political and artistic attitudes. The manuscript found its way secretly to Italy, where a leading publisher brought it out in translation; soon thereafter it appeared in English and other languages. (By 1960, it had still not appeared inside the Soviet Union.)

The novel, though it had its literary detractors in the West, was generally acclaimed as a masterpiece and Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1958. This event served to unleash a torrent of the most violent criticism of Pasternak in the entire Soviet press; he was likened to a dog and a pig, and was forbidden to travel to Sweden to receive his prize. In turn, a worldwide protest arose in the West against the treatment accorded Pasternak in his own country. He became a symbol of the free spirit in shackles.

What Is the State of Mind of Soviet Literary Creators Today?

For many years, the most gifted and sensitive of the Soviet poets, novelists and dramatists either were silent or wrote "for the drawer"—secretly, or only for the intimacy of family and trusted friends. The literary hacks, of course, made their way nicely by conforming to the party line for literature. All except the most callous were consumed with one or another form of guilt at their silence or complicity in the terror exercised during the Stalin years against many fellow writers and intellectuals, among all the rest of the Russian people. The death of Stalin, and Khrushchev's sensational "secret speech" of 1956, leading to the thaw, produced a sense of relief, but in the end only confusion as to the narrow limits of relief from the party straitjacket in literature.

Today the confusion persists. Much writing "for the drawer" continues. Increasingly, the more daring of the younger writers smuggle out poems, stories, even short



novels, which reflect their confusion, their sense of isolation from Western culture, their awareness of their humiliation as men of letters in what is still a rigid, bureaucratic, totalitarian society. But above all they reveal (especially the young writers) that their spirit, their thrust to free expression in a free society, has not been destroyed. Such themes, or at least muted consideration of themes related to them, even occasionally peep out in some of the literary material that is now being published in the Soviet Union. After nearly half a century of repression, the hidden and semi-secret drives of the best Soviet writers show that the spirit of man cannot be downed permanently.

The official journals of the literary associations, bound as they are to the dictates of party and government, continue to reflect the same cowardly obsequiousness to the regime that has always characterized the party press in the U.S.S.R. Two recent examples demonstrate this—and reveal at the same time that the “cult of personality,” so condemned by Khrushchev when applied to Stalin, is now being increasingly exercised toward him.

Some 10 months ago, Khrushchev made a speech to the Soviet intellectuals which was first published in the spring of 1961. In that address, the Soviet dictator indicated that the absolute rigidity of the Stalinist rule of literature would not return, though he warned that he would exercise the “right of leadership” to criticize and condemn when a writer had stepped too far. Nevertheless, the tenor of the speech was relaxed and the writers got the assurance of more flexibility. The publication of the speech was followed by a spate of obsequious tributes, of which two are cited here:

“One cannot read the speech of N. S. Khrushchev without a feeling of joyous excitement. There is so much love in it for literature and writers, so much concern about the flourishing of the arts. One reads Comrade Khrushchev and it seems that the heart itself says, ‘Many thanks to our great friend, Nikita Sergeyevich.’”

(*Literature and Life*, May 19, 1961)

“The words of the great contemporary humanist reveal the very essence of Soviet literature. . . . The words of N. S. Khrushchev give wings to Soviet writers, bring light to many literary problems. They are full of fatherly confidence and by wise and good counsel they direct us toward the solution of our main problems. . . .”

(*Literary Gazette*, May 13, 1961)

What Is the Role of Education in the Soviet World?

“Education in the U.S.S.R.,” reads *Pedagogy*, a textbook approved in 1946 by the Soviet government for use in training teachers, “is a weapon for strengthening the Soviet state and the building of a classless society.”

“The Soviet schools cannot be satisfied to rear merely educated persons but should instill the ideology of communism in the mind of the young generation, shape a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and inculcate the spirit of Soviet patriotism and Bolshevik ideas,” declared the publication *Cultural Life* in August, 1947.

The schools, dictates *Pedagogy*, must turn out “organization-minded and disciplined” people full of “love of our Motherland . . . and of our glorious Communist Party and its leaders . . .”

These precepts also govern education in the satellite states.

Under this system, the Communist Party is the formulator of educational policy which is continuously revised in accordance with the changing needs of the regime.

The lower schools are instruments of indoctrination and propaganda; institutions of higher learning are Communist Party seminars. The courts are, in effect, catechisms in communist ideology.

History is continually rewritten and textbooks revised as the communists falsify past and present in accordance with the changing needs of their strategic situation. Thus, for example, after Beria's execution all mention of his name was excised from communist encyclopedias.

Critical attitudes and free inquiry are forbidden.

“. . . objectivism and the impartial assembling of economic facts is inadmissible,” said the publication

Bolshevik. In 1947, *Cultural Life* declared the "spirit of political indifference, impartiality and academic neutrality" are "impermissible" and result in "the distortion of historical truth."

Academic freedom does not exist. Public education, however, is free.

Though these basic doctrines of education were formulated in the Stalin era, they have been reiterated forcefully by Khrushchev, and by the party leaders in all the satellites.

In 1959, wholesale administrative and organizational modifications were made in the Soviet school system. Their fundamental import, however, was only to re-emphasize the trend and direction of Soviet education until then.

The system has several aims. The universities and other institutions of higher learning are limited to the admission of some 450,000 freshmen a year. Of these, fully 95% are channeled into technical, scientific and mathematical studies, leaving only 5% for art, literature, classics and the other humanities.

In turn, the secondary schools are geared to this system. The emphasis is overwhelmingly on the technical and practical sides.

In addition, preference is given, both in the secondary system and in higher education, to students who have put in at least two years of practical labor in agriculture or industry. Arrangements are variously made for secondary and university students either to work evenings, weekends and vacations, or for a full two-year period upon graduation.

The emphasis in the secondary schools is thus on vocational studies and applied science.

This is accompanied by the restriction of the further growth of full-time universities, in favor of the expansion of part-time higher education.

The end result, in Khrushchev's terms, is to produce a younger generation that will take its place in the physical construction of an industrially strong Soviet Union. In terms of higher educational goals as they have been under-

stood in the West, this system is geared to produce technically competent, but ill-educated and half-cultured, citizens.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Freedom of Movement?

Travel between the U.S.S.R. and its satellites and among the satellites is strictly controlled.

In the U.S.S.R., as in Tsarist Russia, internal passports are required for travel.

After completion of their sentences, certain categories of political offenders are not permitted to reside in the larger cities and administrative centers of the country.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Inviolability of Their Persons and Homes?

Constitutionally, yes. In practice, no.

Under Stalin, the power of the secret police was supreme. People disappeared suddenly from their accustomed places of work and homes and were never heard from again. Like the plagues of old, purges carried off millions to prisons, slave labor and death. At one time, shortly before Stalin's death, the number of slave laborers in the forced labor camps was reliably estimated to be 20,000,000.

Since Stalin's death, this system of terror has seriously diminished. But, for example, the right of habeas corpus still does not exist in the U.S.S.R. In the course of a series of amnesties in 1955 and 1957, large numbers of prisoners were released. But the forced labor camps remain, the secret police remains, political prisoners have not been amnestied to the same degree as actual criminals, and it is estimated that some 3,000,000 still remain imprisoned in the camps.

What Is the Nature of Law in the Soviet World?

In the Soviet social system, the interests of the individual are subservient to the interests of the state. The distinction between private and public law, prevalent throughout the rest of the world, is rejected. In practice,



the difference between government policy and law is thin or non-existent.

The primary function of Soviet law is the suppression of all private rights, the regimentation and subordination of the individual to the state and the creation of a totalitarian state.

The primary concern of the law in the Soviet world is what is known there as "socialist legality," which was defined by the late Andrei Vishinsky, former Foreign Minister, Chief Public Prosecutor and author of the official Soviet law text, as "the subordination of the formal commands of law to those of the Communist Party policy."

This situation has remained unchanged from Stalin's day to Khrushchev's.

What Is the Role of the Courts in the Soviet World?

Theoretically the courts in the Soviet system are set up for the fair trial and sentencing of offenders. However, they are not independent of other branches of the government, as in the United States, but are regarded as instruments of state policy.

No decisions adverse to state policy are ever made by the judges. The outcome of trials involving important economic and political issues is predetermined by the Presidium. Virtually all judges are communists.

In the Soviet world, trials are often staged for propaganda purposes to support the domestic and foreign policies of the government.

In the purge trials of 1935-1939 in the U.S.S.R., when the policy of the Soviet government was anti-fascist, the defendants were accused of treason and spying on behalf of Germany.

In the trials held in the satellite states during the "cold war," the defendants were accused of spying on behalf of "Anglo-American imperialism."

What Was the MVD?

Until shortly after Stalin's death and the execution of Beria, the MVD, successor to the NKVD, OGPU, GPU,

and Cheka, was the secret police of the U.S.S.R. What follows is a brief description of what its duties were and how it carried them out. This description is given here because, though many of the worst features of terror which characterized the secret police regime have been eliminated, the secret police continues to exist. And though its existence is more shadowy than it ever was under Stalin, the rules under which it operates remain substantially on the books.

The MVD's chief function was to insure blind obedience through terrorism. Stalin characterized it as "the unsheathed sword of the revolution."

The MVD had vast powers. It was frequently described as a state within a state. It had its own independent budget within the general state budget. It maintained its own armed forces, including air, tank and infantry divisions. (Since Stalin's death, its budget has been subjected to the control of the Soviet Council of Ministers; similarly, its armed forces have largely been transferred to the Ministry of Defense.)

Secret police forces still guard the borders of the U.S.S.R. Under Stalin's tyranny, it rounded up for deportation to Siberia and northern Russia "politically unreliable" population groups, as well as millions of other suspected citizens.

The MVD spied on the entire population. It kept watch over all officials and representatives of the Party and state, and over economic, social and cultural institutions. It also watched over the officers of the Soviet armed forces. These functions are retained, more discreetly, by the secret police today.

Among the most dreaded powers of the MVD were summary arrest and indefinite detention; imposition of sentence by decree in the absence of the defendant; prolonged interrogation and torture in the extraction of confessions; secret trials of "enemies of the people," that is, persons accused of political crimes; and secret executions. The secret police no longer practices these.

The MVD was the recruiting agency for the slave-

labor industries, and it administered the slave labor camps. These functions the secret police still retain.

The MVD also kept careful watch over the communist movement outside the U.S.S.R. and of the satellite governments. The secret police today still have this function.

What Is the KGB?

The KGB—the Committee for State Security—is the successor to the MVD. It is headed by General Ivan Serov, the shadowy figure who supervised the forcible annexation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the U.S.S.R. in 1940, and who was in charge of the brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956.

Though the Soviet regime under Khrushchev is clearly more humane than was Stalin's, under his one-party totalitarian state, the secret police is, as Merle Fainsod, one of the most distinguished students of Soviet society and government, has put it, "ready for use when needed, operative, above all, even when not visible, by the mere fact that it is known to exist."

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Enjoy Freedom of Worship?

No. This, however, does not prevent communists outside the Soviet world, when it suits their purpose, from posing as pious religious believers—whether it is as Catholics in Italy, or as Moslems in the Arab world.

A similar flexibility in tactics characterizes communist policy toward religion behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet constitutions "guarantee" freedom of religious worship and freedom from anti-religious propaganda. Between this nicely balanced phraseology and the reality of communist policy, however, there are wide discrepancies.

Following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the Soviet government began a systematic persecution of the Orthodox Church, which for centuries, under the Tsars, had been the only recognized religious body in Russia. When Stalin became absolute master of the Soviet state, and the state became a totalitarian autocracy, Stalin revived the

old Tsarist pattern of state and church relationships. He acquired full control of the church, and the church became an instrument of the state. During World War II, atheist publications were discontinued, while priests accompanied troops to the front. While the legal position of the church has been restored and it enjoys greater latitude than in the first years of the Soviet Union, religious schools, societies and parishes are still forbidden. Every church building is required to display a Red flag, and when Stalin was alive, a picture or icon of him.

After the war, the Soviet state established the supremacy of the Russian church over the Orthodox churches in the satellite countries. Thus was forged another weapon for control of the Soviet empire. It also aided Soviet religious and political maneuvers among people of the Orthodox faith in lands beyond the Iron Curtain, notably the Near East.

What Is Communist Policy Toward Religion in the Satellite Countries?

The principal element in communist policy toward religion in the satellite countries is the drive of the state to obtain control of the church and make it subservient to the government.

Although all churches in the satellite states suffer under the impact of ruthless communist persecution, world public attention has centered on the conflict between these governments and the Catholic Church. The Orthodox churches have been taken over, and Protestant influence is only a minor factor. But the Roman Catholic Church, with its widespread educational system, its world center in Rome, and its enormous influence on world public opinion, proved a formidable opponent. Despite its serious losses and weakened position, the Catholic Church in the satellite countries remains a center of resistance to communist power.

An outstanding example of such effective resistance, supported by the people, is the situation in Poland. There Gomulka has realized, since he came to power in October, 1956, that he could not renew the traditional commu-



nist onslaught on the Catholic Church without incurring the wrath and disloyalty of the vast majority of the people. The Church, for its part, has staunchly defended its minimal prerogatives, secure in the knowledge of popular support. Thus, an uneasy quasi-alliance was formed between Gomulka and Cardinal Wyszynski, the head of the Church in Poland.

Though the regime from time to time engages in fitful incursions into the Church's realm, by and large the faithful are allowed to practice their religion with a considerable degree of freedom. The Church, in turn, does not preach overt or violent resistance to the regime; both sides want peace, each for its own reasons—Gomulka because he needs it to keep his regime from the devastations of even a muted civil war, the Church because it believes that so long as it retains the loyalty of the faithful it will outlast communism.

Is Communism Compatible with Religion?

No. Communism and religion are irreconcilable. Communism, in theory and practice, is atheistic. It regards religion, in the well-known phrase of Marx, as "the opium of the people."

The Judaeo-Christian tradition treats each man as being individually important. Communism does the exact opposite—it treats man as an instrument of the state. "All phrases about equal rights are nonsense." (Lenin.) This basically anti-religious statement is opposed to the Bible's precept that to deprive a man of his freedom is considered equivalent to murder. (Exodus 21:16.)

Few enemies of Judaeo-Christian ethics have been as unashamed as the communists in expressing their own amoral philosophy. "Communist ethics make it the highest duty to accept the necessity of acting wickedly . . . Evil transforms itself into good through the dialectic of History." (George Lukacs, Commissar of Education in the post-World War I Bolshevik government of Hungary.) This is in direct contrast to one of the basic tenets of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The Talmud, for instance, says that "a good deed performed by means of a sin is invalid."

Thus, no truly religious person, whether Christian or Jew, can possibly accept communism. A doctrine which believes that "To us everything is permitted" (Lenin) is totally irreconcilable with one which requires of its adherents that "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Leviticus 19:18.)

How Are National Minorities Treated in the Soviet World?

Communist propaganda boasts that only in the Soviet world are national minorities free of oppression. The record belies the propaganda.

The philosophy governing Soviet national minorities policy is based on the doctrine enunciated by Stalin in the late 1920s. It was put in capsule form by the party propagandists: "National in form, socialist in content." In theory, this meant that the more than 200 distinct nationalities and ethnic minorities would be able to hold on to their cultural-ethnic traditions, so long as they supported Marxist-Leninist ideology and the Soviet state. This doctrine should have meant that all these minority cultures would be able to flourish.

In practice, the opposite has been true. "National in form" has remained an empty formula; "socialist in content" became the order of the day. It meant that the newspapers, schools, books, party and state organs in the various national republics and autonomous regions of the U.S.S.R. became carbon copies of their Russian counterparts, exactly aping in their own languages the formulae of Moscow.

During the war years, Stalin abolished a number of the so-called autonomous republics by decree. He had "politically unreliable" population groups—millions of Volga Germans, Poles, Letts, Estonians, Lithuanians, Crimean Tartars, Greeks from the Black Sea region of the U.S.S.R., East Germans, and such smaller nationality groups as the Caspian Kalmucks, the Chechens, Ingush and Balkars—forcibly uprooted from their homes and transported under inhuman conditions to remote regions for slave labor. Strategic border regions were repopulated with Russians



and other population groups considered politically reliable.

Though Khrushchev, in his 1956 "secret report," condemned Stalin for some of these crimes (in a few cases amounting to genocide), he was silent about most of these policies. And in any event, the Soviet regime has done little or nothing to redress the injustice to these groups.

The oppression of national minorities is also a practice of the satellites.

What Is Birobidjan?

In the late 1920s, the Soviet government initiated on the Siberian-Chinese border the Jewish settlement of the province of Birobidjan. As stated officially, it was to be an agricultural settlement for urban Jews. Its unstated purpose was to counteract the large number of Chinese who had been infiltrating the province.

In the early years, only 30,000 Jews immigrated to the harsh climate of Birobidjan, and in order to attract greater numbers, the Soviet propaganda machine began hailing the area as a new national homeland for the Soviet Jews. This had no pronounced effect on immigration to the area, however. By 1948, with the rise of official sentiment against the Jews, the policy of the government was reversed. All Jewish schools and publications were closed down and a purge of Jewish leaders was carried out in 1949-50.

Estimates as to the present size of the Jewish population of Birobidjan vary. Some authorities place it as low as 40,000. The Jews in that area constitute 25 per cent of the territory's inhabitants, the rest consisting of Tartars, Ukrainians, and Russians. After a quarter of a century of settlement in this "Jewish territory," no cultural Jewish institutions of any kind are left. There is neither a Jewish school nor a Jewish theatre, but only one dilapidated synagogue without a rabbi. As late as 1960 a Jewish newspaper with a circulation of 1,000 was issued three times a week; however, this paper does little more than parrot official news rehashed from the official Moscow newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

What Is the Background of the Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union?

For about three decades very little came to light about the real situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. The world took at face value the Soviet legal code's definition of anti-Semitism as a crime. No special importance was attached to the indifference with which the Soviet government, in common with other governments, watched first the persecution and then the extermination of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. The borders of the "socialist fatherland" were not opened to Jews.

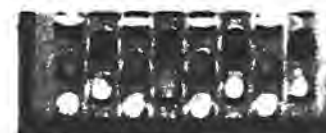
Following the partition of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, the Soviet government barred the escape of hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing eastward before the onrushing Nazi hordes. And it deported hundreds of thousands of Jews from its own "sphere of influence" in Poland to slave labor in the interior of the U.S.S.R.

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the U.S.S.R.?

After World War II, the position of Soviet Jews deteriorated rapidly. Jewish schools were closed. The teaching of Yiddish and Hebrew was discontinued. All Jewish organizations were dissolved and all periodicals and publications dealing with Jewish problems were suppressed. A purge of Jewish intellectuals was carried out. Relations between Soviet Jews, who were warned not to identify themselves with Israel, and Jewish communities in other parts of the world, were forbidden. Large numbers of Jews were forcibly deported for slave labor in the interior of Russia.

All of this happened in Stalin's last years, from 1948 to 1953, which were known throughout the Soviet Jewish community of 3,000,000 as the "Black Years."

Though the violence, and the threat of even more of it, ended with Stalin's death, no change has occurred in the status of Soviet Jewry: official Soviet facts and figures reveal a pattern of anti-Jewish policies, of differential treatment in cultural and religious affairs, of discrimina-



tion in education and government employment, of denigration of the Jew's social image, of scarcely concealed anti-Semitic prejudices.

What Is the Status of Jewish Culture in the U.S.S.R.?

Once the matrix of much of Jewish culture, the great Soviet Jewish community, from late 1948 to the mid 1960's, was utterly deprived of any means to express itself in creative terms. Yiddish writers could have some of their manuscripts published in Russian translation, but were not allowed to publish in their own language, for Yiddish publishing houses were forbidden. So were the Yiddish press, theatre, schools, newspapers and every other aspect of organized Jewish culture. In the late 1950's, a few minor concessions were made to the Soviet Jewish community; some concerts of Yiddish songs were permitted, and the Kremlin allowed publication of a few secular Yiddish books. In 1961, the Kremlin allowed still another concession—the establishment of a bimonthly literary review.

How Was Anti-Semitism Officially Expressed Under Stalin?

There is no such thing as an independent journal in the Soviet Union. Everything published in the U.S.S.R. for popular consumption is rigidly controlled by the state, and every opinion expressed in a newspaper is equivalent to an official opinion. It is therefore interesting to note that both *Culture and Life* and the *Literary Gazette*, leading cultural periodicals of the U.S.S.R., initiated in 1949 an editorial policy which effectively brought the real government attitude toward the Jews into the open.

In articles dealing with "pernicious" western influences which had been "contaminating" Soviet literature, both publications listed a large number of writers who were suspect. In each case the Jewish writers whose pen names appeared on this list were additionally identified by their original names, all of which were immediately identifiable as of Jewish origin. Interestingly enough, the magazines did not find it necessary to supply the original names of the non-Jewish writers. But the full extent of communist

anti-Semitism was revealed in the Prague show trials and in the so-called "doctor's plot."

During the month of November, 1952, the Czech communists staged a mammoth show trial. Eleven of the fourteen defendants were Jews, all of them veteran communists. They included the Secretary General of the Czech Communist Party, Rudolph Slansky; the editor of the communist newspaper *Rude Pravo*, Andre Simone; and nine other officials in various government departments. The most significant aspect of the trial was the fact that the defendants were tried not as individuals, but as Jews. They were accused of being agents of a world-wide "Jewish bourgeois nationalistic plot." They were forced to confess that they had become traitors and conspirators because of their Jewish bourgeois origin. Although all their lives they had been violent opponents of Zionism, they were forced to admit that they had acted for the benefit of the Zionist movement. Even the three non-Jewish defendants, including the former Foreign Minister Clementis, "confessed" as their main crime that they had placed "Zionist agents" in their offices.

The defendants also had to accept the blame for food rationing, lack of bread, lack of electricity, continued low wages and high prices, and the failure of government plans. A fantastic treason charge linked them with an imaginary spy net masterminded by U. S. President Harry Truman, U. S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Israel Premier David Ben-Gurion, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

These "legal" procedures were accompanied by anti-Semitic outbursts in the press of a virulence unknown in the history of Czechoslovakia. When, on December 4, 1952, the trial ended with the hanging of 11 of the 14 accused, the myth of communist tolerance of minorities was shattered even for the most gullible.

One month later, nine doctors, most of them Jews, were seized in Moscow on the charge of plotting against prominent government leaders. Again the trial was accompanied



by outspoken anti-Semitic editorials in the Moscow press. During the trial the accused "admitted" all charges, including killing the late Andrei Zhdanov.

After Stalin's death, in a sudden turn-about, the "guilty" men were completely exonerated, the plot declared fictitious and their "confessions" revealed to have been the result of torture.

How Is Anti-Semitism Officially Expressed Under Khrushchev?

There is a concerted propaganda campaign in the Soviet press and radio to single out Jews and Judaism for special opprobrium. This campaign began in earnest in 1957, with the general ending of the "thaw," and continued unabated thereafter. As of the middle of 1960, it remained at a high pitch of intensity.

This campaign follows a definite pattern. In one strand, the Jewish religion is denigrated and vilified; it is shown to be linked with the vicious twins of "bourgeois nationalism" and Zionism, both of which are intimately associated with "Western imperialism and its Israeli puppet."

A second strand perpetuates the traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews as anti-social types.

The two together create an image of the Jews and Judaism as virtually disloyal and potentially treasonous to the Soviet state.

What Is the Status of the Jewish Religion in the U.S.S.R.?

Communism is militantly atheistic in ideology and practice and all religious groups are seriously disadvantaged in the Soviet Union. But even in religion the Jews are singled out for discriminatory treatment.

They are allowed no Chief Rabbi and, unlike the other religious groups, no central, nation-wide organization of religious congregations.

There are very few rabbis, and the number of students in the one rabbinical seminary that is permitted is kept down to about 20. Many communities are forbidden to

have synagogues, or even to have damaged synagogues repaired. In many communities, synagogues have actually been closed down by police force, private prayer meetings forbidden, and many religious practices, such as the baking of matzos and ritual slaughter of animals for kosher food consumption, prohibited.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Zionism?

In classic communist doctrine, Zionism is a "counter-revolutionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie," which divides the working class along nationalist lines and imperils their revolutionary unity. Zionism has long been persecuted in the U.S.S.R. In Palestine the communists incited pogroms by the Arabs against the Jews.

However, during the struggle of the Jews against the British in Palestine after World War II, the Soviet satellites encouraged emigration to Israel, in order to weaken British power in the Near East. The Soviet Union, however, prevented emigration of "its" Jews.

Subsequently, when the state of Israel was created, and resisted Soviet domination, Soviet policy toward Zionism hardened again.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Israel?

The Soviet regime is violently hostile to Israel for two reasons: foreign policy and domestic policy.

Its foreign policy in the Middle East dictates a close relationship with the Arab countries, and this has led the U.S.S.R. to demonstrate its hatred for Israel both in terms of propaganda and in terms of enormous military aid to build up the Arab armed forces.

Domestically, the Soviet need to present Israel in the worst possible light is based on the official assumption of the alien, hostile and suspect character of its Jewish citizens and on the concomitant conviction that Israel would serve as a magnet to attract Soviet Jews. In consequence, the Soviet press is full of vitriolic denunciations of Israel, of its way of life and conditions of living, and of its alleged alliance with the "imperialists."



What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the Satellite Countries?

The bulk of the 6,000,000 Jews who were slaughtered by the Nazis during World War II lived in the countries that subsequently became Soviet satellites. After the war, the remnants of those communities slowly began to rebuild their communal and cultural institutions. This painful process was cut short soon after the communists attained power in the satellites.

Generally, throughout the satellites, all formerly independent Jewish religious, educational and social activities have been nationalized and are operated by communist party members or have been abolished. All Jewish political parties have been dissolved. The number of Jewish schools is dwindling. In some countries the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden. In Hungary, Jewish teachers have been ousted from the public school system and Jewish pupils are compelled to attend school on the Sabbath.

Jewish charity organizations, including orphanages, children's homes and hospitals have been liquidated. Jewish foreign relief organizations have been ousted. Jewish papers are permitted to publish only communist views. Government spies sit in the synagogues, many of which have been invaded and desecrated.

Anti-Semitic attacks by communist cabinet members were not uncommon in Hungary, where pogroms took place in the winter of 1950-51. Hungarian Jews and others "dangerous to the security of the State" were deported for forced labor.

In recent years, the situation of the Jews in the satellites has fluctuated, but it is evidently in better condition than under the worst of the Stalinist tyranny. In Poland, for example, the communist-controlled Jewish community is allowed a daily Yiddish newspaper. And Jews have been allowed to emigrate, from time to time, from both Poland and Rumania.

In these respects, these Jewish communities are better off than Soviet Jewry itself.



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Chapter 3

Economy and Labor in the Soviet World

Who Controls the Means of Production in the Soviet World?

IN THE U.S.S.R. all the principal means of production, exchange and distribution are "socialist property." Ownership and control are vested in the state.

In the satellite states and China, the transformation of private property into "socialist property" is not complete and is still in process.

In neither country can this system be called genuinely socialist—for "socialist property" is not in the hands of the people, or of elected representatives responsible to them. It is owned and controlled by the managerial state which is controlled by the party hierarchy.

What Were the Five-Year Plans?

The five-year plans, the first of a series of which was instituted by Stalin in 1929, were the "state national economic plans." They are regarded, in the Soviet world, as the principal factor in the transformation from the dictatorship of the proletariat to "socialism," and from "socialism" to communism.

What Is the Seven-Year Plan?

In 1959, Khrushchev and his colleagues announced a new economic plan to succeed the last of the Stalin five-year plans. This projected even more ambitious aspirations for the Soviet economy than any of its predecessors. It was projected for a period of seven years.

The plans provide for rapid industrialization and for collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. They aim at systematic exploitation of the vast resources of the Soviet world. The plans set production goals in each industry and plant, provide a standard for increasing production, set standards of quality, fix prices, and make allotments for wages and social services.

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What Have Been the Results of Economic Planning in the U.S.S.R.?

The principal results of the five-year plans in the U.S.S.R. include:

Transformation of an economically backward country into the second greatest industrial nation of the world;

Increased urbanization of the population and creation of hundreds of new cities;

Increase in the size and proportion in the population of the working class;

Partial transformation of the peasant into a collective farmer and agricultural proletarian.

The incalculable human cost at which these material gains were made can only be guessed at in terms of the following:

Creation of a new class of 20 million slave laborers as an integral part of Soviet economy.

Expansion of the secret police to enforce compliance.

The uprooting and deportation of millions of peasants.

Creation of a new bureaucracy of party functionaries and military personnel.

Continued low standard of living for the majority of the people.

Under the Khrushchev seven-year plan, slave labor no longer plays an important role. This plan perpetuates the traditional Soviet emphasis on massive industrial expansion under state control and farm collectivization. It also promises better living conditions, in terms of increased housing and more and varied foods and clothing.

What Is the Position of the Peasant in the Soviet World?

Peasants comprise an overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet world.

The peasant is the main target of the communist plan



of social development. The aim of communist policy is to transform the peasant into an agrarian worker. In the meantime, the peasant is the principal source of slave labor.

Peasant support of communism is won by land reform—the expropriation of large landholdings and their distribution among the peasants.

After a time, varying in length according to circumstances, the peasants are induced, coerced, or forced at gunpoint into collective farms where they work under state direction and control.

The production of the collectives is the property of the collectives. A fixed proportion is sold to the state at prices set by the state. Another portion is taken by the state in payment of various services and for various funds. The net income is distributed among the peasants of the collectives, partly in money, partly in kind, in proportion to the quantity and quality of their work, at rates determined by the state.

Collective farmers are permitted to cultivate crops and raise livestock on their own small garden plots. They are also permitted to dispose of a part of their private production on the open market.

Whenever, in consequence, peasant income rises, the state increases agricultural taxes. The revaluation of the ruble in 1947 was especially designed to decrease the value of the peasant's cash savings by 90%. The peasant in the Soviet world lives a life of drab poverty. On more than one occasion, famine, resulting from the perpetual antagonism between the state and the peasants in the U.S.S.R., has carried off millions of peasants. Millions more were driven from their homes to become slave laborers.

A growing number of state farms are operated by the government of the U.S.S.R. with agrarian workers who receive wages and are in fact agricultural proletarians.

What Is Labor's Standard of Living in the Soviet World?

It is apparent from the record of Soviet behavior that

the goal of the system is not primarily to better the life of the consumer, but to enhance the power of the state. Consumers receive improved benefits only as the rulers believe more goods or shorter hours will increase productivity and keep unrest within manageable limits.

The Statistical Office of the United Nations reported on December 3, 1950, on the basis of official reports, that with the exception of Poland, a Soviet satellite, the Soviet Union has the lowest per capita income of all industrialized and semi-industrialized nations of the world. National income per capita in the Soviet Union was equivalent to \$308 a year in 1949 U. S. dollars.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study estimated that in the spring of 1953 a Moscow worker had to work up to twenty-five times as much as a worker in New York to buy basic foods, and up to twenty times as much to buy basic clothing.

A 1957 study prepared by the Library of Congress for the Joint Economic Committee, on the subject of "Soviet Economic Growth," revealed that the per capita personal consumption in the Soviet Union is only about one-fifth to one-seventh as great as that in the United States.

Labor's income in the Soviet Union is lower than the national per capita average. In theory, a comprehensive system of social services supplements labor's income. In practice, the social services benefit only a minority of workers.

While the state concentrates on heavy industry and armaments, labor suffers from an acute and chronic shortage of housing and consumer goods.

Can a Worker Choose His Place of Work in the Soviet World?

Only within narrowing limits. Since 1940 the government of the Soviet Union has followed the practice of transferring skilled workers from plant to plant without regard to the workers' wishes.

The graduates of the Labor Reserve Schools are required to work for four years at the direction of the government.

Can a Worker Quit His Job in the Soviet World?

Only for reasons approved by the state, and only with the permission of his plant managers.

Leaving a job without permission is a criminal offense in the U.S.S.R. The punishment is imprisonment for two to four years.

Workers in the transportation industries work under martial law; those who leave their jobs without permission are tried by court martial and may be sentenced to prison for five to eight years.

How Are Lateness and Absenteeism by Workers Punished in the Soviet World?

In the U.S.S.R., a worker who is late more than twenty minutes three times in a month, or four times in two months, is considered unjustifiably absent. He may be sentenced to as much as six months' compulsory labor at his regular place of employment and, during the period of his sentence, he receives only 75% of his normal wages.

How Are Wages Determined in the Soviet World?

By the state.

The government makes an allocation for wages, industry by industry, in the five-year plan. Administrative and managerial personnel and workers are bound by the allocation.

Piece rates prevail as the method of paying labor in the Soviet world. This method, against which labor in the free world has long struggled as unjust, enables the Soviet state continually to speed up production. As productivity is increased, piece rates are lowered. "The reduction of pay rates," said the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in 1947, "is an indispensable condition for the reduction of production costs."

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Collective Bargaining?

Collective bargaining is used by the state to achieve increased productivity, speed up the workers, improve labor

discipline, safety conditions, and recreational facilities. Wages, hours, and other matters of vital concern to workers are excluded from the scope of collective agreements. In the sense in which collective bargaining is understood in the free world, as a means of determining the rates and conditions of work, it is non-existent in the Soviet world.

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Strike?

The law in the Soviet world does not forbid strikes, but the secret police do. Strikes are virtually unknown in the U.S.S.R. They are suppressed by force in the satellite states.

Do Labor Unions Exist in the Soviet World?

Organizations called labor unions are a prominent feature of industrial relations in the Soviet world. The membership of these unions is estimated at considerably more than fifty million, which is more than the number of unionists in the free world.

In name and structure, these unions are like the unions outside the Soviet orbit. In function, however, they are not voluntary organizations of workers dedicated to the improvement of the position of their members, as are the unions in the free world.

In theory, membership in unions in the Soviet world is voluntary. But the disadvantages of non-membership are so marked as to constitute an overwhelming incentive for joining. Membership in the U.S.S.R. is as high as 90% of those eligible for membership. Slave laborers are ineligible.

The Soviets believe that a union movement free to act in behalf of its members' interests is incompatible with economic planning. In addition to insuring labor discipline and increasing productivity, they also act as direct government agents in the administration of social insurance benefits, "carry out control over the condition of labor safeguards and safety techniques, negotiate collective agreements with the administration of enterprises,



and perform other prescribed tasks."

The unions in the Soviet world are run by the communist party. All leading positions in these unions are held by communists, and units of the communist party function in all union bodies. Unions in the Soviet world are instruments of the state for the enslavement of the workers.

How Did Slave Labor Originate in the U.S.S.R.?

Slave labor in the Soviet Union developed from the institution of correctional labor, established after the revolution for the avowed purpose of the social rehabilitation of criminals and class enemies.

It developed in consequence of two principal factors.

One was the need, as a result of the high cost of production and low level of productivity in industry under the five-year plans, of finding a way of reducing the overall cost of production in the Soviet economy.

The second factor was the availability of a large potential labor force, created by the forcible deportation in the early 1930s of millions of peasants who resisted collectivization.

Thereafter, slave labor assumed increasingly large proportions. The supply of slave laborers was replenished and enlarged by political offenders, their relatives, persons caught up for various reasons in the periodic purges, peasants who resisted government policies, "politically unreliable" national-minority population groups, and prisoners of war.

At one time, there were up to 20,000,000 human beings in the slave labor camps, which were operated by the MVD.

The entire production of slave labor was planned, as part of the totally planned economy of the entire country. Slave labor was predominantly used in the construction of the U.S.S.R.'s atomic program, in the mining of gold and other metals, in transportation and construction of railroads, highways and defense works.

Slave laborers were not paid. They lived and worked in camps surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by the

MVD, under literally inhuman conditions. Thousands of affidavits, memoirs and reports by former slave laborers who escaped or were fortunate enough to be released testify to the vast extent and brutality of the system.

Since Stalin's death, a measure of rationality has been introduced into the whole system. Though the camps and forced labor and secret police remain, conditions of life and work are not as bestial as they were. There may be no more than one million forced laborers there today, mostly political prisoners.

How Do Communism and Fascism Differ?

Soviet communism and fascism are forms of totalitarianism, the antithesis of democracy. In many respects they are identical; in others, they are poles apart.

The principal points of identity are the absolute power of the state over all economic, political, social, and cultural activities; the complete subordination of the individual to the state; the abolition of civil rights and individual liberty; regimentation and terrorization of the population; and slave labor.

The main differences are found in the economic bases and ideologies of the two systems. Under fascism, the economy is organized on the basis of private property. Under communism, the means of production, exchange and distribution are national property. Fascist ideology is, in the main, a frank glorification of nationalist supremacy and aggressive power. Communist ideology is a deceitful and deceiving perversion of the ideals of "World Brotherhood" and "Sharing."

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Chapter 4

Communist China

What Is Maoism?

MAOISM is the strategic doctrine developed by the top Chinese communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, for communist conquest of power in China, which now serves as a model of communist strategy and tactics for colonial and ex-colonial countries in Asia and Africa.

Because this doctrine addresses itself to the problem of achieving power in underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries and therefore is based on a peasant rather than proletarian movement, some observers have believed that it represents a Marxist "heresy," or a fundamental divergence from Lenin's and Stalin's teachings. Actually, Mao's political record over the past forty years reveals the most rigid adherence to Moscow's "party line" at least until Stalin's death; since then, Peking has consistently adhered to the doctrine of the U.S.S.R.'s supremacy in the communist world; and Mao's teachings are unmistakable applications of Lenin's and Stalin's views on how to gain power in backward peasant countries.

How Is Communist China Ruled?

Since 1949, when the "People's Republic of China" was established, mainland China has been ruled by a ruthless communist dictatorship which differs in no essential respect from the regime of total terror created by Stalin in the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party, which has the same structure as all other communist parties, quickly established through the use of military force, police terror and massive propaganda a regime which some observers believe actually outdoes Stalin at his worst in the imposition of monolithic party dictatorship and coercion.

What Are Communist China's Economic Goals?

The Chinese communists set themselves the task, from the beginning of their regime, of making China a mighty military and industrial country. They have done this in ways very similar to those used by Stalin in the U.S.S.R. after 1928—by forcing the pace of heavy industrialization, paid for by a sweated peasantry and a population deprived of opportunities for consumption.

Just as did the Soviet Union, Communist China has undertaken this program through a series of five-year plans, the first of which covered the years 1953-57 and the second of which projects industrial advances from 1958 to 1962.

There is no doubt that heavy industrial production has soared in Communist China. At the same time, as the result of tight controls on consumption (through the manipulation of distribution, price fixing, heavy taxation, etc.) and de-emphasis of production of consumer goods, consumption in China has dropped to a lower level than ever in its modern history.

How Did Communist China Make Its Agrarian Revolution?

The vast majority of China's 650,000,000 people are peasants—fully 100,000,000 peasant families. Their fate is decisive for China's future.

In 1950, just a few months after the communists attained power, all farm land was distributed. The truly big landlords, few in number, were dispossessed, and the land distributed to peasants. Owners of small and middle-sized holdings were left in possession of their fields.

But just a few months later, still in 1950, through massive waves of mob demonstrations, lynch trials and murders, all but the tiniest parcels of land were confiscated by the state. The land distribution proceeded in such a way that the masses of peasants held even smaller land tracts than they had had before. In the next few years, tremendous propaganda and social pressures, combined with

confiscatory tax policies, led increasing numbers of peasants to give up their land to the state.

In 1955, a further change of policy occurred, still moving in the ultimate direction of total collectivization of the land. A huge chain of "cooperatives" was established on semi-collectivized state farms. Peasants worked the land co-operatively and were then paid wages for their labor.

In 1957 the penultimate stage of the agrarian revolution was reached, with the complete forced collectivization of the land and the elimination of even the smallest private ownership of land. This was a stage comparable to that achieved in the U.S.S.R. during the Stalin era.

In the short space of a few months during 1958, the final stage was reached with the establishment of the communes.

What Are the Communes?

The communes represent a total revolution of family life and economics on the farms of China. They are an attempt to introduce military concepts into farming.

China's 100,000,000 peasant families have been completely broken up through the establishment of the communes. Families do not live together; children are completely separated from their parents, so that after school hours they eat, play and sleep (and work when they are of age) with their own groups. The men and women eat in separate mess dining halls constructed for each commune.

The communes vary in size from a few thousands of people to many thousands, depending on the nature of the work to which the inhabitants are assigned. In any case, this type of group organization, under para-military discipline, permits the greater coordination of large numbers of people for work projects.

The effect of the communes is essentially to break up the traditionally strong Chinese family unit, not only to facilitate more controlled and more disciplined work organization, but also to destroy the one potent institution that stood in the way of total party and state *gleichschal-*



tung (forced deprivation of individuality in the interest of total social conformity dictated from above) of the population.

What Has Happened to China's Agriculture?

In 1960 and especially in 1961, the Chinese people were in the midst of the most killing famine in centuries. This was partly the result of disastrous weather for two years running—but largely of the even more disastrous mis-planning associated with the communes. Even under the worst conditions of pre-revolutionary China, the peasants had more to eat than now. Deprived of the individuality that is so precious to the Chinese, deprived of even the minimal rations needed to sustain life, a great many Chinese peasants have either fled the countryside, or sought illegally to withhold the produce demanded of them by the regime. Untold hundreds of thousands have died of starvation, disease and overwork. The system of communes has broken down as a result. The Chinese Communist authorities have virtually admitted as much in their publications on the food crisis, though this has been done by indirection. A more overt admission has emerged from their desperate expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in scarce gold and U. S. currency in a drive to purchase huge quantities of grain from Canada and other Western surplus producers. Ironically, the U.S.S.R. has extended little enough aid in its ally's great crisis.

How Do the Chinese Communists Employ Terror?

The Chinese communists have added to the lessons they learned from Stalin's terror system the refinements of Chinese mental and physical torture. The secret police system extends down to every street and every dwelling. Wholesale mutual spying and public denunciation are the rule.

There have been four major periods of state-supervised terror since the communists came to power. The first was known as the "Counter-Revolutionary Suppression Cam-

paign" which was waged in 1950 and early 1951. The second was called the "Three Anti Movement" directed at rooting out actual, alleged or even potential corruption, waste and bureaucratism; this campaign was waged in 1951. The third, the "Five Anti Movement," was directed, during the latter part of 1951 and 1952, against tax evasion, theft of government property, theft of state economic secrets, fraud and bribery.

In the course of these campaigns, conducted at an incredibly high pitch of intensity of terror and propaganda, literally millions of Chinese were killed and millions more deported to slave labor in the far reaches of China.

Those who survived with lighter penalties were considered to be successful products of what the Chinese communists have called "brain-washing."

What Is Brain-Washing?

Though the term is uniquely Chinese communist, the process is not original with Mao's Party and regime. It is actually a more outspoken version of the standard practice of all communist parties, in and out of power, when they conduct sessions of what they call "criticism and self-criticism."

Whether it is done publicly and before great crowds, as is frequently the case in China, or in the privacy of a secret party meeting, the procedure is very much the same. An individual who has fallen suspect of some alleged crime is brought before his party peers, or his neighbors, and subjected to a microscopic examination of his errors or crimes. After a severe enough mental flaying, which may continue over considerable time and more than one meeting, the accused then rises to acknowledge the correctness of the accusations, to outdo his accusers in denunciation of himself, and to promise repentance. If his self-denunciation is accepted—that is, if the authorities have predetermined that the accused is not to be put in prison, deported to slave labor or executed—he is placed on probation for a period, to demonstrate the effectiveness of the brain-washing process.



What Were "The One Hundred Flowers"?

By the spring of 1957, Mao evidently considered that the party and regime were sufficiently impervious to any resistance to allow for an extremely limited "liberalization" of the regime's rigorous control of thought and expression. In April, then, Mao made a speech in which he magnanimously proposed that the communist garden need not produce only one flower: "Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom!" he declared; the communist flower was big and sturdy enough to withstand any competition.

For six weeks the lid was off, and the steam of resentments, bitterness and frustration began to escape. It was chiefly the intellectuals, the writers, the academicians and the students who took advantage of what they supposed was a new-found right to express criticisms and to call for more rights and a generally more relaxed atmosphere. At the end of six weeks the lid was suddenly clamped down again as tightly as ever. The One Hundred Flowers began to have their heads chopped off.

All the writers and teachers and others who had expressed mild criticisms were subjected to the full process of brain-washing. Without exception they were forced to repudiate their statements, and in many cases were sentenced to penal labor or worse. In a number of cities, university student outbreaks were bloodily suppressed. Since May, 1957, no word of dissonance has been heard.

It is conceivable that Mao really believed that, in relaxing the rigors of the regime, he would encounter little outspoken criticism, and that he and his colleagues were stupefied by the extent and scale of the criticism which burst forth, and so felt it indispensable to return to the old repression.

It is at least as likely that the "Hundred Flowers" period was deliberately planned to evoke the criticism so as to lead to the discovery and liquidation of the "malcontents."

What Is the Status of Sino-Soviet Relations?

It is extremely difficult to gauge these relations accu-

ately, since both regimes are not given to allowing open inspection of their policies. What does seem clear is that the Chinese communists are in a considerably more "revolutionary" and intransigent mood than the leadership of the U.S.S.R., that the Chinese freely concede the primacy of the Kremlin in the international movement, but that they consider themselves the first among the junior partners. They acknowledge the ideological supremacy of Moscow and proclaim the industrial achievements of the U.S.S.R. as examples to be followed by their own people. And the Soviet Union, for its part, has made China the recipient of its largest grants of economic and military aid, an increasing share of its trade; has poured hundreds of millions of rubles into China and sent scores of thousands of technicians and economic and military experts there.

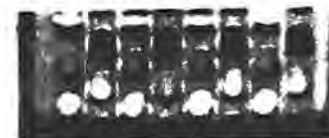
That there have been conflicts between the two ruling hierarchies seems beyond doubt. Potentially there may be growing conflict in the future. But the two parties and governments have given no outward sign of encouragement to the belief that a wedge can be driven between them through outside pressures. All the evidence points to a protracted period of a solid phalanx vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

What Is China's Role in Asia?

In recent years, China has made increasingly larger claims for dominancy in Asia. Its active support, with men and arms, of communist aggressions in Korea and Indo-China reflects these aspirations, as does its outright annexation of Tibet in 1950. In Malaya, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia and other parts of South and Southeast Asia, the Chinese communists have, with the help of some elements among the colonies of overseas Chinese in those areas, built very active communist outposts.

Why Is Tibet Called "Asia's Hungary"?

Ever since the Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950, the people of Tibet carried on overt and covert resistance. They strenuously objected, in the first place, to foreign



[Chinese] domination; they resented the communist efforts to destroy their religious institutions and practices, which are a variant of Buddhism; and they refused to accept the forcible break-up of their traditional tribal form of social and economic life. The resistance took its most overt form in the activities of Tibetan tribal guerillas against Chinese communist military formations, railroads, highways and other strategic points held or built by the Chinese.

This bloody struggle continued from 1950 to 1954, when India's Prime Minister Nehru gained the acquiescence of Tibet's temporal-religious ruler, the Dalai Lama, to China's suzerainty over Tibet on the basis of an agreement Nehru made with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The agreement incorporated the five points of peaceful co-existence among states known in India and throughout much of Asia as "Panch Shila." But despite this agreement, the Chinese continued to behave as brutal conquerors in Tibet.

The struggle came to a head in March, 1959, when the people of Lhasa, Tibet's capital city, rose against the oppressors in the belief that they planned the deposition and imprisonment of the Dalai Lama. Secretly, and in the dead of night, the Dalai Lama escaped from his communist-patrolled palace and made his way through a tortuous route over the Himalayas into refuge and asylum in India. In Lhasa and throughout Tibet, in subsequent weeks and months, the Chinese communists carried out bloody repressions at least comparable to the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Hundreds of thousands of Tibetans have been slaughtered, imprisoned, or deported to forced labor in China, and thousands of Chinese are steadily being brought to Tibet to inhabit a country increasingly depopulated of its natives. The whole process has ramifications of genocide.

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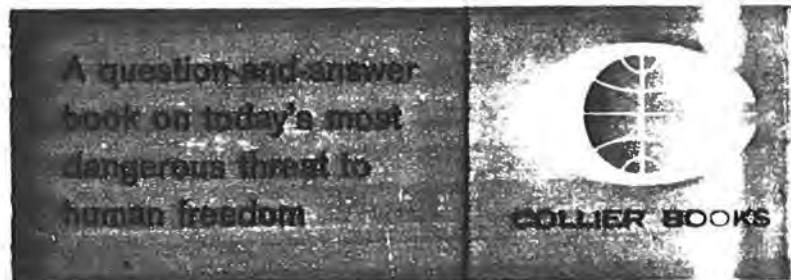
In these two pamphlets the editor has compiled a valuable, revealing account of Chinese peasant life, on the basis of letters sent from the mainland to relatives living abroad.



The Profile of Communism

Do American Communists render allegiance to the Soviet Union? Is Marxist theory compatible with a free society? What are the aims of Communist doctrine and strategy? Knowledge of the answers to these questions may prove requisite for survival.

Without pulling punches or special pleading, this valuable book steers directly through the maze of opinions and misconceptions to outline the *facts* of Communist theory and practice around the world. It is an important guidebook, one that neither specialist nor layman can ignore.



Cover Design by Ben Feder, Inc.

Printed in U.S.A.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - [REDACTED]

b7c

April 17, 1962

DECLASSIFIED BY
[REDACTED]
ON 9/9/81

NAME CHECKS
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
INVESTIGATION OF "EXTREMIST"
ORGANIZATIONS

delivered
IRS 4-26-62

b7c In response to your name check request you are advised that a search of Bureau files was conducted only for the years of 1960 - 61 per your specific request concerning the organizations submitted.

In connection with the following listed group of organizations no investigation has been conducted by the FBI during the pertinent period.

Bnei Zion
New York

Bressler Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

League For Labor Palestine,
Inc., New York

Cott Memorial Foundation, Inc.
(Carrie Chapman), New York

National Council of Young
Israel, New York

Freeman Charitable Foundation,
Gilbert, Newton, Massachusetts

Acushnet Foundation
Mattapoisett, Massachusetts

Zionist Organization of America
New York and Washington, D. C.

American Zionist Council
New York

Japanese-American Citizen
League Trust, San Francisco,
California

Anti-defamation League of
B'nai B'rith

Japanese-American Citizen
League Trust, Los Angeles,
California

Black Mountain College, Cor-
poration of Black Mountain
Recreation Council, Black
Mountain, North Carolina

Women's League for Israel
New York

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

NOT RECORDED
XEROX OF APR 23 1962
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APR 23 1962

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

ORIG & ONE TO BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

Request Received: 4/9/62

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(4)

b7c

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Name Checks

Available information concerning the remaining is set forth below:

(1) American Veterans Committee (AVC) Inc., New York

The National Headquarters of the AVC is currently located at 1830 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

"The Shreveport Journal," a Shreveport, Louisiana, newspaper under date line April 4, 1961, revealed an article captioned "Veterans Group Demands Probe in Mississippi." This article named Mickey Levine as the National Chairman of the AVC.

An article appearing in the "Arkansas Gazette," a newspaper of general circulation, revealed on March 3, 1960, that Louis S. Warshaw, New York City, an investigator for AVC at that time and a colleague of Mickey Levine, was engaged in a tour of defense facilities and veterans installations in Southern States. During this tour, while in Little Rock, Arkansas, Warshaw indicated the AVC had about 25,000 members.

b7c
b7D [REDACTED]

The SCIN has been cited as a communist front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 dated June 16, 1947. (94-486672) (100-339008-272)

(2) Common Council for American Unity, Inc., New York

b7D [REDACTED]

- 2 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

- ☐ For your information:

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-530 - not recorded dated 4-17-6
Pg. 3

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XXXXXX
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 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Name Checks

[REDACTED] b7c b7D

(3) League for Industrial Democracy, Inc., New York

According to information contained in files of this Bureau as of April, 1958, the Executive Director of this organization was Mr. Sidney Hertzberg, writer and publicist.

You are referred to information concerning this organization which was furnished your agency on October 4, 1956. (61-524-92)

(4) Kinderland Colony Association, Inc., New York

Enclosed for your information are 21 reports entitled "Camp Kinderland, also known as Camp L. Island, Inc., Kinderland Colony Association, Inc., New Kinderland Camp Corporation; Parents' and Children's Camp Association; Sylvan Lake Camp Corporation; Camp Kinderland Associates, Inc., Sylvan Lakes Holding Corporation; Kinderland Parents' Association - Internal Security - C, Internal Security Act - 1950," which appear to relate to the organization named in your name check request.

You are further advised this organization is the subject of a current investigation by this Bureau. (100-174599)

Upon removal of classified enclosures this memorandum becomes unclassified.

Enclosures (21)

NOTE: IRS requested name check on 19 organizations captioned "Investigation of 'Extremist' Organizations" for years 1960 - 61. IRS desired reports which would include location of National Headquarters, extent of membership, scope of activity, identities of officers and any information bearing on finances. The only current case for pertinent period was Camp Kinderland AKA, 100-174599 which is under active investigation. Dissemination of these reports authorized by Supervisor

[REDACTED] b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: May 18, 1962

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (61-189)

SUBJECT: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
INFORMATION CONCERNING
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Mr. T. L. _____
Mr. B. M. _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Connelley _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

The New England Regional Office of the above group, 72 Franklin Street, Boston 10, Massachusetts, through [redacted] provided information appearing in the Derry, New Hampshire Star on 4/19/62 reflecting a meeting of the Board of Library Trustees and the Selectmen of Londonderry, New Hampshire April 9, 1962, at which time "a member of the Board of Library Trustees informed them an agent of the FBI had reviewed the book list and given his approval, as well as clearance to the John Birch Society."

The book list related to alleged anti-communist books donated to the library by the John Birch Society and accepted by the trustees during November, 1961.

[redacted] advised that she was the person who had made the statement referred to.

She stated that several months ago she contacted the Washua, N. H. Resident Agent and talked to SA [redacted] at which time she read the list of books which had been made available by the John Birch Society to SA [redacted] and inquired as to whether or not these books were acceptable and also whether they should be received from the John Birch Society. She was informed at that time by SA [redacted] that the FBI made no recommendation regarding publications, organizations or individuals and that our failure to make any such comment should not be assumed by her either affirmatively or negatively with regard to the books or the John Birch Society.

Upon reinterview 5/16/62 by SAS [redacted] and SA [redacted] asserted that at no time did SA [redacted] advise her that the FBI approved or disapproved of the books or the John Birch Society. She stated she assumed the absence of any rejection of the book list or

2-Bureau
2-Boston

REC-7

100-530-431

17 MAY 23 1962

57 MAY 31 1962

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/81 BY [redacted]

EX 101

the Society by the FBI was sufficient for her to infer that there was nothing objectionable in the acceptance of the books by the library trustees. She stated this was an assumption and inference which she established herself and which she now regrets, having been again advised that the Bureau does not make any recommendations either favorably or otherwise with respect to such matters.

This matter was also discussed with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as the statement was made at a joint meeting of the Library Trustees and the full Board of Selectmen. [REDACTED] has been advised with respect to the position of the Bureau as set forth above. He stated that he, at no time, believed that the FBI had endorsed either the books or the John Birch Society and that he will assure that the records of the Selectmen at their next meeting reflect the true position. [REDACTED] indicated that the next meeting of the Board of Library Trustees would also reflect the position of the Bureau and that she will arrange for the Derry, N. H. Star to publish a statement by herself correcting the false impressions set forth in the 4/19/62 item.

The Bureau will be advised of the action taken.

[REDACTED] of the Anti-Defamation League has been advised that the Bureau had at no time made any recommendations regarding the book list or the John Birch Society.

67c

Copies of

SUBJECT Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

FILE NUMBER 100-530 Sec. 14
(1962-1965)

SEPTEMBER, 1962



Anti-Semitism in Argentina
(Page 4)



Miami Bomber
(Page 6)



BENEATH THE SOBLIN CASE

A survey reveals that it produced the worst undercurrents of anti-Semitism to appear in a respectable segment of the American press in many years.

By ARNOLD FORSTER

EVEN in his death, Dr. Robert A. Soblen probably holds the position of being one of the most cruelly cynical men of our time. A naturalized American, he was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for spying against his adopted country in behalf of the Soviet Union. Suffering from lymphatic leukemia, he used his illness to gain special favors from the court—although leukemia did not prevent him from going back to practice as a psychiatrist. Out on \$100,000 bail raised by his wife and by strangers concerned simply with abstract justice, he fled the United States and forfeited for them all their money. He made his flights easily enough; federal marshals were not keeping him under surveillance while he was out on bail and his name had not been posted with immigration officials. Despite all, he wrote the press before leaving that "I, Robert A. Soblen, physician, have lost any hope in justice (in the United States)."

Born a Jew, he flew to Israel to try to abuse that country's benign attitude toward immigrants. He also managed to erect a legal tangle, involving three countries and many passions, which took many weeks to undo; to produce a situation in which a congressman—Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania—introduced bills to terminate immigration from Israel and

deny American landing rights to Israel's El Al airline; and to cause a handful of persons to threaten to halt their contributions to the United Jewish Appeal.

The Soblen case also produced the most damaging spate of anti-Semitism to appear in a respectable segment of the American press in this decade. Perhaps most of the editorial writers and cartoonists guilty of this were unaware that their products had so high an anti-Semitic quotient. But many of them, heedlessly or not, raised some of the old equations and canards that so bedevil Jews: that Jews and Communism have some secret affinity; that Jews hold loyalty to each other more important than loyalty to their sovereign nations; that "Jewish justice" is different for non-Jews than it is for Jews.

"ISRAEL is a member-state of the United Nations, an autonomous sovereignty . . . Jewish people, as such, are not involved in its legal processes and have no say in them. Jews outside of Israel, not being responsible for Israel's actions, should not be required to find explanations or be defensive about what the government of Israel does. Still, the reality is that American Jews do feel pressured by this case, often are called upon to explain or defend . . ."

This quotation appeared in the ADL BULLETIN in March 1961 in connection with the Eichmann case. Since Soblen so involved Israel in his odyssey, it applies in his case too.

What follows here is not concerned with the Soblen case as such. Instead, it is meant to show American attitudes toward Israel and Jews generally as they were expressed in editorial coverage of the Soblen case. Some 150 newspapers were included in this survey in the effort to show what Americans were thinking between July 1, when Soblen was expelled from Israel aboard a New York-bound El Al jetliner, and August 13, when Great Britain cancelled its request that El Al fly him on to the United States and an El Al spokesman could say, in relief: "We are no longer a party to the Soblen affair and are not unhappy about the situation."

IN THE first phase of Israel's involvement with Soblen—when Israeli police apprehended him and put him aboard an El Al plane for return to the United States—American editorial reaction was almost uniformly favorable to Israel:

"If Israel had wanted to delay action on the case of the fugitive spy," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* said on July 3, "it could have done so readily. Nevertheless, the answer Soblen received from the Israeli government was his prompt expulsion from that country and his return to American custody . . . In so expeditiously expelling him, Israel has served notice that it will be no haven for other criminals and adventurers in the future."

Arnold Forster is ADL's general counsel and director of its civil rights division.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/18/89 BY [redacted]
#259,356

File 6
67C



Three stops before death: L. to R., Soblen before fleeing New York; in a police van in Tel Aviv; and en route to London.

The *New York Mirror* said that "Israel's officials handled the Soblen case most correctly. They arrested him, threw him out of their country, gave him his walking papers. Israel did not need a treaty."

Most editorials took note of a statement by Israel's Ministry of Interior that Israel would not be a refuge for Jewish criminals or a haven for people fleeing "righteous justice." Such newspapers as the *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, the *New York Journal American*, the *Washington Evening Star*, and many others echoed the endorsement of Israel's action.

The second phase came when Soblen cut his wrist and abdomen before landing at London and had to be hospitalized there. Israeli officials said at this point that they felt their role in the Soblen affair was over; he had been expelled from Israel because he had entered illegally, they said, and Israel had no obligation or right to carry him to any particular destination. The British differed and asked El Al to fly him to New York. Israel maintained that this would violate its own laws and said no.

NOW THE TENOR of the editorials changed sharply. And references to American Jews, too, started to crop up.

"American public opinion is being aroused in indignation and anger over Israel's change of attitude toward returning the fugitive Communist spy to the United States," said the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "Israel is a sovereign state and it must be assumed that in refusing to cooperate with the United States she is acting in what she believes to be her own interests. We cannot conceive of how Israel's best interests would be served by helping a man guilty of a crime 'analogous to conspiracy to commit mass murder.'

American Jews recognize the peril to Israel's support in this country that the present Ben-Gurion course is inviting..."

The *New York Daily Mirror* was now as direct in its condemnation as it had been before in its approval: "The attitude of the United States toward other nations ought to be that those who are not for us are against us... There is no reason why the British cannot turn Soblen over to American officials in London to be returned to the United States by whatever means are available. In the event the British refuse, let us take direct and sharp retaliatory action. If Israel's actions result in protecting this criminal, let us do the same with her..."

In Arizona, the *Phoenix Gazette* laid it on the line. Under the heading, "Israel Bites the Hand..." its editorial said: "Israel refused to deliver an American traitor to American hands. This country has been all but a co-founder of Israel. American money has made it possible for that nation to survive—and still makes it possible. American sympathies have stood between Israel and her enemies, and still do. America has even made special allowances for the primary allegiance Israel claims to extract from some American citizens. But is it friendship when your friend shields from your justice one who plotted to destroy you?"

SOME of the larger metropolitan papers, such as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, editorially called for the speedy return of Soblen to the United States but also tried to explain the legal knots that Soblen had tied and the nature of the dilemma faced by England and Israel. The *Dayton (Ohio) Daily News* said that "it's not hard to understand Israel's reluctance to be 'ordered'

by Great Britain (or by anyone else) to transport Soblen back to the United States. Israel is a proud and sovereign nation. Also Israel feels it did its duty when it refused asylum to the convicted Soviet spy and put him aboard a plane bound for New York."

But such understanding was hardly the case in the bulk of the 150 newspapers surveyed. The *Palladium-Item* of Richmond, Indiana, for example, avoided burdening its readers with the intricate details of the case. But it did take the trouble of calling attention to the matter of Soblen's religion and speculated: "Dr. Soblen is a Lithuanian-born Jew. One cannot help but wonder if Israel's belated efforts to protect him are based on grounds of religion."

This theme was stated most graphically—and without any speculation—in an editorial cartoon published in the *Springfield (Missouri) News and Leader*. The cartoon shows a stereotyped caricature of a Jew, labelled "Israel," walking arm-in-arm with an oversized rat, labelled "Spy Soblen." "Israel" is giving a Bronx cheer to Uncle Sam, who is carrying a sign saying, "He's guilty of selling out freedom." The caption reads bluntly: "Blood is Thicker than Justice."

Another cartoon along these lines appeared in one edition of the *Boston Traveller* before it was withdrawn. It is titled, "Israeli Diplomacy" and has two panels. In the top one, a character—presumably Israel—is shown kidnapping Eichmann from South America under the heading "Eichmann Si!" The bottom panel under the heading "Soblen No!" shows the same figure in England tearing up the U. S. request to return Soblen. Let those who think that stereotypes of Jews have been unalterably improved—or that the image

the ADL bulletin

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of Israel to an American cartoonist is that of the sabra or brave pioneer in a new land—be forever disillusioned. The caricature of Israel in this cartoon is an ancient one: a hook-nosed, bearded man, wearing a top hat—quite suitable for use in Julius Streicher's *Der Sturmer*.

THE EQUATION of Israel's handling of the Eichmann case and its handling of Soblen was frequently made. The *New York World-Telegram and Sun* said that Israel "certainly wasn't technical when it came to getting Adolf Eichmann out of Argentina." The *Houston Chronicle* made the same point. So did the *Tulsa (Oklahoma) Tribune* which went on to say, inaccurately, that by its own choice Israel has no extradition treaty with the U.S.

The *Tulsa Tribune* added, "Does the Israeli government believe the U.S. government was persecuting Soblen when it converted him of spying for Russia? If so, let Israel state this honestly so Americans can see where Israel stands . . . If Israel does not believe Soblen was persecuted, why should he have any more status with Israel than if he were a fleeing burglar named Smith or O'Malley. Yet, apparently because he is a Jew, he has a special status."

The editorial concluded by warning that "anti-Semites should appreciate the help they are getting from Jerusalem in peddling the idea that Jews must have divided loyalties . . ."

MANY of the country's newspaper editorial writers offered simplifications and, often enough, pat solutions to the maze of legal problems, involving three nations that Soblen had conspired to make. However, writers of letters-to-the-editors, generally less sophisticated and less thoughtful, outdid them by far. Many newspapers devoted whole letters sections to the Soblen matter. It would be good to believe that the following writer of a letter to the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* was being funny: "Since it was legal for Israel to authorize commandos to go to Argentina, kidnap Eichmann, and bring him back to trial, why doesn't the U.S. authorize Rockwell's Nazis to get Soblen and bring him back to jail?"

The theme of kidnapping Soblen—although not asking Rockwell to do it—was repeated in many letters to newspapers throughout the country. In this way, Americans were expressing their frustration—and anger—with Israel and Great Britain for not giving the United States the instant satisfaction they expected.

When these feelings were compounded by latent anti-Semitism, they unquestionably served to heighten suspicion of Jews generally. Since it was their country he had betrayed, American Jews were thus particular victims of the deadly mischief of the late Doctor Soblen.

We Expect Better From 'America'

SOME years ago the editor of the Catholic weekly, *America*, had a piece in the ADL BULLETIN about the hate-mail he was receiving. Father Thurston Davis concluded: "... Heaven help us from the frenetic Jew-baiter, the white racial supremacist, and the assiduous mailer of ink-blotted reprints containing wild and unseemly charges."

We don't know what kind of mail *America* has been receiving the past few weeks but we suspect that a lot of it is from the kind of people *America* doesn't like—people of prejudice. Only this time they're probably writing to *America* in approval.

In the unlikely event that you've missed it, there's been quite a stew recently over an *America* editorial, "To Our Jewish Friends." It suggests that there have been "disturbing hints of heightened anti-Semitic feeling" in the country since the Supreme Court banned a prayer from New York public schools in the *Engel v. Vitale* case.

"It would be most unfortunate if the entire Jewish community were to be blamed for the unrelenting pressure tactics of a small but overly vocal segment within it . . . What will have been accomplished if our Jewish friends win all the legal immunities they seek, but thereby paint themselves into a corner of social and cultural alienation?" *America* asked. It concluded with the warning that Jews must decide "what bargain they are willing to strike as one of the minorities in a pluralistic society."

America's Jesuit editors are proud of their record in fostering intergroup understanding; we cherish it too. We have always considered ourselves good friends of *America's* editors although on many matters of principle it is understood that we agree to disagree. If we had been consulted about their editorial we would have advised them to forget the whole thing.

One of the quickest answers to *America* came from *Commonweal*, a lay-edited Catholic weekly. "Our pluralistic democracy would surely be in danger if, through fear of public opinion, a minority group member could not even risk taking his case to court," *Commonweal* said in an editorial called, "On Warning Jews." *Commonweal* did not believe that *America's* "very curi-

ous editorial" constituted a threat of any kind but said that, "with very ample historical cause . . . many Jewish leaders chose to interpret it in that light. If Jews are suspicious of Christians who can blame them? And if *America's* worries about a resurgence of anti-Semitism have any foundations, then Jews all ought to be suspicious. After centuries of Christian persecution of Jews, it would be a monumental irony to accuse Jews of fostering anti-Semitism."

The *Christian Century*, an interdenominational Protestant weekly, went further. It said that *America* was using the "old device of divide and conquer" by attempting "to frighten Jews into deserting Protestants and other Americans who support the Supreme Court's ruling." Under the heading, "Is

COMMENT:

America Trying to Bully the Jews?" it asked, "Do the editors of *America* mean to imply that the only way Jews will be able to forestall anti-Semitic attacks is to maintain silence on issues involving the constitutional liberties of all citizens, including Jews? . . . Public opinion has been confused through attacks on the decision . . . by Roman Catholics who recognize that, if the prayer ruling stands, their own hope for securing support from public funds for parochial schools is doomed to failure."

We suppose this last point accounts for *America's* editorial. In a subsequent issue, *America* said that "Justice Douglas' far-reaching concurring opinion (on the New York State Regents' Prayer case) opened up wide vistas of enticing possibilities for future exploitation by the secularizers." *America* is fighting fiercely for the things in which it believes. It has every right to do so. But how would Catholics react if, say, we were to suggest that Catholic leadership had better cut out its fight for federal funds for parochial schools lest anti-Catholic prejudice be increased? The suggestion would stiffen their backs, make them work even harder in behalf of their principles.

And so it is with Jews. While American Jews, as a group, are seldom in agreement on most issues, it is significant that on this one subject—separation of church and state—there is so great a consensus. Virtually every Jew-

Continued on page 7



Today's turmoil, centered in Buenos Aires (above) is partly the legacy of former dictator Juan Peron (left). To the right are two Jewish youths attacked by anti-Semites: Carlos D'Alessandro (top) who had a swastika cut on his face, and Graciela Sirota.

AT A SOCCER GAME held in Buenos Aires in July 1962, a few Jewish boys got into a fight with other spectators who had made anti-Semitic remarks. As they clashed, someone in the stands suddenly raised the chant, "Ta-cua-ra, Ta-cua-ra." It was picked up by thousands of others, and soon welled over the stadium. The meaning of the chant was clear; the Jewish boys retreated, hopelessly and in dismay.

For the hate-mongers have a new word in their vocabulary. Tacuara (pronounced Ta-kwá-ra) is an old South American term, used to refer to nineteenth century gauchos who served the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas. Today Tacuara is an organization of neo-fascists and anti-Semites. Its headquarters are in Argentina, but the group is believed to have international contacts—Tacuara has received inflammatory literature from, among others, Horace Sherman Miller, Grand Dragon of the Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan from Waco, Texas. In turn, it influences similar groups of activists in other Latin American countries, principally Uruguay.

Tacuara membership is estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000 teen-age toughs, highly organized and carefully trained, often by Nazi fugitives. The movement is led by 24-year-old Ezcurra Uriburu, kinsman of Argentine dictator, Jose Felix Uriburu, who held power for two years in the early 1930's.

Their number may be small, but their influence and implications loom large in

Jack Baker is director of ADL'S department of foreign information.

CHILL WIND FROM THE LAND OF THE PAMPAS

Argentina has had thirty years of political chaos. Today, its Jews face a situation reminiscent of Germany in the 1920's. By JACK BAKER

Argentina today. For most of the 16 to 23-year-old youths who belong to Tacuara come from the elite families in the country, and their parents—army officers, police, government officials—have been covering up for, if not actively abetting, them. Again, they seem to be expressing a widespread popular hostility to Jews (identified with both Communists and capitalists, in the usual irrational fashion of bigotry). And the movement leans for sanction not only on the fulminations of Mein Kampf, but also on the more respectable rationalizations of at least one prominent Catholic clergyman and a variety of Argentinian officials.

ANTI-SEMITIC manifestations invariably reflect a country's social and economic tensions. Of these Argentina has more than its share. For the past thirty years, the country has passed through one crisis after another: the dictatorship of Juan Peron, military revolution, junta rule, industrial crisis, strikes, agitation. Currently, army, navy, and air force cliques (each further subdivided into factions of Nazis, Nas-

serites, and democrats) are all jockeying for power. Meanwhile, the value of the Argentine peso plunges downward, and the people of Argentina look on in some apathy and much dismay.

The violence of the Tacuara had taken place during the past two years against this background of national disunity and demoralization. Under the circumstances it cannot be dismissed simply as random acts of occasional juvenile delinquency. Particularly frightening to Argentine Jewry is the fact that authorities have made little genuine attempt to discourage the Tacuara—and, often enough, seem to be protecting it. Though youthful culprits usually admit their crimes, only seldom are they caught, rarely arrested—and almost never punished.

SOME FIFTY incidents have taken place in recent months in such Argentinian cities as Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Mar del Plata, San Juan, Santa Fe, Lanus, and Bahia Blanca. The most brutal attack was perpetrated in June 1962 when a 19-year-

old Jewish coed, Graciela Narcisa Sirota, was abducted on her way to school. Assaults carved a swastika on her right breast, inflicted severe burns on her body. The pretext: "This is revenge. You Jews are responsible for Eichmann's death." No arrests were made.

Two months later, another case of violence illustrated the police's own prejudice. A Jewish center in the Buenos Aires suburb of Lomas del Palomar was attacked by a group of anti-Semites. Jewish defenders captured one of the attackers, named Orlando Tedeschi, and turned him over to the police. But instead of probing into the incident, the police detained one of the Jews, Bernardo P. Finkelstein, at the scene, and charged him with beating Tedeschi. They refused to accept a complaint from the center, and insisted on attributing the attack to "a group of unidentified hoodlums."

True, top government officials have publicly deplored anti-Semitism. But swastikas are still being painted on public buildings, Jewish homes and places of worship are bombed, and Jews are being physically attacked. Under the pressure of complaints and resistance of the Argentine Jewish community, the Argentine

These defensive counter-charges have a Nazi tinge, and no wonder. For Argentina has been described as the "last bunker" of German Nazism. After World War II, with barely concealed official sanction, Peron permitted Argentina to become a haven for Nazis escaping the ruins of the Third Reich. Nor was it an accident that Adolf Eichmann took refuge in Argentina. (This is not to accuse the entire 75,000-German colony in Argentina of rabid anti-Semitism; the original German immigrants were liberal refugees from the time of Bismarck.) Key positions in Peron's armed forces and secret police often went to Nazis and former SS men. (Even before World War II, the Argentinian army was trained by German military missions.) Still, Peron himself discouraged any attempts at organized anti-Semitism.

With Peron's downfall in September 1955, many of the Nazis left Argentina for Cairo. The anti-Semitic German newspaper *Der Weg* suspended publication. But the hidden Nazis remained, tightly organized. They are now entrenched in positions in the army, police, and government. Significantly, they are aided and abetted financially by Argentinians of Arab descent. These are a strong factor in

book in which he refers to the Jews as a "cursed race, agents and sons of the Devil"—a strange reference, particularly in view of the liberalism and benign efforts at intergroup understanding on the part of the current Pope, John XXIII.

The fear of communism in Argentina is attributed in some measure to fear of the spreading influence of Fidel Castro's revolutionary regime in Cuba. True, Jews have played no role in the revolution—most Cuban Jews have fled the island. Nevertheless, fiery anti-Semitic outbursts inveighing against Jews as an advanced guard of communism have become daily fare in Argentina.

EIGHTY per cent of Argentina's 470,000 Jews live in Buenos Aires, engaged mostly in business and the professions. Six Jews have been or are members of parliament, one was a minister of labor and social security, and two were provincial governors. When Luis Gutnisky, governor of the province of Formosa, was killed in an airplane accident in January 1962, a state funeral for him was held at Casa Rosada, the official residence of then-President Arturo Frondizi.

In 1960, Argentine Jews celebrated their hundredth year in that country. The vast majority are Eastern European in origin and came to the new world in flight from pogroms in Czarist Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. There are smaller contingents of Jews who left Central Europe during the Hitler period, and of Jews from the Middle East, who immigrated when their positions became untenable because of anti-Israel sentiment. Argentine Jewry is mainly a Zionist community whose leaders have resisted the loss of Jewish identity by developing strong cultural institutions.

Argentine Jews have reacted vigorously to the recent anti-Semitic outbreaks. Though worried over the present situation, they are hopeful of the support of the liberal elements in Argentina, as well as the pressure of world public opinion. The U.S. State Department has held informal discussions with Argentine government representatives, and these have produced promises of "energetic action" to combat anti-Semitism in Argentina. How effective such action will be remains to be seen in a country as chaotic as Argentina. The prospects for an immediate halt to agitation and violence do not seem good. The country needs a stability rising from responsible democratic government, not imposed by military dictatorship. It also needs help from abroad.

Even more, it needs the active assumption by the citizens of Argentina of their civic responsibilities. Argentinians themselves are the first to recognize the general apathy that has brought them into their present predicament.



Scrawled on a wall in Buenos Aires: "Jews to the Oven—F.R.N. Will Conquer."

chief of federal police, Captain Horacio Enrique Green, retorted that some of the incidents had been fabricated. He went on to reprimand the representative Jewish organization D.A.I.A. (*Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas*) for having "taken the law into its own hands" by arranging a protest shutdown of Jewish businesses.

ANOTHER high official, Federal Coordinator Raul Angelini, resigned his position as head of the Argentine equivalent of the FBI in July. In a television interview he charged that D.A.I.A. was a "communist tool," and all "agitation" about anti-Semitism merely a "communist fabrication" to divert attention from the various financial scandals in which Jewish bankers had been involved during the presidency of Arturo Frondizi. (The reference was to a major scandal of 1959, which involved the Jewish People's Bank as well as some high Argentine officials.)

the country. There are nearly half a million of them, mainly engaged in business and banking. Most are of Lebanese-Syrian extraction. Until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1947, they were on terms of friendly competition with the Jews. Most of them are Catholics.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH is strong in Argentina, as it is throughout Latin America, and responsible leaders of the Catholic hierarchy have denounced the attacks on Jews, demanding that the government put an end to such un-Christian activities. But the spiritual leader behind the Tacuara movement is felt to be an anti-Jewish Roman Catholic priest, Father Julio Meinvielle. Father Meinvielle has denied that he has any ties with Tacuara. On the other hand, he insists that the attacks on Jews in Argentina are all a "communist plot" or "Jewish provocation." And the priest, a learned scholar, is the author of "The Jew—A Historical Tragedy," a

HOW MIAMI'S HATERS WERE CAUGHT

THE MAN from Germany and the American faced one another in a Miami courtroom.

Blond, 26-year-old Stefan Plumacher stood trim, correct, very Nordic. His English was good but the guttural accent was still there. In Germany he had been a member of the Hitler Youth during World War II; his father had been a Luftwaffe pilot.

Don Branch, the American, was well-poised at 25. Tall and clean-cut, a veteran of the U. S. Navy, he looked as though he had stepped out of a recruiting poster. Branch's friends described him as pleasant, generous, conscientious.

Branch needed good character witnesses. He was being tried on charges of possessing and transporting dynamite—charges that came after a decade of bombings directed against Jews and Negroes in the South.

And Plumacher, the former Hitler Youth who had joined the U.S. Army and had become an American citizen, was now an undercover agent for the Miami Police Department. His job: to get the evidence on the anti-Semites and racists responsible for the attacks.

TEN YEARS of blastings of synagogues and other buildings had gone unpunished. There had been no evidence against the men responsible although the police had a gang of suspects. Southern officials denounced the violence as a disgrace to the

After years of synagogue bombings, it took an unusual undercover agent—and some brand new techniques—for police to arrest this band of bigots.

By NATHAN PERLMUTTER

South, and both the *Miami Herald* and the *Miami News* repeatedly called for the arrest of its perpetrators.

An attempt was made to destroy the home of Don Shoemaker, editor of the *Miami Herald*. His home in the expensive Bay Point area of Miami was blasted on February 18, 1962. No one was hurt.

Plumacher, the former Hitler Youth, was put on the case immediately after the Shoemaker bombing. To obtain evidence, he was ordered to become friendly with the gang of suspects, work with them, and report back.

But reports, recollections, and written notes would not constitute sufficient evidence in a court of law, Miami police knew. So Plumacher was rigged with the latest electronic devices. Attached to his person were tiny hidden microphones, connected to still tinier but powerful transmitting sets. At prearranged intervals the microphones would pick up conversations and transmit them to a cruising police car which relayed them to another police car equipped with recording devices. Every word the gang spoke could be taken down.

PLUMACHER concluded that those responsible for the Shoemaker bombing were: Donald Branch, the "All-American boy"; burly, 50-year-old George Victor, vice-president of an organization called Florida States Rights, Inc.; and Michael Babey, 37, a former student at New York University and the City College of New York, and, like Branch, a meter-reader.

Shoemaker is not Jewish. (Ironically, the houses in Bay Point where he lives are closed to occupancy "by anyone not a member of the Caucasian race, nor by anyone having more than one-fourth of Jewish or Syrian blood.") But that did not matter to the gang. As a former employer of Victor recalled: "Victor doesn't limit his hates. He hates everybody. When he was working for me, the only conversation we had was about things he said he hated—the union, the job, non-Anglo-Saxons—anything you could name. He's strictly anti-social."

The gang was cautious about their new member, Plumacher. To prove himself, he was ordered to blow up a synagogue, the *Anshe Emes* Congregation, made up of forty-five elderly Jews of Miami's southwest section.



"Looking like any All-American boy": Don Branch (left) after his arrest, pictured with Everett Kay, Miami detective; Seymour Gelber, assistant state's attorney; and Richard E. Gerstein, state's attorney for Dade County.

Plumacher was given dynamite to do his job, which he immediately turned over to police headquarters. In return he received five wooden sticks, meticulously undilled, varnished, and furnished with a fuse. This was the "charge" he set in front of the synagogue. The "bombing" went off as scheduled. In a charade beautifully acted to the last scene, the press reported as a dud.

LESS than a week later, Branch, Victor, and Babey were picked up by the police and charged with the Shoemaker bombing. Found in the homes of the three was a blueprint for murder. The names of Shoemaker and William C. Baggs, editor of the *Miami News*, were followed by those of future victims: Richard E. Gerstein, state's attorney for Dade County, Fla.; Samuel Friedland, Food Fair executive; William D. Singer, former state road board chairman; and Jack D. Gordon, school board member. The assistant state's attorney, in an interview in the *Miami Herald*, suggested that the three were part of a larger gang responsible for every errorist bombing in Dade County in the past ten years.

A search of Branch's home turned up a cache of literature from the American Nazi Party, a card index file with the names of business and political leaders, and a list of entertainment celebrities, each with his original "Jewish name." Other files were labelled "Jews," "Negroes," and "U.S. Government and World Communism."

Also found in the Branch home was a "Storm Trooper's Manual" with this dedication: "By Lt. Dan Burros, respectfully dedicated to the memory of Horst Wessel, lieutenant . . . who fell for his race and his nation, murdered by Jews and Communists, on the 23rd of February 1930 in the struggle of the White races of Germany."

Branch's trial was set for June 19, 1962. Babey and Victor were to be tried later. The American Nazi Party leader, George Lincoln Rockwell, announced his intention of visiting Miami "If Branch is guilty, I'll prosecute him myself . . . If he's been framed, I'll fight (State's Attorney) Gerstein, the Anti-Defamation League and all the rest," he said.

Gerstein, who earned a Distinguished Flying Cross and lost an eye in World War II, was hardly alarmed. His home had been scheduled for bombing but then Branch had changed his mind. The undercover agent reported that Branch had said about the State's Attorney: "I have a bloody surprise for that Hebrew bastard . . . a rifle that I'll rig up . . . and get him between his office and home."

Now Gerstein calmly answered that Rockwell "like any other citizen is free

to go anywhere he wants to in the country." But, he added, "I prefer to have a jury of citizens of this country decide who is guilty and who is innocent."

IN EFFECT, the jury had to decide between the local American boy who had tried all his adult life to be a Nazi, and the former German who had worked so hard to become an American.

Defense counsel Walter Gwinn used a variety of tricks, including that of referring to the prosecution as "Mr. Gerstein's case" rather than as the "State's" or the "People's" case. At one point Gwinn scorned Plumacher by telling the jurors that "no good American boy at the Miami police department" would have taken the job of spying on Branch and his friends.

The case against the accused hinged on the taped conversations between Plumacher, Branch, and members of Florida States Rights, Inc. The key conversations, which had taken place on April 30th outside the headquarters of Florida States Rights, Inc., were played to a hushed courtroom. Every juror had a set of earphones clamped over his head.

Overheard talking were Plumacher, Branch, and 67-year-old J. H. Keathley, a segregationist and anti-Semite who was president of the States Rights group.

The three men were discussing the reason for the "failure" of Plumacher's night attack on the *Anshe Emes* Synagogue.

Keathley: "I don't know why you picked that place. One Jew is as good as another."

Plumacher: "You mean as bad as another."

Keathley: "Same thing . . ."

Some speculation why the fuse had not worked followed. Then with great skill, Plumacher engaged Branch in conversation on the payload question:

Plumacher: "Didn't you tell me you used that same fuse on Shoemaker and it worked?"

Branch: "Well, the same fuse—"

Plumacher: "But it was the same stock?"

Branch: "The supply we got—the same

type of fuse. It might have been different coil."

Later, after nervous recriminations stressing the need for internal discipline and discretion:

Keathley: "I'll tell you something else. Don't mention it again. You can trust Victor. I've been on jobs with Victor."

Plumacher: "I trust either one of you as much as what you told me."

Branch: "Victor went on a job with me."

Finally, Plumacher returned the conversation to the Shoemaker bombing to wrap-up his evidence:

Plumacher: "How many (sticks of dynamite) did you use on Shoemaker?"

Branch: "Quite a bit."

Plumacher: "What's quite a bit? More than 10 or less than five or what?"

Branch: "Close to 10."

Plumacher: "Were you happy with the amount that you had, with the damage that you did?"

Branch: "Yes . . . I would like to have even more than that. I would like to set every synagogue in this town on their . . ."

BRANCH did not deny the conversations, but he argued, disingenuously, that it was all a prank. He maintained that he had known all along that Plumacher was a police officer. "It was a battle of who was the biggest actor. It was a large game."

No one in the juror's box seemed amused. The jury promptly found Branch guilty on both counts facing him.

While Branch awaits trial on additional charges, he is serving maximum and consecutive three-year sentences on the charges of possession and transportation of explosives. The trial dates for Babey ("Pronounce my name Babby") and Victor have yet to be set. Keathley remains free.

Rockwell did come to Miami for the Branch trial. He was greeted with indifference, and left in disappointment. His visit, like the bomb planted before the *Anshe Emes* Synagogue, was a complete dud.

COMMENT:

Continued from page 3

ish agency, large and small, supports the Supreme Court decision on *Engel v. Vitale*. (ADL filed a brief amicus arguing against the constitutionality of the prayer.) And ADL, with its broad base of representation from the mass membership of B'nai B'rith knows how strongly individual Jews throughout the nation feel on the matter.

Despite this, the New York State

Regents' Prayer case was an inter-denominational one, not the concern of Catholics and Jews alone. As *Christian Century* points out, it is very much the concern of another group so neglected in this discussion—Protestants and all other Americans. It is the bigots who choose to make it a Jewish issue who need to be warned by America—not the Jewish community.

Benjamin R. Epstein
ADL NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ADL IN 1963--

Commemorating the First Half-Century

Presentation of the America's Democratic Legacy Award to President Kennedy will highlight ADL's 50th anniversary observance



It started in 1913 when a Bloomington, Indiana, lawyer named Sigmund Livingston persuaded B'nai B'rith to establish an Anti-Defamation League. With Livingston as chairman and Leon S. Lewis as secretary, ADL opened headquarters at two desks in Livingston's Chicago law office. It was the first sectarian organization—in the words of its original charter—to devote itself "to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike." Its very first job: to fight caricatures and stereotypes of Jews in vaudeville, the movies, and newspapers.

Today ADL is a major national human relations educational agency, with 26 offices located strategically throughout the United States. Its themes and areas of operation have grown mightily too, through the crisis-ridden half-century, to include many problems of democracy. But always at the core of ADL's program is the fight against anti-Semitism.

Three presidents of the United States have publicly praised ADL for its efforts and achievements. "Your definition of America's democratic legacy is admirable," said Harry S. Truman. In 1953, on the occasion of ADL's fortieth anniversary, Dwight D. Eisenhower declared that ADL's work "has brought strength to the national community . . . and has helped make our land a better place to live in." And, most recently, John F. Kennedy said that "as a spokesman for equality and justice, as a guardian of democratic rights," ADL is making important contributions to the nation.

In 1963, the year of its fiftieth anniversary, ADL will return this last compliment. ADL's national executive com-

mittee announced this month that President Kennedy has been named recipient of the America's Democratic Legacy award for "distinguished contributions to the American heritage of freedom." ADL national chairman Henry Edward Schultz said that the President will receive the award at a dinner to be held in Washington, D.C. on January 31, 1963, marking the opening of the League's anniversary observance.

The America's Democratic Legacy medalion has been awarded each year since 1948. Former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman are among its recipients. Last year's award winner was Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Among other recipients are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; former Senator Herbert H. Lehman; the 85th Congress of the United States for its passage of civil rights legislation in 1957; the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations; and the New York Times, Look, and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Fiftieth Meeting Features

"Dinner with the President" will be the major affair of the League's fiftieth annual national commission meeting to be held in Washington from January 30 to February 2. Besides the award ceremony, the January 31 dinner will include:

—President Kennedy's address

—An hour-long program of American music on the themes of the nation's progress toward democracy to be broadcast nationally over the CBS network.

Mr. Schultz also announced that Dore Schary, playwright, producer, and honor-

ary vice chairman of the League, has been named chairman of the fiftieth anniversary observance. Among other events planned for the observance year are:

—An institute on anti-Semitism and specialized conferences on interreligious cooperation, law and civil rights, and human relations education. The interreligious cooperation conference is scheduled to be held on April 22 on the campus of the University of Chicago, jointly sponsored by ADL and the University's Divinity School.

—An intensive book publishing program including:

"In Quest of the Dream," by Dr. John P. Roche, chairman of the department of politics of Brandeis University and visiting lecturer at the University of Chicago. The book, scheduled for spring publication by Macmillan and written under an ADL grant, traces the course of human rights and intergroup relations in the United States.

"A comprehensive history of the Anti-Defamation League itself, focusing on major problems of anti-Semitism and civil rights of the past fifty years.

"A variety of other scholarly volumes of anti-Semitism and civil liberties.

All this, in addition to ADL's usual day-to-day activities, carried on for fifty years: fighting bigotry, teaching democracy, serving as "a spokesman for equality and justice" in the United States.



Schultz



Schary

269

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
155 EAST 76TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

SUITE 1-A
YUKON 8-3883

November 15, 1962

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Mr. Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Justice Department Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

For many years I have served as an officer of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which, for a half century, has worked with great dedication to strengthen American democracy and to bring its benefits to all. I have agreed to accept the post of Honorary Chairman of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963. May I ask you to join with me and serve as a member of the Honorary Committee

At the same time, it is my pleasure to extend to you an invitation to be the guest of the League and to occupy a place on the dais at the inaugural dinner for the Anniversary Observance at which President John F. Kennedy will be the guest of honor and principal speaker.

The dinner will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C. on Thursday evening, January 31st. The President, at that time, will receive the America's Democratic Legacy Award, given annually by the League for distinguished contributions to the enrichment of our democratic heritage. The President's remarks and a musical tribute to American freedom will be televised nationally directly from the dinner.

Membership on the 50th Anniversary Honorary Committee will put no serious burden upon you in terms of time or effort. You will, of course, be informed of the plans and your name will be used on official anniversary programs, stationery and other publications.

I do hope that you will be with us on the dais at the dinner with the President and, at the same time, serve as a member of the League's Honorary 50th Anniversary Committee.

Cordially,

Herbert H. Lehman

HHL:nyk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-2-81 BY

CORRESPONDENCE

NOT

Seven-Thirty P.M., Thursday

January Thirty One,

Nineteen Sixty Three

Sherraton Park Hotel

Washington, D.C.

Black Tie

R. I. Y. P.

672
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-6-81 BY [REDACTED]



*The National Commission of the
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary
requests the pleasure of your company
at dinner with
the President of the United States*

67c
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-5-81 BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 2/18/89 259,356

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11-23-62

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: HERBERT H. LEHMAN
 155 EAST 76TH STREET
 NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
 REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR TO BE MEMBER
 OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY HONORARY
 COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/81 BY [REDACTED]

Tolson ✓
 Belmont ✓
 Mohr ✓
 Casper ✓
 Callahan ✓
 Conrad ✓
 DeLoach ✓
 Evans ✓
 Gale ✓
 Rosen ✓
 Sullivan ✓
 Tavel ✓
 Trotter ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Holmes ✓
 Gandy ✓

By letter dated November 15, 1962, Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor and Senator of New York, advised that he has accepted the post of Honorary Chairman of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League of 1963 and invites the Director to serve as a member of the Honorary Committee. He points out that members on this committee "will put no serious burden upon you in terms of time or effort," and the Director's name will be used on official anniversary programs, stationery and other publications. Lehman also extends an invitation to the Director to be the guest of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) at the inaugural dinner for the Anniversary Observance at which President Kennedy will be the guest of honor and principal speaker.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Bufiles reveal our last outgoing to Lehman was while he was a U. S. Senator from New York in March, 1950. Bufiles do not indicate we have ever investigated Mr. Lehman. However, he was the victim in several extortion investigations conducted by the FBI.

ANTI-DEFAMATION, B'NAI B'RITH

While Bufiles reveal that we enjoy friendly relations with individuals connected with this organization, on the whole, it could not be found that this organization has continually supported the activities of the FBI. In connection with a letter received 7-17-62, pointing out that the ADL in their bibliography for their book, "A Profile of Communism," omitted naming "Masters of Deceit" in their list of outstanding books regarding communism, the Director noted, "Significant; particularly when in Masters of Deceit we went out of our way to praise the ADL for which I have been roundly criticized from many sources. H' With regard to bringing this omission to the attention of Herman Edelsberg, a member of ADL, the Director noted, "I don't intend to give the ADL any such clearance. The letter to [REDACTED] from the ADL didn't say it was an oversight but stated that "Masters of Deceit" was purposely left out. H' In DeLoach to Mohr memorandum dated 11-2-61 it was noted that Herman Edelsberg inquired if the Director could write an article for the B'nai B'rith publication. The Director noted, "I most certainly

Enclosure 11-26-62

See next page

CRIM

Mr. Morrell to Mr. DeLoach Memorandum
Re: HERBERT H. LEHMAN

will not do an article for B'nai B'rith. They have never been strong for FBI. H" It should be noted that subsequent editions of the book, "A Profile of Communism," listed "Masters of Deceit" in their bibliographies.

[REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATIONS:

b7c, b7D

- (1) That Director serve as a member of the Honorary Committee of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963.
- (2) That the Director decline to attend the inaugural dinner for this Anniversary Observance to be held on January 31st at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C.
- (3) That attached letter be sent to Lehman.

OK. [Signature] D-1-3

✓

November 26, 1962

REC-30

100-530-433

Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
Suite 1-A
155 East 76th Street
New York 21, New York

EX-118

Dear Mr. Lehman:

Thank you for your letter of November 15th, with enclosure, inviting me to serve as a member of the Honorary Committee of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963. I also appreciate your invitation to attend the inaugural dinner for the Anniversary Observance on January 31st in Washington, D. C.

It is a pleasure to advise you that I will be glad to serve as a member of your Honorary Committee. Although I am looking forward to the possibility of attending the inaugural dinner on January 31st, it is not possible to give you a definite reply at this time.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOV 26 9 58 AM '62
REC'D READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memorandum dated 11-23-62.

(4) 50 DEC 4 1962

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/4/81 BY [redacted]

RECEIVED

254,356

HERBERT M. LEHMAN
188 EAST 76th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

November 28, 1963

DUPE 1-A
TURN 8-3883

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you for your letter of November 26th.

My associates and I are very happy indeed that you will serve as a member of the Honorary Committee of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963.

I have taken note that it is not possible at this time for you to give a definite reply to the invitation to attend the inaugural dinner in Washington on January 31st, 1963. May I say that we understand your situation completely, and we hope that you will find it possible to attend the dinner. Please let us know at any time at your convenience. I can assure you that you will be very welcome.

With kind personal regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Herbert Lehman

*In due time,
decline the
dinner
invitation*

11/30

L

EX-120

REC-40

100-530-434

Jan 8

Ask 4-62

9/4/31

NOTED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

NOV 29 1963

32

b7c

b7c

cc: 8

b7c

100-530-434

January 4, 1963

Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
Suite 1-A
155 East 76th Street
New York 21, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/4/81 BY [REDACTED]
7/18/89 #259,356

Dear Mr. Lehman:
Herbert

I have postponed answering your letter of November 28th with the hope that it would be possible for me to attend the inaugural dinner of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963. However, a review of my schedule reveals that I will be unable to be with you and your associates on January 31st.

I regret it is not possible to accept your kind invitation but know you will understand. You have my best wishes for a most successful and enjoyable dinner.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: By letter dated November 15th Lehman invited the Director to serve as a member of the Honorary Committee of the 50th Anniversary Observance of the Anti-Defamation League for 1963 and to attend the inaugural dinner for this Anniversary Observance on January 31st in Washington, D. C. By letter dated November 26th Lehman was advised that the Director would serve as a member of the Honorary Committee but that it was not possible to give him a definite reply at that time relative to the Director being able to attend the inaugural dinner. By letter dated November 28th Lehman expressed appreciation for the Director's agreeing to serve as a member of the Honorary Committee and expressed the hope that he would be able to attend the inaugural dinner. Mr. Tolson noted "In due time, decline the dinner invitation 11/30/62 T3"

MAILED 5

JAN 4 - 1963

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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62 JAN 11 1963

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith

330 SEYBOLD BUILDING, MIAMI 32, FLORIDA, FRANKLIN 3-6306

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May 1, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
506 Old Post Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 9/4/81 BY [redacted]
7/18/89 #259,386

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On April 21st Mrs. Charles B. Magrill of this city, sent a copy to you of a letter she had written to us. I am herewith enclosing a copy of our response.

Let me also take this opportunity in which I find myself corresponding with you, to express my profound admiration for you and all that you represent.

Sincerely,

Nathan Perlmutter

Nathan Perlmutter

NP/ra

Enc:

1 copies made of letter and
3-10-78 [redacted]
for review as follows by
HSCA re 2-28-78 request.
(See file # 102-117250)

REC-74

100-530-435

MAY 8 1963

ANTI-SEMITIC LIGAMATION LEAGUE of B'Nai B'RITH

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFF.

330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA • FRANKLIN 3-6306

May 1, 1963

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/4/81 BY [REDACTED] 7/18/89 #254,356

Dear Mrs. Magrill:

Thank you for your letter of April 21st to which I would have responded sooner but for my absence from the city.

US On November 21st we drew to your attention the testimony of the Liberty Lobby before the United States Senate Committee on Finance on the subject of the administration's tariff bill. We advised you that in this testimony Curtis Dall, chairman of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, accused "Political Zionist Planners" of controlling our government. Also, that he suggested that the President of the United States had "somehow become a working pawn in their (Zionists) game." We referred to other illustrations of the Liberty Lobby's bigotry and stated that in the official records of the testimony, "Miami Junior Woman's Club (100) Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, advisor, Miami, Florida" was cited as endorsing the testimony. We concluded our letter by inquiring whether Mr. Dall actually represented the views of the Miami Junior Woman's Club, as listed in the testimony.

You did not respond.

On November 5th, my associate, Mr. Arthur Spiegel, wrote to Mrs. Sam C. Walker, as president of the Miami Junior Woman's Club. In his letter he drew to Mrs. Walker's attention the promotion of bibliographical material by the Junior Woman's Club which included the publications of Marvin K. Hart (recently deceased) whose anti-semitism had prompted the American Legion to cite him as a hater. Mr. Spiegel alluded to other unAmerican (we like to think of racial and religious bigotry as unAmerican) matter in the bibliography bearing the endorsement of the Miami Junior Woman's Club and he respectfully requested an opportunity to discuss the matter.

He received no response.

On November 19th he inquired of Mrs. Walker whether she had had an opportunity to consider his earlier letter.

Again, there was no response.

100-530-435
ENCLOSURE

On November 26th Mr. Spiegel wrote to Mrs. Frank H. Inscho, president of the Miami Woman's Club stating that it was his impression that the Miami Woman's Club was the sponsoring group for the Miami Junior Woman's Club. In view of this assumed relationship he enclosed copies of his letters to Mrs. Walker and of my letter to you, copy of which had been sent to Mrs. Walker.

Again, we received no response.

So it is that I thank you for your letter of April 21st. It concludes a long, and to us inexplicable silence on issues that really deserve better. And, as with summer showers which follow a long drought, your at-long-last correspondence arrives vigorously, copies having been issued to J. Edgar Hoover, Representative Francis Walter, Senator James O. Eastland, Mr. William C. Baggs, Mr. Don Shoomaker, Mr. John S. Knight, Mr. James L. Knight, and to the Miami Junior Woman's and Miami Woman's Clubs.

These are important personages. The issue being of a significance far beyond a Woman's Page dispute, it is fitting that you shared your views with them. I am making copies of this letter accordingly, not so much, I hasten to add, to establish a "last word" or even to "retort" within their earshot. Rather I am really speaking to you and I do so because as a rule only sincerely virtuous persons experience indignation and your letter does not lack for indignation.

To the point now.

Assume, if you would, that in the official transcript of a committee of the United States Senate, an organization, the officers of which included men of accomplishment, charged Christianity and the churches of America with undermining our nation and with selfishly gathering "gold in their hands--notwithstanding that they have had to gather it out of oceans of blood and tears". Assume further that this monumental libel of Christianity was inserted into the record as being endorsed by your good self and by the Miami Junior Woman's Club. Assume finally that a long established and honored Christian organization inquired of you as to whether you did in fact endorse this cruel lie. Would you not answer? Even, a cursory, "No!"? I suspect that you would respond. But neither you nor the aforementioned ladies responded to our inquiries based on the identical circumstances involving Jews.

Do you understand my point here?

Yet, the issue goes further and it goes more deeply.

Mr. Dall's testimony stamps him as a bigot. As such, revealed, albeit by himself, for what he is, I do not deem him particularly dangerous. The American public, time and time again, has rejected the bigot. However bigots constantly seek respectability. That's why they solicit the endorsements of such reputable groups as the Miami Junior Woman's Club. They like to be able to say, "Lookie here, it isn't that only we acknowledged bigots think the Zionists are evil, see the impartial groups that feel the same way".

We wrote you to assure ourselves that you did not feel the same way. Also, we wrote you in the hope that your disavowal would preclude the Liberty Lobby's anti-semitism from enjoying a kind of innocence by association--your association.

And the issue--your collective silence, that is, has another level of importance. Here's what I mean.

In your letter you relate that you have received defamatory correspondence and calls since this story appeared in print. I regret this and loathe the minds that have stooped to such actions. Now, "loathe" is a strong word but I feel entitled to it. You see, Mrs. McGrill, because evil talk about "Zionists", "Jews", "Papists", and so on have gone unchallenged for so long by so many reputable people, because respectable people have not seen fit to condemn, (or to disavow) group libels, persons who are not so reputable have imagined a kind of social sanction for their more bellicose bigotry. If their betters can be cited as believing the ghost story of a Zionist conspiracy undermining our nation, is it any wonder that these low-brow hoodlums act on the basis of this fearsome fiction?

I am not engaging in academic speculation. My observations are not unrelated to the act of cross-burning, or of stealing into Bay Point under cover of night and placing a bomb by the home of a newspaper editor. It happens. Also, I invite you to my office and I will reveal to you the letters and the calls which untold numbers of Jews receive from this element. And, at the risk of melodrama, I would remind you that the myths about Zionist conspiracies when not labeled as nonsense by respectable people, when not disavowed by nice people, have, in history, (modern history, need I add?) resulted in more discomforting hardships than a call or a letter.

No matter. The caller who insults you is of the same emotional stripe and I sympathize sincerely with you. I request however that you pause to consider the effect on millions of Jews, of the testimony you were cited as endorsing and did not see fit to disavow.

I see where this letter is going on beyond normal length. There is much in your letter and in your statements to the press that I would comment on. Instead, I'll comment on but one other item and then express the hope that you will be interested in discussing this entire matter further, in person. I am confident that a lady who achieves the high office you have in club life is perceptive and communicates well. I think such a meeting would give me, at least, valuable insights.

As to that one additional matter now. It is your press references and the reference in your letter to Communism. It is by now an old saw that patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel and in this connection I am frankly bored by and dubious of the alleged anti-Communism of self-styled patriots. I refer to some of the "anti-Communists" on the Miami Junior Woman's Club poster "Don't Let Us Become A Communist America".

Mr. Byron Gear, for instance. The Miami Junior Woman's Club poster encourages readers to secure literature from him. Mr. Gear is undoubtedly anti-Communist. He also has publicly lauded the now defunct The Sun of Palatka,

Florida. The Sun was published by one Tyler Kent, convicted in Britain during that nation's war against Nazism and Fascism of having passed Allied secrets to the enemy. The Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy, then American Ambassador to England and in whose employ Mr. Kent was, explained Mr. Kent's service to Nazism—as if Mr. Kent had not made it amply clear—his hatred of Jews. You may ask how we know that Mr. Kent publicly exposed Tyler Kent. He has so declared in the pages of the anti-Communist Citizens Speak, also recommended by the Miami Junior Woman's Club poster. However, to be sure, Mr. Spear and Citizen Speak are "anti-Communist". But does it really mean anything? No less than J. Edgar Hoover puts this point more succinctly and more eloquently. Said Mr. Hoover, "Both Hitler and Mussolini were against Communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them".

Here, I draw to your attention the fact that Liberty Lobby's views on Zionists have their strongest champion in the government of the Soviet Union.

I respectfully suggest that the cry of Communism in our dialogue, is an irrelevancy. And lest there be any misunderstanding let me hasten, at the risk of flag waving, to inform you that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith counts amongst its most treasured possessions, the plaquits of President Harry Truman, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, President John F. Kennedy, and prominently displayed in every ADL bookshelf across the land is Masters of Deceit which, incidentally, contains J. Edgar Hoover's special commendation of the ADL for its long time fight against Communism. We hate Communism, but without a balancing respect for people, regardless of their race, color, creed, or national ancestry, that hatred would be barren. Hatred of Communism is only meaningful in the context of a love of the rights and security of all peoples.

Again, thank you for your letter. Would you like to meet to discuss these matters?

Sincerely,

Nathan Perlmutter

NP/re

cc: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover ✓
 Hon. Francis Walter
 Sen. James O. Eastland
 Mr. William C. Baggs, Editor; Miami News
 Mr. Don Shesemaker, Editor; Miami Herald
 Mr. John S. Knight, Publisher; Miami Herald
 Mr. James L. Knight, President; Miami Herald
 Mrs. Carlos Fernandez, President; Miami Junior Woman's Club
 The Miami Woman's Club

P.S. I note that in the April 19th issue of the Miami Herald you stated that Liberty Lobby did not receive your permission to speak for the Miami Junior Woman's Club, only for yourself. Also, that the latter

did not include permission to say anything of an anti-semitic nature. I hope that Mr. Hall and the Liberty Lobby have received from you your feelings concerning their unauthorized actions. It would serve to render that organization more careful in its management of truth. I'm sorry you didn't so state back in November. It would have avoided our concern and the Miami Junior Women's Club's embarrassment.

REC-74

100-580-435

May 7, 1963

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Florida Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

MAY 1 08 PM '63
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of May 1st, with enclosure, and asked me to thank you for your very complimentary remarks.

In addition, he appreciates the interest shown by furnishing him a copy of your letter to Mrs. Charles B. Magrill.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

1 copies made
3-10-78
for review at FBIHQ by
HSCA re 2-28-78 request.
(See Bufile #62-117290)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/4/81 BY [redacted]

NOTE: Correspondent has furnished information to the Miami Office on several occasions; however, we have had no correspondence with him and there is nothing derogatory in our files.

His letter of transmittal encloses a letter dated May 1st to Mrs. Magrill and traces an exchange of letters taken place between his group and a group represented by Mrs. Magrill, namely, the Miami Junior Woman's Club of which several members have corresponded with the Director. This club is apparently comprised of followers of the John Birch Society. Perlmutter's letter presents views of his group

(Note continued next page)

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62 MAY 15 1963
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

concerning bigotries and refers to outstanding American leaders including the Director's stand and refers specifically to "Masters of Deceit" wherein the Director commends his group for its long-time fight against communism.

A thorough search of Bufiles fails to locate a copy of the letter reportedly forwarded by Mrs. Magrill to the Director.

Since this is an ~~apparent~~ controversy between two organizations which have forwarded copies of their correspondence to us, an in-absence reply is deemed appropriate.

LOOK

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RIO



670

acism and religious bigotry
are deeply rooted in U.S. life.
but the will to freedom
and equality goes deeper.
This is the moral of the
uniquely American story of the
Anti-Defamation League, a
Jewish human-rights organization
that has spent fifty years in

THE FIGHT AGAINST PREJUDICE

BY THOMAS B. MORGAN

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1960's:

- Jews are excluded from, or meet discrimination in, more than half of America's social-cum-influential city and country clubs, from New York City to Los Angeles. (In a reverse twist, a number of Jewish clubs bar Christians.)

- Until last year, it had been virtually impossible for a Jew to buy a house in the incorporated village of Bronxville, N. Y., on the northern outskirts of New York City, home of about one third of America's 5,510,000 Jews.

- In early 1960, nearly 300 separate acts of desecration were committed against Jewish houses of worship in America, including swastika painting, vandalism and dynamiting.

- Job orders from thousands of U. S. firms are on file in the offices of private employment agencies across the country, stating

specifically, or in code, that Jews need not apply. (Negroes and Oriental Americans, of course, get the same treatment.)

- Many hotels in America's playland, Florida, bar Jews, although the situation has improved in recent years.

- And last year in Berkeley, Calif., by dialing a well-advertised number, you could, during a one-week period, listen to a three-minute tape-recorded phone message telling of the Jews' conspiracy to take over Western civilization. This is an awe-inspiring concept when you consider that, in nearby Oakland, Jews have a hard time winning membership in the Elks Club.

The Anti-Defamation League, which is the civil-rights arm of B'nai B'rith, largest (400,000 members) Jewish service organization, says that anti-Semitism persists in America—not only in the lunatic fringe, but also among nice people, some of whose best friends are

continued

THE LEAGUE'S COVENANT IS A DECLARATION

Jews, and who ought to know better. "Anti-Semitism changes its forms and its intensity, but it does not disappear," the League's new national chairman, Dore Schary, told *Look* recently.

Research, which is a large part of ADL's business, shows that anti-Semitism is a pervasive (if sometimes secret) fact of American life. Yet, ADL hastens to add, that fact should not obscure the truth: American Jews today command more respect as Jews and have greater equality as Americans than at any time in this century. America itself is more egalitarian today than it has ever been, at least since the closing of the frontier. There are obvious social, political and economic reasons for this—but one less-appreciated reason should be taken into account: Jewish Americans have won respect for themselves and for other minorities by fighting for it, individually and through organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League.

This year marks the League's 50th anniversary. That it has been free and ready to fight is perhaps part of what America is all about.

The League is a highly skilled human-relations organization dedicated to combatting prejudice and promoting understanding. It has headquarters in New York and regional offices in 25 cities. Its staff includes 150 full-time lawyers, social scientists, educators and public-relations specialists. Its governing body is a 110-man commission of 58 B'nai B'rith representatives and 52 other community leaders. Each regional office is governed by community representatives (total, 4,000), who are, in turn, ADL's major source of volunteer workers. League funds come from voluntary contributions collected in annual drives—plus the B'nai B'rith treasury. The budget for next year: \$3,940,000. "We will do with it what we've always done," Schary told *Look*. "Where we find prejudice, we fight

it. That's a commitment you make as an American and as a Jew."

On the theory that the best defense is a good offense, the League was organized in 1913 at the urging of a Bloomington, Ill., lawyer and B'nai B'rith member, Sigmund Livingston, who served as chairman for 33 years. "The immediate objective of the League," its charter said, "is to stop, by appeals to reason and conscience and . . . law, the defamation of the Jewish people. Its ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike. . . ." For B'nai B'rith, whose Hebrew name means Sons of the Covenant, this new covenant was a declaration of faith in America's promise.

Such an organization, assuming responsibility beyond the interests of one sect, was novel. But more to the point, it was something new for U. S. Jews. There had been Jews among the earliest settlers. Jews fought in the Revolution, helped found cities and died for the Union and the Confederacy. The myth of the Christ-killers and the stereotype of Shylock were part of their burden, but they were generally treated with fairness and judged as individuals. They were able, industrious. And most of them wanted to integrate.

Unlike the Mormons, Jews were not massacred for their beliefs. Their pains were minor compared to those of the Negroes, Jehovah's Witnesses and West Coast Orientals. They were not victimized, as Catholics were, by Know-Nothings; and they were spared such pogroms as were visited upon the red Indian. They were spared so much that, in 1877, when Saratoga's Grand Union Hotel turned away the New York financier Joseph Seligman solely because he was a Jew, the American-Jewish community was genuinely startled.

Rapid change came after 1890. Czarist persecutions sent a flood of Eastern European Jews to America, where they crammed

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OF FAITH IN AMERICA

into New York and Boston ghettos. Between 1900 and 1913, almost 100,000 Jews a year landed in the United States. The Jewish population mushroomed—from the few hundred thousand of the year Seligman was rebuffed to some 2,000,000 at the time ADL was founded. With little more than hope as a resource, younger immigrant Jews broke out of U. S. ghettos to compete in the rough-and-tumble, open society beyond. Now, the Jew became visible.

He appeared against the background of an America that was transforming itself from a rural republic into an industrial superstate. Painfully, clumsily, but inexorably, political power was moving away from farmers to city folk, from the old majority to the new minorities, from statehouse to Capitol Hill. There was no turning back, but neither was there any way to know what the democratic life would be like when the country got where it was going.

Some Americans resented change; others frankly feared it. Embittered, they fixed upon the Jew, a traditional scapegoat, and prejudice that was latent and abstract became manifest and real.

By 1913, most U. S. newspapers identified Jewish lawbreakers as Jews: "Samuel Green, a Russian Jew, was apprehended today perpetrating. . . ." Dime novels stereotyped Jews as heinous swindlers, arsonists and satyrs. Resorts and hotels advertised: "Restricted clientele—no Jews, no consumptives and no dogs." The noun "Jew" became a verb and an adjective in spoken and written American English. Silent movies, whose daily audience topped ten million, presented a steady diet of Rosenstein, the Jew moneylender, and Lowenstein, the Jew fence, in what were advertised as "Jew movies." On the stage, Jewish comics themselves contributed to the stereotype. And, especially in the South and Midwest, labor-unionism,

continued



Jews today are intolerant of "tolerance."

Dore Schary, 57, is ADL's fourth national chairman in 50 years. As a movie tycoon, he was responsible for RKO's *Crossfire*, one of the first Hollywood films on anti-Semitism. As a playwright, he is best known for the play, later movie, *Sunrise at Campobello*. Today, he expresses the mood of many Jewish Americans on the subject of tolerance. "I don't want to be tolerated as a Jew," Schary says. "We can tolerate pain, tolerate misfortune, but I am intolerant of that patronizing group who continue to prattle, 'Some of my best friends are Jews.'"

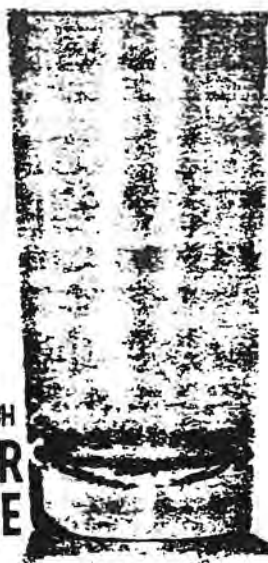
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TAKE ME TO YOUR GROCER!

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ADL REMEMBERS A GEORGIA LYNCHING

reform, anarchism, communism, capitalism and birth control were all incorporated in the myth of a Jewish plot, passed on as gospel—and often with the Gospel. Jews, meanwhile, quietly and privately criticized their tormentors, but they had not yet begun to fight.

Then in Atlanta, Ga., on the afternoon of April 26, 1913, someone murdered Mary Phagan, a 14-year-old white Christian girl from nearby Marietta. Except for her killer, the last person to see her alive was the superintendent of the pencil factory where she worked. He was a 29-year-old Jew named Leo Frank. The young man—Brooklyn-reared president of the Atlanta chapter of B'nai B'rith—had given Mary Phagan her wages. Next day, he was arrested for the crime. As it happened, this circumstance had a galvanic effect on the men who created ADL. Certainly, B'nai B'rith would have founded the League sooner or later, but the story of Leo Frank struck the American-Jewish community like *nothing before* in its experience. It was Frank's destiny to give the League the sense of urgency that characterizes its operations to this day.

Frank's trial was a farce, and he was sentenced to hang. Crowds outside the courthouse chanted, "Hang the Jew." Spectators inside got up to quote the Georgia bigot, Thomas E. Watson. In his widely distributed publications, Watson switched from anti-Catholicism to anti-Semitism for the Frank case: "Our little girl—ours by the eternal God!—has been pursued to a hideous death and bloody grave by this filthy perverted Jew of New York." Despite protests from the Atlanta Journal, the Hearst press, the newborn ADL and numerous emergency defense committees, Frank stayed in the death house.

HOPE ROSE when, at the cost of his career, Georgia's Gov. John Slaton commuted Frank's sentence to life imprisonment. Said Slaton: "Two thousand years ago, another governor washed his hands . . . and turned a Jew over to a mob. For two thousand years, that governor's name has been a curse. If today another Jew were lying in his grave because I had failed to do my duty, I would all through life find his blood on my hands, and must consider myself an assassin through cowardice." His term in office ended. Slaton had to leave the state to save his own life from the mob.

Leo Frank did not last long in jail. First, his throat was cut by a mad inmate. Then, as he recuperated, Tom Watson published: "Are the old lessons lifeless? Are the old glories gone? Are there no feet to tread old paths?" On August 17, 1915, 25 men of Georgia answered Watson's questions. They walked, unmolested, into the Milledgeville prison hospital, seized Frank, chained him to an automobile, and drove him from Milledgeville to the outskirts of Marietta, Mary Phagan's hometown. There, they strung him up on an old oak tree. While across the country Americans denounced the law of the mob, Watson triumphantly wrote: "Jew libertines take notice!"

With Leo Frank as a bloody symbol, the Anti-Defamation League went to work. Its headquarters was Sigmund Livingston's Chicago law office. It had two desks, a \$200 budget and the pledge of 150 prominent American Jews to work for its objectives. Except for the Frank case, they were kept busy in the early days dealing with so-called "random prejudice." Thus, in 1913, the late Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of the New York Times, wrote an ADL memorandum that went to the editor of every U. S. daily newspaper. It was entitled "A Note on the Word 'Jew'" and explained: "The word 'Jew' is a noun and should never be used as an adjective or verb. To speak of 'Jew girls' or 'Jew stories' is both objectionable and vulgar. . . . The use of the word 'Jew' as a verb—to 'jew down'—is a slang survival of the medieval term of opprobrium and should be avoided altogether. . . ."

Effective beyond the League's greatest expectations, the memorandum was reprinted in newspapers across the country and tacked up in city rooms, where it remained for years as a style guide for reporters and editors. In 1915, only 50 cases of "objectionable and vulgar" usage were found in the press, and, by 1920, virtually none.

Simultaneously, private persuasion (the League's most effective tactic in this period) was applied to the problem of "Jew movies" and "stage Jews." With scripts, photos and film clips to document their arguments, ADL representatives visited vaudeville comics, theater owners and booking agents to request changes. Motion-picture producers received appeals and were threatened a little, while League volunteers campaigned for local film-censorship ordinances. As a result, in a few years, the offensive characters disappeared.

In 1914, the League also conceived a list of reasons why Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* should not be taught to school-children and sent it in a letter to the school superintendent in every town with over 10,000 population. Personal ADL visits often followed up the letters. By the end of the decade, many big-city schools and even colleges had dropped the Shylock play.

WHAT WITH prohibitionists smashing saloon windows, suffragettes stopping traffic, anarchists blowing up buildings, and Comstockians charging through our libraries, the League's approach was mild, indeed. But by today's standards of free speech, the early League was sometimes in conflict with the Bill of Rights. ADL has changed. Last year, while suggesting that harm might come from a TV production of *The Merchant of Venice*, the League reiterated the stand it has taken in recent years—that "a work of great artistic quality . . . cannot be subject to censorship." In the official history of ADL, to be published this year, the League offers this stand as an example of how, "as it matured, [ADL] displayed more and more understanding of the basic issues of civil liberties and freedom of expression."

When America went tooting off to make the world safe for democracy in 1917, war hysteria multiplied the League's challenges. Unlike Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, Woodrow Wilson of Virginia was not quick to use the moral prestige of the Presidency as a force for tolerance. At the request of ADL and other Jewish groups, he did suppress an official U. S. Army manual advising draft-board medical examiners that "the foreign-born, and especially Jews, are more apt to malingering than the native-born." But Wilson did nothing to stop the

continued

BUTCH



"The movie I was at the night of June 10 was—uh—Glorious Love, a heart-stirring drama of a woman torn—uh—between two loves. Starring Gilda Glow, Rock Clift, Claud Tassel. . ."

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Fabric Designs by
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Jersey dresses with
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Imagine—just \$2.99 each for such lush, expensive looking dresses. Each print designed exclusively for Beauty Loom in Italy. Beautifully translated on smooth, washable jersey of Celanese® acetate. Get both for smart, go-everywhere fashion. Fabric by Beaunit. Sizes 8-20. On sale at good stores everywhere.



HATE FLARED ON LAST FLING OF "OLD ORDER"

witch-hunting of his Attorney General, Mitchell Palmer. The country's war fever went up and stayed up, inflaming the growing tendency toward prejudice. Try as it would, ADL could never catch up with the fiction of Jewish malingering.

After the Armistice, ADL found that it had to fight harder to stay in one place. America went on the last fling of the "old order." Race riots in Chicago, Palmer's raids nationwide, the Ku Klux Klan's ride to a peak membership of over 4,000,000, all formed a dismal background for Jew baiting—perhaps best typified by the activities of Henry Ford, who invested millions of tax-deductible dollars in his newspaper, the Dearborn (Mich.) *Independent*, which published spurious anti-Jewish tracts and revisions of history under headlines like *THE INTERNATIONAL JEW: THE WORLD'S PROBLEM*. It was the first massive anti-Semitic campaign in U. S. history. Ford required his dealers to see to the newspaper's distribution. At the height of the campaign, *Independent* circulation reached 700,000 weekly.

For seven years, all efforts by the League and other organizations to move the auto tycoon, and all public denunciations of the *Independent* failed. The paper kept up the attack until 1927. Then, at last, Ford released a letter of apology to the Jewish community for the *Independent's* policies and publicly disclaimed anti-Semitism. After World War II, the League was gratified by the efforts of the Ford family to make amends: The 1951 recipient of an America's Democratic Legacy Award, presented annually by ADL for "distinguished contributions to the American heritage of freedom," was Henry Ford II, and a winner for 1954 was the Ford Foundation.

Private persuasion remained the League's most frequent tactic in the twenties. But as discrimination became more virulent, the League began to fight in public. To counter the widely held belief that the Russian Revolution was a Jewish uprising, ADL set up a nationwide lecture tour for the *Chicago Daily News* correspondent, Isaac Don Levine, who had just come back from the Soviet Union with precisely the opposite information. And, along with other organizations, the League did what it could to harass the hooded KKK. Ironically, ADL's proposals for "unmasking legislation" brought little response in the twenties, but were models for the laws passed in many states during the Klan revival of the forties.

By all odds, the twenties were the nadir in the modern history of U. S. civil liberties. But the League and other groups fighting for minority rights accomplished more than they knew at the time. Out of America's ideal of equality, they built what historian John P. Roche

continued



JACK TIPPIT

"Before I accept your diagnosis, do you mind if I consult another patient?"



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What's the first thing you think about when you plan to buy seat belts? That's right . . . safety. You want the strongest seat belt . . . the one that will keep you as safe as possible. And one good way to find it is to look for the American Seat Belt Council's "Seal of Approval". Any seat belt that bears the ASBC Seal has passed the very highest standards set by the Society of Automotive Engineers. It has earned its Seal under the ASBC's testing program . . . *the most comprehensive testing program in the auto seat belt industry.*

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The Greenfield Company	Rupert Safety Belt Company
Hinson Manufacturing Co.	Star-Lite Industries
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Take this advertisement with you when you shop for safety. American Seat Belt Council, Inc., 271 North Avenue, New Rochelle, New York.

AMERICA BUILDS AN IDEAL OF FAIR PLAY

calls the "ideology of civil liberty," a doctrine of fair play for all groups that millions could accept. In the thirties, the New Deal incorporated this doctrine in its philosophy. It was the adhesive that held together Franklin Roosevelt's coalition of underdogs.

The League in the Roosevelt years—which were also the Hitler years—concentrated on "vigilance work," gathering facts about native Fascist movements and exposing them. Exposure, it found, worked where private persuasion could not. ADL kept tabs on 121 anti-Semitic organizations and hundreds of pro-Nazi crackpots. It became a leading source of information for the FBI and other police agencies. One of its undercover investigators turned up as chauffeur for Fritz Kuhn, *Führer* of the German-American Bund. ADL also joined a coalition of groups fighting Father Charles Coughlin, the Royal Oak, Mich., radio priest, and in 1940, Coughlin went off the air.

During the Roosevelt era, the Jewish-American community developed a new conception of self-defense. "The Jews no longer imagined their interests to lie in appeals to the powerful," says historian Oscar Handlin, "but in solidarity with the underprivileged. They sought security, not in . . . tolerance for themselves alone, but in the general assertion of the rights of all Americans." To ADL, this meant an increased concentration on "affirmative" work, more literature, films and lectures on fair play, and a multiplication of local community activities.

For the League, the American scene in World War II was different from what it had been in World War I. While the West Coast was gripped by war hysteria, and thousands of Japanese-Americans were shamefully interned, the country as a whole remained calm. There were few anti-Semitic outbursts, and the old lie of Jewish malingering made only a feeble comeback. Finally, the revelations of the Germans' "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem," which left 6,000,000 Jews dead in Nazi extermination camps, taught a seemingly unforgettable lesson about intolerance.

In the aftermath of the war, League activities reflected the changing expression of prejudice in American life. There was a running battle to be fought with such relics of the old anti-Semitic movements of the 1930's as Gerald L. K. Smith and with those who made fitful attempts to reorganize hate groups. Whipped up by the Red threat abroad and the capture of home-grown Russian spies, among whom were a number of Jews, extreme tension set in for a

continued



1006 6-43

MARTHA BLANCHARD

"I had no idea these things could do \$40 an hour."



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PREJUDICE continued

THE FIGHT IS FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR ALL

period, and all the old prejudices bobbed back into view. During the Army-McCarthy clash over security at the Fort Monmouth (N.J.) Signal Corps research center, 36 employees, most of whom were Jews, were suspended. Bigots cried, "Jew Bolsheviks!" ADL, however, investigated the case of each man, and helped win reinstatement for 28 of the 36. There was also a campaign—unsuccessful because it was nonsensical—to portray the Zionist movement, which aimed to establish a Jewish homeland in Israel, as a subversive plot demanding dual loyalties from U. S. Jews. But, above all, the postwar era was the time in which the League opened an intensive fight for full equality, not only for Jews, but for all minorities.

HERE is how ADL has fought its new battle:

Racial Discrimination: Soon after the war, ADL enlisted on the side of President Harry S. Truman's Civil Rights Commission, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations in the struggle for Negro rights. The League's lawyers filed a brief in support of desegregation while the Supreme Court was weighing its historic 1954 decision. And in 1961, a year before the scheduled desegregation of schools in Chattanooga, Tenn., League experts helped local school officials, civic groups and police devise a program for peaceful integration. Last fall, Negro and white children in Chattanooga started going to school together without incident. An ADL book on this experience will be available soon as a guide for other communities in the South.

Job Discrimination: In the thirties, a personnel specialist estimated that almost all job orders filed with private employment agencies discriminated against somebody. For the past 15 years, the League has been helping to sponsor FEP (fair employment practices) laws. In California, for example, the 1958 FEP fight was going badly because groups agitating for the legislation lacked documentary evidence of actual job discrimination. Then an employee of a private employment agency brought copies of coded job orders from 200 Los Angeles firms to ADL's local office. He explained the code—the number 99 meant "no Negroes," number 53 meant "no Jews"—to the League's regional director, Milton Senn, a former U. S. Army counterintelligence officer. In 1958 and again in 1959, Senn filed complaints against hundreds of firms with the President's Committee on Government Contracts. "We knew few of these firms would fall under Federal jurisdiction," Senn told LOOK, "but the charges created a public discussion of job discrimination and called attention to the seriousness of the situation." Then, armed with photographic enlargements of the telltale job orders, an ADL representative testified for the FEP bill again. Later in 1959, it passed the California legislature. ADL had been the only organization among the many in the FEP campaign to come up with substantive evidence.

Discrimination in College Admissions: The practice of discriminating against Jewish applicants for college admissions became widespread in the twenties and thirties. By 1949, for example, many U. S. colleges maintained a quota system—which limited the number of Jewish students to a fixed percentage of the total admitted, no matter how many might qualify. That year, ADL conceived a "Crack the Quota System" campaign. The American Council on Education, together with the League, called a conference, attended by delegates from more than 100 colleges and graduate schools, to discuss discriminatory admissions practices. From this beginning, and helped along by such other pressures as the country's critical need for scholars, the ADL campaign resulted in a drastic decline in the number of quota colleges. Recently, ADL reported that over 1,000 schools have revised application blanks to eliminate one or more questions regarding the racial or religious background of potential students.

Housing Discrimination: After 1917, it was commonplace for homeowners to enter into restrictive covenants (the buyer of a house pledged, under penalty of law, not to resell the house to a member of

continued

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Thousands of sufferers from laming corns, callus and common warts now report astonishing relief with an amazing new formulation that rubs them off painlessly and safely without danger of infection from cutting, acids or abrasives. Secret is a wonder-worker medicated cream called **DERMA-SOFT** that softens and dissolves those tormenting, hard to remove growths so that they rub right off, leaving skin silky smooth and soft. So don't suffer another minute. Get **DERMA-SOFT** at all druggists.

PHOTOQUIZ ANSWERS

(See page 82) 1—Detail from *By the Seashore* by Renoir. 2—Detail from *Countess de Gondomar* by Goya. 3—Detail from *La Berceuse* by Van Gogh. 4—Detail from *Portrait of a Lady* by Picasso. 5—Detail from *Bride with the Double Face* by Chagall. 6—Detail from *Jacques Lipchitz and His Wife* by Modigliani. 7—Detail from *Girl with Green Eyes* by Matisse. 8—Detail from *La Goulue at the Moulin Rouge* by Toulouse-Lautrec. 9—Detail from *Mae West* by Dali. 10—*Mona Lisa* by Leonardo da Vinci.

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particular minority groups). In the late forties, the Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants were not enforceable in the courts. Voluntary agreements on neighborhood purity were not affected. Since then, the League has worked for state and city ordinances aimed at outlawing housing discrimination of any kind. Such regulations are now in force in several states and a number of major cities. The League has also been effective in the housing area using persuasion—backed up by the threat of exposure in the press.

Eight years ago, an ADL regional office began to study complaints of discrimination against Jews in a vast middle-and-upper-income housing development owned by a major U. S. corporation. Jews, it was said, were restricted to certain buildings in a section that had become known as "The Ghetto." ADL obtained a list of all project residents and, through a check of contributors to the United Jewish Welfare Fund, followed by a door-to-door "solicitation" of new members of B'nai B'rith, determined that Jews were concentrated in six buildings. Next, with wives of B'nai B'rith members posing as applicants, ADL proved conclusively that the rental officer gave certain preferences to applicants with "non-Jewish" names. Evidence in hand, ADL representatives met with an officer of the corporation, who assured them that discrimination was contrary to company policy. After an investigation of its own, the corporation confirmed the League's findings. ADL checked on the buildings periodically and is now satisfied that desegregation is being accomplished.

Separation of Church and State: From its earliest days, ADL took the position that sectarian religious observances in public schools were a violation of the constitutional provision for freedom of religion. It kept an account of schools displaying religious symbols and distributing sectarian texts to students, but mere exposure of such data had little effect. In recent years, the League has taken a more active role. In New York, it challenged the practice of beginning each school day with the "Regents' prayer." It opposed in Pennsylvania a requirement that the Bible be read without comment in the daily opening exercises of public schools; and in Maryland, a requirement that the Lord's Prayer be recited.

Inevitably, the League's vigorous intervention in the running church-state controversy has created friction between Jews and non-Jews. Recently, the Jesuit magazine *America* wrote an editorial, "To Our Jewish Friends," asking whether the zeal of a "vocal segment" within the Jewish community was not damaging to the community as a whole. *Commonweal*, a lay-edited Catholic weekly, answered *America*: "After centuries of Christian persecution of Jews, it would be a monumental irony to accuse Jews of fostering anti-Semitism."

While Catholics argue among themselves about Jews, the consensus is that a greater understanding exists between Catholics and

continued



100E 6-242

"Well, we've started the countdown."

Now Possible to Shrink and Heal Hemorrhoids Without Surgery

Only Preparation H Contains New Healing Substance That Can Shrink Hemorrhoids Without Surgery And At Same Time Relieve Itching and Pain.



A world-famous research institute has discovered a new substance which now makes it possible to shrink and heal hemorrhoids without surgery. It stops itching and relieves pain in minutes, then speeds up healing of the sore, injured tissues all while actual reduction (shrinking) takes place.

Tests conducted under a doctor's observations proved this so. And most amazing of all, this very striking improvement was maintained over a period of many months.

In fact, results were so thorough, sufferers were able to make such statements as "Piles have ceased to be a problem." Among these sufferers were

a very wide variety of hemorrhoid conditions, some of 10 to 20 years' standing.

All this was accomplished without the use of narcotics, astringents or anesthetics of any kind. The secret is the remarkable new healing substance (Bio-Dyne®) which quickly helps heal injured cells and stimulates regrowth of healthy tissue again. It is offered in ointment or suppository form called Preparation H®.

In addition to actually shrinking hemorrhoids, Preparation H lubricates and makes elimination less painful. It helps prevent infection which is a principal cause of hemorrhoids. Just ask for Preparation H Ointment or Preparation H Suppositories (easier to use away from home). Any drug counter.

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It slips right into the ear. That's all there is! No outside cords, tubes, wires. Women hide it with a curl.

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Want to see the "Wisp-Ear"? Sonotone has a limited number of plastic replicas that are the same size as the actual hearing aids. They are available...free. If you have a hearing problem, why not send for one?

See how it fits in the ear...and how unnoticeable it is. There's no cost or obligation. Just send in the coupon below.

Please send me the free actual-size replica of the Sonotone "Wisp-Ear" hearing aid to examine...without cost or obligation.

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City _____ Zone _____ State _____

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sleep better with Bayer Aspirin...

...Bayer® Aspirin doesn't make you sleep; it lets you sleep, by relieving the little aches and pains that can keep you awake.

On the other hand, the widely advertised combination of ingredients pain relievers that contain caffeine (the sleep-robber in coffee) can make you even more restless. Caffeine can jangle your nerves and disturb your sleep.

Bayer Aspirin works entirely without caffeine, to relieve pain fast so you can sleep like a log. Bayer doesn't make you sleep; it lets you sleep, so in the morning you'll wake refreshed, with no sedative hangover. Try it and see.



ADL SEES NO END TO THE WORK IT IS IN

Jews than might have seemed possible a generation ago. To a degree, this accord has been a result of work done by ADL, which has defended Catholic rights; publicized, as a forgery, the so-called Knights of Columbus oath; organized interreligion seminars, conferences and summer camps, and joined on numerous occasions with Catholic social-action groups to combat intolerance.

Busier than ever today, the League is fighting a single sin—prejudice—in a multitude of ways through national and regional vigilance work, education and research. From a \$500,000 research project set up at the University of California two years ago, it hopes to find out, among other things, the role that Christian churches play in anti-Semitism and how prejudice is learned. Dr. Charles Glock, director of the University of California survey research center says: "We want to find out under what conditions Americans, who are usually ambivalent about Jews, transcend this and react toward the Jew, not as a Jew, but as a person." The League expects Dr. Glock's report in three years. Meanwhile, some of ADL's continuing concerns include: textbooks that inadequately teach the history of U. S. minority groups or the story of Nazi Germany; immigration laws that discriminate against ethnic groups; and radical right-wing political groups whose leadership now eschews anti-Semitism, but among whose members are well-known professional bigots.

The League sees no end to the work it is in. As Benjamin Epstein, ADL's operational chief, told *Look*: "Fighting prejudice is part of a process. The League is one force among many in a great country. Prejudiced behavior has changed because enormous forces—education, government, unions, business and civic organizations—have been at work and all of them together have made progress. We feel that the League may have been, on occasion, a catalyst. But the important thing is that change for the better has come about because the goal of full equality coincides with the ideals that Americans really believe in. Change comes because people of goodwill want their ideals to be meaningful in their own lives."

END

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF **LOOK**



Cliff Robertson

**PT-109:
THE MAN
JFK PICKED
TO PLAY
HIS WARTIME
ROLE**

**A CHRISTIAN VIEW:
BEHIND THE FIGHT
AGAINST
SCHOOL PRAYER**

REC-108 100-530-436

May 24, 1963

b7c

Mr. Dore Schary
33 East 70th Street
New York 21, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-4-81 BY [redacted]

b7c

7/18/84 #25435

Dear Mr. Schary:

Your letter postmarked May 20th has

been received. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in
writing and furnishing me the article from "Look,"
and I want to take this means to thank you.

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FBI
MAY 25 1963

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

COMM-FBI

[redacted]
b7c

NOTE: The Director is a member of the Honorary Committee,
50th Anniversary observance, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith. Correspondent is Chairman of the Anti-Defamation
League. Address utilized per reference file in Crime Records
Division.

b7c

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes

(3) [redacted]
b7c

[signature]

DEC 10 1963

b7c

May 25, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9/4/81 BY [REDACTED]

7/18/84 #259,356

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Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Approximately two years ago, I attended Dr. Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism school here in Miami for 1 week. I had, until that time, been one of those apathetic Americans who simply didn't know and didn't bother to find out what was going on.

My eyes were really opened and I was severely shaken by the truths I had learned and vowed to do everything in my power to become better informed and to help inform others of the dangers confronting us. The first two books I read were your fine "Masters of Deceit" and Dr. Schwarz's "You Can Trust the Communists". I subscribe to a large number of Conservative publications and read approximately 2 books per month so feel I have a fairly accurate picture of the menace of Communism and socialism.

In Nov. 1961, I was asked to compose an anti-communist ad for the Miami Jr. Woman's Club's annual Cabaret Program (see enclosure #1). The club members seemed quite pleased with it and we received many compliments. All was fine until Nov. 1962 (one year later) when the club received a letter of complaint from the Fla. Regional Office of The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (see enclosure #2). The letter was discussed in our club and on legal advice from the husband of a club member, it was decided to ignore the letter. One reason for this decision, other than the fact that the A.D.L. has no authority to question another private organization, is the familiarity of the malicious attack on Dr. Schwarz by the A. D. L. when he was taking his school to New York. When Dr. Schwarz requested an interview to find out why he was being attacked - the A.D.L. refused to grant him one. I also knew of attacks by the A.D.L. on two other friends of mine. One was attacked because the A.D.L. said, while the committee headed by my friend might be O.K., committees of this type tend to attract persons who are anti-semitic. The other man attacked was a fine anti-communist who ran for Congress and who, incidentally, has a Jewish wife.

Mr. Hoover, I don't believe any of the people, books or organizations listed in our ad are anti-semitic. If you have any evidence to the contrary, may I please have it?

I heard from the A.D.L. again on Nov. 21, 1962 questioning me about Mr. Curtis Dall of the Liberty Lobby (see enclosure #3). I called Mr. Dall and told him he certainly did not represent me or The Miami Juniors in the speech he had made and that I resented his use of my name or The Miami Juniors in any way that was anti-semitic and was sorry I had given him permission to use my name. Once again, I talked with the Pres. of the Jr. and Sr. Club and after legal counsel, we decided again to ignore the A.D.L.

All was quiet until Jan. 1963 when an article appeared in the local newspaper. (4) This article coincided with an anti-gun registration resolution proposed by the Miami Juniors to the Dade County Federation of Women's Clubs.

The next attack came on April 18 and 19 in big headlines in both local newspapers (5 & 6). This smear came the day after the anti-gun registration resolution was overwhelmingly passed by the Fla. Federation of Women's Clubs at their annual Convention in West Palm Beach. Mr. Hoover, I was just sick over the smear on me and my club. I am enclosing the latest news clippings bringing the story up to date.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-120

MAY 27 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

Would it be within the realm of possibility for you to conduct an investigation of the A.D.L.? If not, who would you suggest as the proper person or agency?

In your book "Masters of Deceit", you give the A.D.L. a clean bill of health. This confuses me, for it has become obvious to me that the A.D.L. attacks only anti-communist groups. In my own case, they have created so much dissension in the Miami Junior Woman's Club and the Miami Woman's Club and so much local animosity between Christians and Jews, and this sort of thing certainly aids the Communist cause, that I can't help wondering what useful purpose it serves. Certainly an individuals feelings cannot be legislated, can they? Can you clarify this for me?

Also, I note the "The Wanderer" - Vol. 33, No. 11, March 14, 1963 carries an article saying that the Justice Dept. has asked the American Zionist Council to register as foreign agents. Is this true? Who and what are the Zionists? Are they Jews? Do you have any literature that might be helpful to me on the A.D.L. or the Zionists?

With kindest regards and looking forward to hearing from you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Charles Magrill

Mrs. Charles Magrill

[REDACTED]

b7c

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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JOHN W. GIBSON
Secretary
JOHN W. GIBSON
Treasurer

November 5, 1962

Mrs. John C. Walker, President
Miami Junior Woman's Club
Ives Dairy Road
P. O. Box 359
Ojus, Florida

Dear Mrs. Walker:

By way of introduction, I am the Associate Director of the Florida office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, an organization dedicated to the furtherance of good human relations and the belief in, and practice of, the concept of the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God.

We have received a number of inquiries concerning the alleged distribution by the Miami Junior Woman's Club of bibliographical material which includes recommendations of the publications of known anti-Semites such as Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, who has been cited on a number of occasions as a hate monger by the American Legion.

The bibliography includes such excellent works as "Masters of Deceit" by J. Edgar Hoover and concerned as we are about fighting Communism, we welcome the inclusion of such meritorious writings in such a bibliography.

In view, however, of the inclusion of some questionable material, we are concerned about the total impact of the promotional brochure itself.

We feel, as we are sure you do, that it would be unfortunate for the public to assume that the Miami Junior Woman's Club is encouraging the reading of anti-Semitic publications.

We are ready to meet with you at your earliest convenience in order to document our allegations concerning the un-American nature of a number of the references in the Miami Junior Woman's Club promotion.

I do hope that we will hear from you concerning this in the near future.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

[Handwritten signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-4-81 BY [redacted]

11/19/81 259,35

#3

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith

330 SEYBOLD BUILDING, MIAMI 32, FLORIDA, FRANKLIN 3-6306

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General Counsel

November 21, 1962

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, Advisor
Miami Junior Woman's Club
1737 N. Bayshore Drive
Miami, Florida

Dear Mrs. Magrill:

We have at hand a copy of "Hearings Before the Committee On Finance, United States Senate, Eighty-Seventh Congress, H.R. 11970," on legislation concerned with trade agreements and tariffs.

The hearings contain the testimony of one Curtis Dall, Chairman, Board of Policy, Liberty Lobby.

In this testimony, Mr. Dall accuses the President of the United States as being in the grip of "the Political Zionist Planners for Absolute Rule via One World-Government."

He accuses the "Political Zionist Planners" as controlling our government through administrators chosen for "servile obedience." He accuses the "Political Zionist Planners" also of having gotten "gold" out of "oceans of blood and tears."

This drivel, according to Mr. Dall, was presented as testimony in his capacity of representing a number of civic organizations throughout the United States. Amongst the organizations cited in these hearings as being represented by him is "Miami Junior Woman's Club (100) Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, advisor, Miami, Florida." May we please hear from you whether Mr. Dall was actually representing the views of the Miami Junior Woman's Club, as listed in the testimony?

Cordially,

Nathan Perlmutter

NP/ra

cc: Mrs. John C. Walker, President

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-4-81 BY [redacted]

7/16/89 #254,356

100-530-427



"CINDERELLA" is playing at the Merry-Go-Round Playhouse in the Gables Saturdays and Sundays with Diana Vandagriff in the title role.



MAX PERLMAN hams it up at the di Lido Playhouse on Miami Beach where he is featured in the Yiddish musical comedy, "Honeymoon in Israel."



DATELINE MIAMI

Herb Rau

TODAY'S HEARTBURN

Bermuda Schwartz heard about an upcoming Drive-In Confessional. To be called "Toot and Tell."

Private Eye At Large

An international union is ready to spend \$53 million on three retirement hotels — in Fort Lauderdale, Phoenix and Jamaica. Hotels will be called the Golden Pheasant, and Moore's of Miami will decorate . . . There's a "For Sale" sign on former Sen. Ben Gaullier's plantation just off the Palmetto Expressway near Sunset Drive. (The Gaulliers joined Toby Wing, Dick Merrill and Ben Benjamin at the Haste the other night . . . Anti-Defamation League claims the Miami Junior Woman's Club was among the 263 American organizations that endorsed "Liberty Lobby," an organization that opposed President Kennedy's tariff bill. Opposition to the bill, they stated, was because it was the handiwork of an "international cabal," the identity of which, it breathlessly revealed, was "the Political Zionist Planners for Absolute Rule via One World Government." Liberty Lobby also opined, says ADL, that perhaps President Kennedy has somehow become a "working pawn" of the "Zionist Planners."



GAULLIER
"For Sale"

Dear Mrs. Magill,
I see that you are an adviser of the "Miami Junior Woman's Club." What do you advise them? How to hate Jews? Don't be so-sided and tell us you have Jewish friends! — Yours truly



Mrs. Magill

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-4-81 BY 7/14/84 #259,356

67C

4-20-63.

Type of correspondence: Dine re-

67C

100-530-1137
ENCLOSURE

May 23, 1963

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

I have said before, and state again that I am not and never have been anti-semitic. (Can you say the same in regard to your attitude toward Christians?)

Since you have chosen to call me anti-semitic; since you have chosen to condemn by guilt through association; since you are the accuser - surely your proof must be based on something more than a few words.

Surely, Mr. Perlmutter, your stand against SOME CHRISTIANS doesn't mean that ALL JEWS who know YOU, are anti-Christian - DOES IT?

If you care to discuss this further, may I suggest a public debate at a mutually agreeable time and place.

Incidentally, do you know of a single Christian organization which is the counterpart of the A. D. L.?

I'll look forward to hearing from you?

Sincerely,

Mrs. Charles Magrill

67c
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-4-81 BY [REDACTED]
7/18/84 259,356

100-530-437

ENCLOSURE

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS



494 Lincoln Lane

Miami Beach, Fla.

JEfferson 1-8731

April 19, 1963

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Magrill:

We have been informed by the Israel Finance Ministry that your name appears as an Israel Bond purchaser of 1951 - the year of the first issue.

They advise us that in keeping with the Government's stated decision, an Israel Founder's Certificate has been issued in your name and will be in readiness for presentation at the Miami-Israel Independence Day Dinner on Sunday, April 28th, at the Fontainebleau Hotel.

I want to congratulate you on this signal honor which your faith in Israel in her early days has merited for you.

When you come to the Dinner, you will find in the Gigi Room a table marked "Founders". Please present yourself at that table where the instructions for the presentation of the Certificates will be awaiting you.

Once more, my congratulations for the honor you have brought to Miami and the pride which must be yours knowing that when Israel needed friends, you believed in her and you were one of them.

Yours sincerely,

Sam Friedland
Sam Friedland, Chairman

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DATE 9-4-81 BY [REDACTED]

2/18/89 #259,356

P.S. If you have not already made your reservations for the Dinner, please call the office immediately. Your name is on record and you will be given priority in the reservations and in the seating.

100-437

THE MIAMI NEWS

Miami, Fla.

Thursday, April 18, 1963

Section D

• Sports News

• Classified

• Picture Pages

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/18/89 BY 3958/358

Women Deny Anti-Semitic Endorsement

By JOAN BUCKS

Reporter of The Miami News

The Anti-Defamation League lashed out at the Miami Junior Women's Club today for failing to disavow its alleged endorsement of a "bigoted and anti-Semitic" speech made be-

fore the U. S. Senate Finance Committee several months ago.

But a spokesman for the women's club said the club "never even considered endorsing the man who made the speech or the group he represented."

The Anti-Defamation League's attack on the women's club came after the league sent several letters to club officials seeking disavowal of support by Liberty Lobby.

Nathan Perlmutter, Florida regional director of the league, said his letters received no reply.

But the recipient of the letters, Mrs. Charles E. Magrill, adviser to the women's club, said today she did not consider it necessary to reply or make a denial.

"The women's club would not endorse any statement that was anti-Semitic or any person making such statements," Mrs. Magrill said. "Of all things, the Miami Women's Club has never, been and never will be anti-Semitic."

POLICY ORIENT

The speech in question was made by Curtis Dall, chairman of the policy board of Liberty Lobby, a group that opposed the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

Perlmutter said the speech, delivered to the Senate Finance Committee by Dall, stated that "the real center and heart of this international cabal . . . is the political Zionist planners for absolute rule via one-world government."

Perlmutter said the speech further charged that the KKK movement "is the basic group created and financed what is called communists which bore spread an organized Christian society from the bottom."

Perlmutter said Dall claimed to represent 100 civic organizations, including the Miami Junior Women's Club.

Perlmutter said he wrote letters to all the Florida groups listed by Dall, and that denials of endorsement came back from most of them but not from the

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6701

Denies Anti-Semitic Charges

DATE 7/18/84

day, April 23, 1963 THE MIAMI HERALD 1

Clubwoman Demands ADL Apology

By L.F.F. WINFREY
Miami Staff Writer

Mrs. Charles B. Nagrill, prominent Miami Junior Women's Club member, Monday demanded a public apology from Nathan Perlmutter, state director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Perlmutter charged last Thursday in the ADL's monthly newsletter that Mrs. Nagrill and the Junior Women's Club lent their names in support of anti-Semitic testimony before a U.S. Senate committee.

"As a result of your newsletter," Mrs. Nagrill wrote

Perlmutter, "I am receiving correspondence and phone calls of defamation caused by your organization which, supposedly, is set up to prevent this very thing.

"You owe us an immediate, acceptable, public apology," she said.

Perlmutter said he had no intention of giving her one.

Perlmutter objected to testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last August by Curtis D. Hall, chairman of a Washington, D.C., organization called the Liberty Lobby.

He said part of Hall's testimony was anti-Jewish and the Junior Women's Club and Mrs. Nagrill as its adviser were "listed as endorsing this anti-Semitism."

Mrs. Nagrill replied Monday:

"even the most superficial examination of my background would have revealed

to you that Mr. Hall did not speak for me in his alleged anti-Semitic statements. I defy you to produce one bit of anti-Semitism that I have ever shown."

She said that "well-known Jewish people" participated in the Junior Women's Club fashion show on April 3, that Jews have received medical scholarships and art awards from the club, and that she and her husband "own Israel Bond number 512500MA purchased in 1951."

Perlmutter said that before publishing the newsletter

item, he wrote Mrs. Nagrill "two or three times" asking her if she and the Junior Women's Club endorsed Hall's views.

"If apologies are due," Perlmutter continued, "I suspect she should ask Mr. Hall for apology, since he cites in official Senate records Mrs.

Magrill by name as endorsing his anti-Semitic testimony.

"It is unfortunate," concluded, "that Mr. Nagrill's failure to respond to this inquiry has resulted in this unnecessary as on the Miami Junior Women's Club."



Mrs. Nagrill

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DATE 1/18/83 BY SP5/BJB

67C



Mrs. William H. Hasebroock, center, first vice president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, admires decorations at welcoming dinner staged by the West Palm Beach

Woman's Club for delegates to the federation's state convention. With her are Mrs. E. D. Pearce, of Miami left, second vice president; and Mr. J. R. Glover, state president.

Clubwomen Join Fight Against Gun Licenses

PALM BEACH — Call a clubwoman a "Pistol Packin' Momma" and there's some question of the response you'll get.

But there is no question that the members of Florida Federation of Women's Clubs insist on the right to own a gun, without having to register it.

With loud applause and a few cheers, a resolution was passed Wednesday at the state convention here, putting the federation on record against any legislation to introduce gun registration laws.

The resolution, proposed by the Miami Junior Woman's Club, called for opposition to "additional legislation which would violate the second article of the Bill of Rights" and quoted also the Florida Constitution of 1885 — "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Supporting the juniors' resolution, Mrs. Frank Inscho, president of the Miami Woman's Club told the delegates: "We take great pride in supporting this."

Mrs. L. J. McCaffrey, Miami, a past president of the Florida Federation, opposed the motion.

"It is foolish to talk about infringing upon the rights of the people because you should be licensed (to own a gun)," she said. "You have to license your car, have license to drive and to buy narcotics."

But Mrs. William Maquette, director of junior clubs for district six, and a member of Melbourne Junior Woman's Club, said: "no country is more of a prime target for communism or revolution than the U.S. One of the most desirable building blocks for this is disarming the people."

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★ ★ ★

THE MIAMI NEWS

Miami, Fla.,

Friday, May 24, 1963

Local Front Page

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/89 BY 254,356

Section C

- Sports News
- Our Pattern
- Classified

Emergency Fund Urged For Foster Homes Use



MRS. CHARLES MAGRILL
... And Never Have Been

Feud Over Who's Anti Boils Into Challenge



NATHAN PERLMUTTER
'Dona's Lack Indignation'

By ALAN MACLEESE
Reporter of The Miami News

A Miami clubwoman today challenged the head of the state Anti-Defamation League to a public debate to determine just who is anti-what.

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, senior advisor to the Miami Junior Women's Club, said that the ADL's Nathan Perlmutter, has charged her with anti-Semitism.

"But I wonder if perhaps Mr. Perlmutter isn't anti-Christine," Mrs. Magrill said today.

The touchy question arose last month when Perlmutter, in the ADL's monthly newsletter, reported that Mrs. Magrill and the women's club lent their names in support of anti-Semitic testimony before a U. S. Senate committee.

The statements were made by Curtis Dall, Liberty Lobby chairman, a Washington group that included the Miami Junior Women's Club as one of 261 organizations it was authorized to speak for.

The Junior Women's Club was requested by Perlmutter and did so after the matter was reported in the press.

(Mrs. Magrill and the club not only disavowed the Liberty Lobby but asked that the ADL be investigated by the FBI in letters to J. Edgar Hoover and Sen. James O. Eastland.)

Perlmutter remarked then that "only sincerely virtuous persons experience indignation, and your Mrs. Magrill's letter does not lack for indignation".

And the feud between Perlmutter and Mrs. Magrill resumed on, with the proposed public debate mentioned in a letter yesterday from Mrs. Magrill to Perlmutter.

Wrote Mrs. Magrill:

"I have said before and state again that I am not and never have been anti-Semitic — can you say the same in regard to your attitude toward Christians.

"Since you have chosen to call me anti-Semitic, since you have chosen to condemn by glib through association, since you are the accuser — surely your proof must be based on something more than a few words."

"... If you care to discuss this further, may I suggest a public debate, preferably on TV, at a mutually agreeable time and place."

Perlmutter today was en route from Jacksonville to Miami and could not be reached for comment.

Earlier this week Perlmutter wrote Mrs. Magrill requesting the two meet and discuss their dispute. The request for the debate was Mrs. Magrill's answer.

Copy of post card sent to me
Mr. Mayall

The holy "TALMUD" teaches-
Zohar 11(64) Christians likened to cattle and asses.
Makkoth (7b) Jews innocent of murder if intent was
to kill Christians.
Zohar 11(282) Jesus put to death like beast, was
buried in animal's dung heap.
Sanhedrin 58b Striking an Israelite like slapping
the face of God.
Zohar (1,131a) Christians befoul the world.
Baba Kama(113a) Jews must lie and perjure to condemn
Christians.
Sopher (177b) If Jew kills Christian, commits no sin.
Yebamoth 61a) Jews called men, but not Christians.
Zohar (L,38,39a) High place in heaven, if Jew kills
Christians.

SECRET
EVIDENCE
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

There are 63 Volumes, Sample -
B.H. Freedman -

Probe Of Charges Asked

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/18/84 BY 1259/368

A prominent women's club adviser here asked today that federal authorities look into charges of anti-Semitism made against her by the Anti-Defamation League.

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, ad-

visor to the Miami Junior Women's Club, said she has been receiving letters and phone calls of defamation ever since the Anti-Defamation League attacked her and the Junior Women's Club in a recent newsletter.

The newsletter deemed it peculiar that Mrs. Magrill had failed to reply to letters asking her to disavow anti-Semitic statements made during a Senate hearing in Washington, purportedly with her endorsement and the backing of the Miami Junior Women's Club.

Referring to the newsletter, Mrs. Magrill said:

"It is indeed tragic that the ADL engages in this type of activity that benefits neither Christians nor Jews.

"The ill feeling and the division of peoples that you have created serves only Communist purposes," Mrs. Magrill said in a letter to ADL director Nathan

Mrs. Magrill said she has sent copies of Perlmutter's letters, and newspaper accounts to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, to the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and to Sen. James O. Eastland of the Internal Security Act investigating committee.

In a letter to Perlmutter, Mrs. Magrill stated that she and her husband own Israel Bond No. 5729 MA, purchased in 1951 — "purchased at a time when Israel's future was not as secure as it is now."

Mrs. Magrill demanded an immediate apology from Perlmutter and the ADL and suggested the ADL turn over to federal agencies its information on the statements in question allegedly made by Curtis Dall of the Liberty Lobby, a Washington organization.

Mrs. Magrill added that she had just received a letter stating that she and her husband are to receive an Israel Founder's Certificate at the Israel Independence Day Dinner April 28.

"Even the most superficial

examination of my background would have revealed to you that Mr. Dall did not speak for me in his alleged anti-Semitic statements," Mrs. Magrill told Perlmutter.

In answer to Mrs. Magrill, Perlmutter said he will not apologize.

"The apologies that are due are two," Perlmutter said. "If the Liberty Lobby quoted Mrs. Magrill without authority then the Liberty Lobby owes Mrs. Magrill and the Miami Junior Women's Club an apology. And

Mrs. Magrill owes Women's Club an apology for her peculiar refusal to the use of her name club's name has caused embarrassment."

Friday, April 19, 1963

THE MIAMI HERALD

Not True, Says Group

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/18/89 BY 259,350



Mrs. Magrill

A Women's Club Charged With Aiding Anti-Semites

The Anti-Defamation League charged Thursday that the Miami Junior Women's Club lent its name in support of anti-Semitic testimony before a U.S. Senate committee.

The ADL said the Liberty Lobby, a far-right organization with headquarters in Washington, listed the Miami

club as one of 263 organizations it was "privileged to represent . . . by special authorization" in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last August.

The ADL said in its monthly newsletter that the Florida organizations, the

Dade County Executive Committee and the South Dade Board of Realtors, "have, in writing, disavowed Liberty Lobby's use of their name in connection with the bigoted aspects of the Lobby's testimony."

The newsletter continued: "The Miami Junior Women's

Club and the Biscayne Garden Civic Association have evinced not a breath of interest in disclaiming the anti-Semitism which, in the records of the U.S. Senate, they are cited as endorsing."

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill, Junior Womens Club adviser, replied Thursday:

"The Miami Junior Women's Club is not anti-Semitic. We have people in the club who are Jewish and some of our best friends are Jewish."

"I wonder," said Mrs. Magrill, "if the ADL is not confusing anti-Semitism with anti-communism. The Miami Junior Women's Club is very anti-Communist."

Curtis Dall, Liberty Lobby chairman, listed the Junior Womens Club and the name of Mrs. Magrill among the 263 organizations he was authorized to speak for.

Dall was once the son-in-law of President Franklin Roosevelt. His marriage to Roosevelt's daughter Anna ended in divorce some 30 years ago.

"Dall could not be reached Thursday, but John Wood, Liberty Lobby general counsel, said in Washington: "We are certainly not an anti-Semitic organization."

Wood said Dall read most of his testimony from a prepared statement. He said the latter part of Dall's testimony, which included the portion under fire from the ADL, was Dall's "own address."

Wood said some members of the organization criticized Dall for the added address. The Florida disavowals, however, are the only ones the Liberty Lobby has received, he said.

Mrs. Magrill continued that Dall had written her, but she said she authorized him only to speak for her, not for the club.

"He should have only used my name," she said, "and I didn't give him any permission to say anything of an anti-Semitic nature."

Dall charged that the bill was pushed by what he called "the political Zionist planners for absolute rule via one-world government."

"One wonders if President Kennedy has somehow become a working 'pawn' in their game," Dall testified. "The political Zionist planners for absolute rule via one-world government state that . . . they have gained the power to influence, while remaining themselves in the shade, and thanks to the press, they have got the gold in their hands — notwithstanding that they have had to gather it out of oceans of blood and tears."

E. L. Vance, past president of the Biscayne Gardens Civic Association, said the group voted to let the Liberty Lobby use its name in testifying against the trade bill, but not to say "anything that's not American."

"What he (Dall) said after he got up there, I don't know," Vance said, "but all we gave him permission for was to talk about trade."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/89 BY [redacted]

#1

MESSAGE FROM THE MIAMI JUNIORS:



DON'T LET US BECOME A COMMUNIST AMERICA



It will happen unless WE Wake Up and Act!

Be Informed of the Communist Menace in Our Midst

Learn How To Fight It!

READ THE FOLLOWING BOOKS

MASTERS OF DECEIT..... by J. Edgar Hoover
THE NAKED COMMUNIST..... by W. Cleon Skousen
YOU CAN TRUST THE COMMUNISTS (to do exactly as they say) by Dr. Fred Schwarz
RED STAR OVER CUBA..... by Nathaniel Weyl
NO WONDER WE ARE LOSING..... by Robert Morris

LISTEN TO THE FOLLOWING RADIO PROGRAMS

LIFELINE	WMIE	10:15 A.M.	DAILY
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE	WMIE	10:30 A.M.	DAILY
20th CENTURY REFORMATION	WMIE	11:00 A.M.	DAILY
ANTI-COMMUNISM SCHOOL OF THE AIR	WMIE	SAT. 12 MIDNIGHT	
	WWPB	10:00 P.M.	WED.
	WQAM	8:15 A.M.	SUN.
MANION FORUM	WKAT	7:15 P.M.	SUN.
RED TARGET	WMIE	SUN. 12 MIDNIGHT	
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WRITE TO YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

YOUR OPINION IS IMPORTANT . . . JOIN A STUDY GROUP
HELP INFORM OTHERS

April 21, 1963

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/14/89 BY [REDACTED]
#259,350

b7c

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

In view of the anti-semitic charges made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith against me and The Miami Junior Woman's Club in the insulting article contained in your monthly newsletter which said in effect, we assumed they were ladies .. but, we've been wrong before, I have today forwarded copies of your letter, newspaper articles and other related documents to the following Federal agencies for investigation.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman
Sub-Committee to Investigate the Administration
of the Internal Security Act
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Francis Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

It is indeed tragic, Mr. Perlmutter, that the A. D. L. engages in this type of activity that benefits neither Christians nor Jews. The ill feeling and the division of peoples that you have created serves only Communist purposes.

Enclosed is a program from The Miami Junior Woman's Club's Annual Fashion Show which was held Wednesday, April 3, 1963. You will note the well known Jewish people and their places of prominence in that program.

You will also be advised that the recipients of medical scholarships given by the Miami Junior Woman's Club were Jewish, as were recipients of art awards at our recent fashion show.

You may be interested in the fact that my husband and I own Israel Bond No 51250^M purchased in 1951 and payable in May 1, 1966. This Bond, incidentally, was purchased, and the money loaned to Israel, at a time when Israel's future was not as secure as it is now.

Even the most superficial examination of my background would have revealed to you, that Mr. Da11 did not speak for me in his alledged anti-semitic statements. I defy you to produce one bit of anti-semitism that I have ever shown.

As a result of your newsletter, I am receiving correspondence and phone calls of defamation caused by your organization which, supposedly, is set up to prevent this very thing.

You owe us an immediate, acceptable, public apology and in the future, I suggest the A. D. L. turn their information over to the proper Federal Agencies for investigation.

It is time that the Anti-Defamation League stop this constant attack on individuals and organizations that are pro-American, and are doing what they can to protect our American heritage and our Judaic-Christian civilization, that have made this country the greatest, most envied country in the world. \

It is with regret that I find it necessary to ask The Miami Herald and The Miami News to publish promptly, the complete context of this letter to you, trusting that they will, of course, give it the same prominence commanded by the A. D. L. since they, the newspapers, have been used as an instrument in impugning the integrity of The Miami Junior Woman's Club and myself.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Charles B. Magrill
Mrs. Charles B. Magrill

cc: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Honorable Francis Walter

Senator James O. Eastland

Mr. Bill Baggs, Editor
The Miami News

Mr. Don Shoemaker, Editor
Mr. John S. Knight, Publisher
Mr. James L. Knight, President
The Miami Herald

The Miami Junior Woman's Club

The Miami Woman's Club

Jewish Floridian

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during the week
... as i see it

By LEO MINDLIN

tacted by mail in order to clarify the implications of the testimony
offered by Curtis Dall, chairman of the Liberty Lobby, as extreme
right wing organization in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Magrill, I reported at the time, did not reply, although the
letter of inquiry to her was written Nov. 21, a full month before.
Neither were answers received from these officials, also contacted on
the 'Dall testimony: Mrs. John C. Walker, president, Miami Junior
Women's Club, on Nov. 5; Mrs. Walker, in a follow-up, Nov. 24; and
Mrs. Frank Insko, president, Miami Women's Club, senior sponsoring
organization of the Junior Club, on Nov. 26.

Mrs. Magrill's poor corresponding habits have now become a
matter of notoriety in the daily press. Why it should have taken this
long is difficult to surmise—especially in light of the fact that my
Dec. 21 column was based on a report to the Florida Region of the
Anti-Defamation League by Nathan Perlmutter, executive director,
on the preceding Dec. 2, which became public information following a
detailed accounting of the report in the columns of this newspaper
Dec. 7.

The ways of the press are indeed mysterious and hardly as pre-
cise as the ways of Mrs. Magrill, herself, who put it on the line in an
interview in the Miami Herald last week (Apr. 19), when in a blaze
of rhetorical glory, she solemnly vowed that "some of our best friends
are Jewish."

A NOBLE REPUTATION OF THE CHAIRS

I AM CERTAINLY glad to know this, and delight in now being able
to add Mrs. Magrill to the elite corps of unhesitating souls who
take the devil squarely by his horns, tail, and cloven feet, and openly
admit that some of their best friends are Jews. That Mrs. Magrill
has gone a step further and laughingly wondered if the ADL doesn't
confuse anti-Semitism with anti-Communism should hardly reflect on
the highly discriminating policy she pursues in making friends.

She does, after all, have a valid reason for her query—if only
because the ADL started the whole thing by querying her. Indeed,
Mrs. Magrill's failure to reply in retrospect makes a good deal of
sense. It just wouldn't do to be so indiscriminate as to write an
organization that confuses anti-Semitism with anti-Communism.

Apart from all these considerations, the observation itself is a
shrewd one. But shrewdness in Mrs. Magrill should elicit no sur-
prise; for she has openly and unashamedly confessed that some of
her best friends are Jews, and it is common knowledge how anti-
Semites feel about the supposed shrewdness in Jews.

I find it most noble that Mrs. Magrill defends the Miami Junior
Women's Club by taking the blame for the club's support of the Dall
testimony squarely on her own socialist shoulders. "He should have
used only my name," the Miami Herald quotes her.

WILD ARRAY OF SOURCE MATERIAL

THUS HEROIC IN her own esteem, I would hardly imitate the Anti-
Defamation League's ill-mannered presumption to raise some
questions of my own—such as:

If the Miami Junior Women's Club did not underwrite the anti-
Semitic testimony of Curtis Dall, what about the club's endorsement
of a list of recommended radio and radio-listening hanging at the
Holmer Drug Co., on Biscayne Blvd.—a list about which I also re-
ported on Dec. 21? The daily press hasn't got around to it yet, but
the Junior Women's Club poster, lacked up as I wrote then, among
the polished innocence of ice cream sodas, cosmetics, and mass-pro-
duced patent medicines, suggests a pretty wild array of source ma-
terial even for the manicured anti-Communists.

Included are: The Christian Crusade, of Tulsa, Okla., headed by
Rev. Billy James Hargis, who sports a well-documented anti-Semitic
background; 20th Century Reformations, sponsored by defuncted Pres-
byterian Rev. Carl McIntire, a hate-mongering Hargis associate; the
Anti-Communism School of the Air, featuring Noah Garity, who has
been spotted at meetings for Kenneth Gelf in Miami. (Gelf is a for-
merly prominent proponent of Oswald E. Smith, dismissed as a bigot
by the American Jewish Archives.)

THE NEW OF ALL PAGES OF RECOMMENDATIONS

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS by the Miami Junior Women's Club
for churches reading at Holmer's Drug Co. "Citizen Schools," ex-
treme right wing association about in mimeograph form, published on
Key Biscayne by M. J. Carden, and lavishly filled with anti-Semitic
sentiments, as well as with praise for such bigots as John G. Crom-
mel, of Birmingham, Ala., rear admiral (ret.), long ago repudiated by
U.S. Navy and Government officials; and Tyler G. Kent, publisher of
the now defunct Falgout (Fla.) Sun. Kent, as reported in this column
on Nov. 21, 1962, was charged with passing secret information to the
Nazis in 1940, tried, convicted, and spent several years in a British
prison.

One can go on and on with these Miami Junior Women's Club
recommendations. I will forgive Mrs. Magrill her original refusal
to comment on the Dall testimony, but must now regard critically her
failure to say something about these recommendations. After all,
she has spoken many words in her defense during these past ten days.
Reputation of the Miami Junior Women's Club poster at Holmer's
would be the best possible defense of all.

Perhaps it is that her husband, a practicing dentist here, has
been reported as allegedly harboring at an "Operation Midnight Ride"
meeting Feb. 27 in Dade County Auditorium, featuring Billy James
Hargis, whose Christian Crusade publications were liberally distri-
buted, and the National Council of Churches called a "Bunch of Com-
munist preachers." Or that her teen-age sons, Barry and Michael,
are involved in a self-styled Greater Miami Christian Anti-Communi-
sm Organization, whose purpose is more than the tentative name
suggests. Michael circulates Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and
Cinema Educational Guild material here with his personalized sig-
nature: "Property of Mike Magrill."

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is the Texas-based orga-
nization of extreme right wing Dr. Fred Schwarz. Cinema Educa-
tional Guild is the California group of Myron C. Fagan, a well-known
anti-Semite.

Or, indeed, perhaps it is that Mrs. Carden, wife of the Key Bi-
scayne publisher, directs a network of study groups for the Miami Ju-
nior Women's Club, which more than anything suggests the absurdity
of Mrs. Magrill's denials—her Jewish friends and the Israel Bond she
professes to have purchased notwithstanding.

May 29, 1963

REC-120

100-530-437

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DATE 11/1/81 BY [REDACTED]

Mrs. Charles Magrill

Dear Mrs. Magrill:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of May 25th, with enclosures, and asked me to advise you that nothing has occurred to alter his opinion concerning the Anti-Defamation League as indicated on page 257 of his book, "Masters of Deceit." The FBI is not investigating this organization.

He is unable to assist in connection with your other inquiries in view of the confidential nature of FBI files pursuant to Department of Justice regulations. This Bureau has no material available for distribution regarding the Anti-Defamation League or the American Zionist Council.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

MAY 29 1963
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent's communication and the enclosures indicate she has been active in anti-semitic activities and has recommended literature and radio programs, some of which are considered right-wing extremists. She has been challenged by the Anti-Defamation League for advocating use of material published by known anti-semites. She also recommends the reading of "Masters of Deceit" and a letter dated 11/5/62 from Arthur Spiegel of the Anti-Defamation League indicates that this organization approves of the Director's book but objects to other recommendations. Curtis Dall, Chairman of Liberty Lobby, testified before Congress in opposition to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

Continued next page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

62 JUL 14 1963

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Mrs. Charles Magrill

NOTE Continued:

Act of 1962. He indicated the support of 263 civic organizations including the Miami Junior Woman's Club and listed correspondent of that organization as his contact. He made anti-Semitic remarks and the Anti-Defamation League asked correspondent if she in fact supported his statements. Correspondence that correspondent received from the Anti-Defamation League was not acknowledged and she subsequently was attacked through the newspapers. She claims she is not Anti-Semitic and desires the Director's opinion of the Anti-Defamation League and wants the organization investigated. She also asked if the American Zionist Council had been ordered to register as foreign agents and desired material concerning these organizations. One of her enclosures, which is a letter to the Anti-Defamation League, indicates a copy was designated for the Director. None has been located in Bufiles. However, Nathan Perlmutter of the Anti-Defamation League wrote May 1, 1963, making a reference to the copy of correspondent letter allegedly designated for the Bureau and enclosing his response to her communication. Receipt was acknowledged by an in-absence reply, 5/7/63. The Registration Act Investigation of the American Zionist Council was discontinued in 1958. We have no information they have been ordered to register but the "Washington Star" of 3/12/63 indicated that the Justice Department was studying the organization to determine if it should be required to register.



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ADL Plotters Pose As Patriots

No group of people in the world have the "gall" that the Jews have, which fact will be demonstrated again on January 31st when the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith holds an enormous Jewish propaganda fest in Washington, D. C. These Christ-hating Jews are smart operators. They are going to give a plaque to President Kennedy so as to use him as the big "come-on" to publicize the affair.

We have the list of several hundred people who are occupying important positions all over the United States. These people have been invited to attend this dinner, and they dare not refuse; if they do, a committee from the ADL will call on them at a later date and ask them if they are unfriendly to Jews. No politician, or anyone that can be reached by the Jews, dares refuse the invitation! The ADL is interlocked with all Jewish and Leftist organizations, such as the Fund for the Republic and Americans for Democratic Action. The Jews would like to show publicly their appreciation for Pres. Kennedy allowing them to take over after he was elected, just as did FDR. The ADL is a Jewish progressive, political group, is in a position to direct affairs in Washington and, no doubt, the Jews are grateful to Kennedy for allowing Jewish organizations to place hundreds of Jews in the Administration. Eighty-five of them surround him and are advisors and directors of important agencies in the Government. They are also grateful to Kennedy for making the statement during his election campaign that if he were elected, he would send the Army to protect Israel in holding the land it stole from the Arabs, one million of whom were prevented from returning to their homes!

Out in Texas when a rancher decides to keep a few bulls, he pays no attention to them until they grow to a size where they could make trouble. He then gets them in a corral and puts rings in their noses, for he can always handle them easily with that ring. This little minority creates more publicity than any religious group in the U.S. They are continuously having dinners all over the U.S. where they invite the most influential people in each particular area. The non-Jew who has been selected as chief speaker is not sure he has time to prepare his speech, but the Jews are always glad to do this for him—in fact, usually the speech is already written by them. When the speaker finishes, the "ring is put in his nose"—he belongs to the Jews from then on. The Jews put on these affairs, as well as "slanted" programs over TV, radio and the movies and use their own journalists—all to prevent the people in the U.S. from learning why they were run out of the whole of Europe.

This affair on January 31st in Washington is a frightening event in that this small minority has gained such power in the United States that each year they can stage such a dinner and invite people who can be of use to them, and who dare not refuse!

Kennedy did not dare have his staff look into the record of the ADL and the Jews' holy book, THE TALMUD, which carries the filthiest attacks on Christians ever to



Dore Schary (C), chairman of annual Anti-Defamation League's B'nai B'rith Washington banquet where President Kennedy was presented a plaque for outstanding service.

Schary's "red record" is typical of the Jewish part in communism since its beginning.

be put in print. In this "holy book," they boast that they gave Christ five deaths and that he had sex relations with animals. This is but a "drop in the bucket." Kennedy also dared not look into the record of the Chairman of this meeting, Dore Schary, saturated as he is with communists on every side. We give you a very brief outline of Schary's "red" record for your information, but Kennedy has many people with records like this all around him, and he is too busy to look into the situation. The fact that they are Jews reminds him that, were it not for the Jews, he could never have been elected—nor will he be elected again in 1964 without their help. The Jew has him in the middle of the stream, going down, and he has no paddle!

Dore Schary has been very active with communists, hence, we give an abbreviated report of his red record.

On April 17, 1945, Dore Schary wrote to Emmet Lavery of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, giving him the writing assignment for a program which the Hollywood Writers Mobilization was to give in the Hollywood Bowl. He named Helen Deutsch (1 listing in Index V of the Un-American Activities Committee), Maxwell Anderson (7 citations in Appendix IX), Maurice Rapt (Communist Party member, House Comm. Un-American Activities), Francis Faragon (CP member, HCUA), Emmet Lavery (8 citations, Calif. HCUA), Mary McCall (12 listings, Calif. HCUA), Leonardo Bercovici (CP member, HCUA), A.B.E. Polensky, Alvah Besse, Vladimir Posner, Ring Lardner, Barry Trivers (sponsor of Actors Lab, cited by Calif. HCUA), Abe Burroughs, Harry Kurnitz (7 citations, Calif. HCUA), Leon Meadows (named a CP member, HCUA), Paul Green and Dalton Trumbo

(all named as CP members; later called the "Un-friendly Ten"). Schary crossed off one writer in his letter, substituting Alvah Besse. We can find no affiliation for this excluded writer, which is an indication of the care with which Schary chose only communists or pro-communists for this program. We have a photostatic copy of this letter. (See pages 260-1, 1948 Report of Calif. HCUA). The Hollywood Writers Mobilization itself is cited as subversive and communistic by the Attorney General.

"Its true purpose, of course, was the creation of a clearing house for communist propaganda." (page 130, 1945 Calif. Report). "John Howard Lawson appeared to be the dominating figure in the creation of the 'Mobilization,' assisted by Robert Rosen and Marc Connelly." (ibid) Robert Rosen was named a CP member before the Velde Committee; Marc Connelly has 18 affiliations in Appendix IX prior to 1944, and has continued his pro-communist activity to 1953; John Howard Lawson, the communist commissar of Hollywood, has been named 15 times as a CP member.

Supposed letter to Emmet Lavery in 1945. Mrs. Pauline Lauber (Finn-editor's note) named as a CP member before the Velde Committee. Not one name on Schary's list was that of a person who was not a CP member or a fellow traveler.

Ten persons on Schary's list have been or are CP members, inclusive of Mrs. Finn. We wonder if the other seven were only pro-communist. More to the point, was Dore Schary, himself, named as a CP member in exclusive testimony before the Velde Committee by the ex-communist, Martin Berkeley?

In early Oct. of 1943, a Writer's Congress was held at the UCLA campus under the sponsorship of the University and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. Dore Schary was a member of that Congress Committee (Calif. Report, 1945, p. 116). With reference to this Congress, the Hollywood Writers Mobilization was characterized in Appendix IX of the Committee thus:

"The record discloses that the present all-out patriotism of the leading spirits of this communist-front organization is primarily conditioned upon their loyalty to the Soviet Union... The Writers Congress was denounced as a communist-front in a storm of criticism including five out of six of the Los Angeles newspapers..." From this it should be quite plain that Dore Schary could in no way claim that it was not called a Red Front until after the actual event. Further, David Platt, movie expert of the communist Daily Worker, called the gathering the "Most important writer congress in the history of America." Mikhail Kalatsov, film representative for the Soviet Union in the U. S., greeted the assembled writers in the name of "all the writers of the Soviet Union, the artists and workers of the Soviet films, the workers of the theatre, and the Soviet sculptors, musicians, and workers in radio." (page 786).

Let us examine the composition of some of the sessions as recorded in Appendix IX.

— Please turn to page 2 —

**READ and PASS ON
 To a COLLEGE STUDENT**

"FOR ADULTS ONLY" Is This Sign Obsolete?

By AXEL AND MARY HORNOS

Never, since the day the images of the first movie flickered on the first nickelodeon screen, has the motion picture industry subjected American audiences to such a barrage of sexual aberrations, Adultery, prostitution, sodomy, incest, frigidity and nymphomania as today the theme of an increasing number of movies. What is more, they are usually presented under a sordid light, with the avowed purpose of luring a public made apathetic by the television habit.

Box office returns show that the onslaught is succeeding beyond expectations. Aroused from their lethargy by the promise of forbidden delights, millions flock back to the movie houses — a situation which, although regrettable, should not give undue concern except for the fact that 50 per cent of the viewers, according to a 1957 survey, are under 20.

Now, some sociologists may question the relationship between this exposure and the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency, but nobody will deny that the less our youngsters see movies depicting life's basest aspects, the better will it be for all concerned.

This granted, the crucial question arises — how can we prevent our children from seeing those kind of pictures?

One logical answer comes to mind: this is clearly the parents' responsibility. Or rather, it should be, for too many parents, more concerned with other problems, are derelict on this score.

Some people favor the previous censorship of movies on the grounds that nothing less than compulsion will force the motion picture industry to clean house. But aside from the questionable effectiveness of this measure, censorship, whether emanating from State or federal legislation or from pressure groups, is a concept repugnant to our way of thinking.

Others suggest an alternate system whereby all movies would be classified as "Recommended for Adults Only" and "Recommended for Families," in the belief that this would serve the purpose of protection without infringement on our freedom of choice.

Unfortunately, everybody knows that the sign "Recommended for Adults Only" is flouted by many minors with the passive connivance of the movie theaters, more concerned about the loss of business than about our children's welfare.

On the other hand, the growing public outcry against perversion and sadism in movies has not caught the motion picture interests napping. Worried by the effects of adverse public opinion on the box office and the possible encroachments of censorship, Theater Owners of America, representing a large segment of exhibitors, will offer information to its members concerning the subject matter and content of each picture, so that they may pass such material to their patrons.

Such a keen — if belated — concern over an issue which threatens to get out of hand deserves praise. But past experiences show abundantly that not even an aroused paternal sense of duty will prevent many youngsters from falling for the lure of unabashed sex and violence. Therefore, it should befall upon the movie theaters themselves, as the natural "last-ditch defense," to stop those children who would by-pass their parents' interdiction.

But what do the exhibitors reply? "Policing the attendance of minors is impractical, since the theater manager could not ascertain their ages with certainty unless each carried an identity card. And this, a common procedure in police states, would be unthinkable in our free society."

To verify the validity of this statement I asked the Embassies of several countries in

Washington the following questions:

1. Are there in your country laws or regulations against the admission of minors to movies stressing violence, brutality and perversion?

2. How are these regulations enforced? (For instance: Do the exhibitors put signs like "For Adults Only"? Other signs? Are these signs respected by minors?)

3. In case of non-compliance by the movie theaters, what measures are taken against them? Fines? Temporary closures? Permanent ones? Boycott by an aroused community?

Here are some of the verbatim answers:

Spain. "... regulations in Spain against the admission of minors to movies stressing violence, brutality and sadism are strictly enforced by the theater managers, who would not expose themselves to the rigid parents' attitude and the police inspection."

Switzerland. "Since it is very difficult (for exhibitors) to determine the age of adolescents, those of some Cantons (the states of the Swiss Confederation) require an identity document."

Great Britain. "Billboards at movie houses announce in which category the film to be shown has been placed. It is up to the manager of the cinema to refuse admittance to such children as 'appear' to be of the prescribed age."

Denmark. "In case children under 12 or 16 years are not permitted (by order of a censoring committee) to attend a certain film, this must be clearly indicated at the movie house as well as in possible advertisements about the showing. Violation of these regulations is punishable with a fine and may also lead to cancellation of the license of the movie theater in question."

Sweden. "A little less than half of all movies shown in Sweden advertise 'For Adults Only.' This means, for persons over 15. The sign appears at the theater, on the tickets, and in all advertising for the film. Those minors who do not respect the sign are almost always caught and turned away by box office attendants or ushers. Many youngsters are asked to prove their age."

The Netherlands. "Non-compliance by the movie theaters may be punishable by fines or even imprisonment; the admission of minors to an 'Adults Only' movie would be a non-compliance for which the theater owner is responsible."

Here, then, are six democratic countries which make the exhibitor responsible for the enforcement of the non-admission rule. Moreover, in order to help him in this endeavor, three of these countries give the exhibitor the right to ask for an identity paper when the age of a patron is in doubt.

Is this a police state procedure, and therefore unthinkable in our country? Not in the least. After all, every American over 15 years of age is asked, at one time or another, to show his driver's license, his passport, or his birth certificate. He must identify himself when he buys on credit, opens a bank account, gets married, votes, applies for a job. Every day millions of American workers must produce an admission card with their picture and their signature. In many of our States teenagers are required by law to show a document proving their age before they can be served liquor in a bar.

Do we see anything sinister about having to show these papers? Do we live in fear as a result? Or is this procedure accepted as a necessary — if at times irritating — requisite of our complex society?

A hypothetical situation will show how this procedure can solve the problem of minors' admission to theaters featuring sexy or violent movies.

THE DAILY WORKER May 26, 1928, Page 6

The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color against the common enemy, against the master class. The negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equality.

DEMANDS

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial equality.
2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.
3. Abolition of all laws which disenfranchise the Negroes on the ground of color.
4. Abolition of laws forbidding inter-marriage of persons of different races.
5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.
6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.
7. The War and Navy Department of the United States Government should abolish all Jim Crow distinctions in the army and navy.
8. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.
9. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers.

Copy From The Library of Congress

A NEW BOOKLET—

The Brothers Kennedy

By Marilyn E. Allen

Author of—
"Alone Minorities & Mongrelization"

In a hard-hitting thorough presentation, Marilyn Allen sounds the clarion call for a white Christian Constitutional American Republic!

Quotes that speak for themselves:

Page 4:

"To all intents, the founding white race of America is now a conquered race of second class citizens"

Page 5:

"... as far back as May 26th, 1928, the Communist Party listed integration as the No. 1 plank in their platform."

Page 6:

"Bobby Kennedy can calmly abide and even assist the law breaking Freedom Riders in the south: He can abide vice, dope, crime, rape, communism in our country without calling out any marshals or troops, but he just can't abide peaceful, lawful segregation in Mississippi"

Subjects covered:

Supreme Court, 14th Amendment, Mississippi Invasion, the Black Muslims.

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L Plotters

(Continued from page 1)

are Connelly read the message of greeting from FDR. Owen Lattimore had five known communist-front citations to his discredit at that time, the late Walter White (NAACP) had eleven, and Theodore Dreiser, a listed guest, sixteen fronts, as had Lion Feuchtwanger. Others in this group had similar records.

The opening seminar was headed by Dore Schary and comprised among others, Talbot Jennings (3 citations) and Sidney Buchman (8 citations) who has been subsequently named as a CP member.

The total listings of citations for the 120 participants in these seminars would require a research far beyond the limits of this report, but it can be safely stated that at least half of the number were at that time members of the Communist Party, when a far less number would have been sufficient to establish complete control by the Party.

If the reader will note that the majority of the communists herein are Jews, he will more clearly see the true picture of who and what is behind communism. It is Jewish controlled and financed from beginning to end.

ADL - Jewish Communist-Front

By G. Ray Lockwood, Sioux City, Iowa

What is the Anti-Defamation League? What is its place in American life and its part in Jewish world community trends? If some sinister force is using the tremendous potentialities of this richly-financed staff, its own officials and representatives ought to be called to account, and its supporters ought to know such facts. The American people and American Congress ought to know them.

Major Robert H. Williams, retired Military Intelligence Reserve Officer, as conscientious a man as our military intelligence ever had, and a contributor to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* supplement, "Ten Eventful Years," has prepared the following report: "What is the Anti-Defamation League? Who is it? What does it do? These questions are heard with increasing frequency. The full name of the group is 'Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.' To start at the end first, B'nai B'rith (Hebrew for 'Children of the Covenant') is the oldest and largest American fraternal lodge for Jews only. It was founded in 1843, called 'purely an American institution,' although it has branches in many countries. 'B'nai B'rith represents Jewry throughout the world'—B'nai B'rith magazine, July, 1937, page 352, quoting Ludwig Lewisohn.) Many B'nai B'rith lodges sponsor forums or other active discussion groups on the problems of the day and cultural matters.

Maj. Williams had this to say:

The negative, suppressive program sets up a self-constituted censorship over public speech, fixing a watchful eye on every radio, every lecture platform, every publisher, every movie film producer, every school teacher, every political party, every public official and every citizen who becomes conspicuous or influential.

According to government officials in investigative duties, and to my own information when on duty as a counter-intelligence officer, the League maintains a large number of investigators who gather information on any individual marked for surveillance or public disgrace. Information goes to a central file. From there it is distributed to branches and to an interminable number of groups or individuals, either automatically or on request.

One of the most active operations of Communism in America is that of attacking anti-Communists on the charge, often false, of anti-Semitism. For many years the Communist interpretation of anti-Semitism, however, has been anti-Communist. The purpose of this device is to frighten Jews into the Party (and to have them bring along the friends they have created among other



minorities by their sympathetic activities). In this vastly significant activity—that of attacking anti-Communists as anti-Semitic—the ADL is extremely active. The similarity to the work of the Communists on this theme is inescapable.

A brief summary of the work of the Anti-Defamation League shows that—regardless of its intentions—it is of inestimable aid to the march of Communism, especially among our young people:

1. The League is Internationalist, violently anti-nationalist. It tends to condition the mind of youth for the program of the Communist International, in its various deceptive disguises.
2. The League is a secret-police. Communism always builds its operations through such machines.
3. The League defames all who actively and aggressively oppose Communism. I know of no instance of its defaming and trying to suppress a Communist.
4. The League makes use of pro-Communist writers and speakers.
5. The League's program is a subtle, but continuous and effective undermining of our unity and traditions. The race propaganda tends strongly to divide the "majority" and to pit minorities against the majority. The Communist Party drives this wedge hard, obviously aiming at open warfare at the propitious moment. Also does not the League violate that section of the U. S. Criminal Code which provides a maximum fine of \$5,000 and ten years imprisonment for conspiring to deprive any American citizen of his Constitutional rights?
6. The League indicates that it has a foreign program. What is this foreign program and by what right does a private, secret organization presume to carry on operations abroad?
7. The League uses techniques identical with those of the Communists in all countries. Character assassination, for instance, to keep down opposition to Internationalism and Communism.
8. The effect of the League's work is to set up Jews in a preferential status—a "chosen people" in this modern age when all people have equal rights. The League seeks to bring other minorities under its leadership in a race rivalry fanned by its propaganda. This is entirely parallel to one of the major activities of Communism. Both the League and the Communists champion FEPC and demand a law making anti-Semitism a crime.

Thus the Anti-Defamation League is an atom-powered Communist-front. (End quote)

Here is what Dr. Oscar Levy wrote in 1920 in a letter used as the preface to a

book, *The World Significance of the Russian Revolution*, by G. Pitt Rivers: "Jewish elements provide the driving force for both Communism and Capitalism for the material as well as the spiritual ruin of this world . . . to the intense idealism of the Jew." He pointed out, however, that not all Jews are financiers, Zionists or Bolsheviks. He continued, "We who have promised to lead you to a new Heaven, we have finally succeeded in landing you in a new Hell . . . I look at this world and I shudder, all the more, as I know the spiritual authors of all this ghastliness . . . But its authors themselves are unconscious in this as in all they are doing."

The Jewish Babylonian Talmud from which many of their teachings come, says, "Phariseism became Talmudism, Talmudism became Medieval Rabbinism, and Medieval Rabbinism became Modern Rabbinism. But throughout these changes of name, inevitable adaptation of custom, and adjustment of Law, the spirit of the ancient Pharisee survives unaltered." Jesus when talking to his disciples about the Pharisees as recorded in Matthew 15:14 said: " . . . they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

What shall we do? Jesus said: "Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me." John 15:20, 21.

The problem confronting Christian Americans today is simply this: "How can we continue to stand for Christ and America—and still live? Believe me it is just that serious! Someone said: 'You sound like a man marked for death.' The Jewish Babylonian Talmud says: 'A heathen (Gentile) who studies the Torah (Talmud), deserves death.' I have read the Talmud."

How does Kennedy stand on this?

Anti-Defamation League is very aggressive in trying to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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Diabolical Minds Create Christian Art



The Christ Hating Jews have had some success in influencing some sections of the Catholic Church. This is the Holy Family.

Republished from—
The Wanderer
St. Paul, Minn.

They call it modern art—it may be modern, but it definitely isn't art.

Moreover, it certainly isn't religious art when the Blessed Mother has all the appearances of a soliciting streetwalker; or, when Our Lord looks like a sexless entity.

Nor is it religious art when the Stations of the Cross are meaningless globs of paint apparently thrown on canvas by an angered child.

Artists, apparently more appreciative of the distorted than us common folk, would have us believe that there is meaning, truth and beauty being expressed.

Kindergarten children also appreciate the distorted, and when they rush home after school, clutching their artistic endeavors in paint-smear hands, they are certain their work also contains meaning, truth and beauty.

Parents warmly praise their children's work, and with tongue in cheek, the drawings and paintings hang for awhile on the kitchen wall, before being relegated to the furnace.

COMMON SENSE

These parents exercise good common sense. They may never have had an art lesson in their lives, but they do know the difference between good and bad art.

Common sense departs from many of these same persons, however, when so-called modern religious art is palmed off on their churches. They suddenly know nothing about what looks good or bad.

They are afraid their expressions of distaste may irritate the pastor, building committee, or wealthy parishioner who has commissioned an artist intent upon obscuring the object of art with vague, cold symbolism, or equally vague, hot, meaningless smears.

Symbolism has long been used in Church art, but the traditional artists, when depicting a fish, for example, made a fish that looked like a fish, whether it was mackerel or shark. I'd like to see Jonah squeeze into the belly of one of these modern straight-line whales!

MUST DIG

Art authorities say contemporary art conveys a message of truth and beauty just as traditional art does.

They charge, however, that traditionalists have failed to learn the language of modern art and, thus, they fail to understand it. The message (if there is one—and this is debatable) of modern art is there, but the viewer must be willing to dig for it, we are told.



Jacob Epstein, the Marxist Jew sculptor, tried to push this statue of Christ on the Church of England and they rejected it.

Dig for it? I'm reminded of a crucifix which looks as though a child was given gobs of modelling clay and ten minutes to shape it in the form of a body. Arms, legs and torso are all out of proportion. What was Our Lord?

Some sort of male Freak? What's to dig for—the artist simply couldn't make a decent human form, and then tries to hide his lack of talent under the guise of "being modern."

Modern art thus gives license to mediocrity.

I do not say all modern art is bad. It is bad only when its distortion takes precedence over form, when viewers must stop and wonder what the subject is.

FAR "OUT"

There is plenty of room for individuality in preparing a picture or statue of the Blessed Mother, for example. Color, facial expression, bodily form, and beauty of soul as well as other components present opportunities for individual taste and expression. It is not necessary to distort and smear to be individualistic.

Some modern art goes so far "out" as to almost express heresy. It almost reminds one of Beethoven writing his Solemn Mass.

"CREDO, CREDO," he has the chorus shout until reaching the words, "UNAM, SANCTAM, CATHOLICAM ET APOSTOLICAM ECCLESIAM." This portion he obscures with loud orchestration. As in life, he believes in God, but not entirely in God's Church.

Pope Pius XII, in "THE INSTRUCTION ON SACRED ART, 1952," did not condemn modern forms of expression, but he did disapprove of images that are an open contradiction to Christian doctrine.

Securing a definition of what is or is not an "open contradiction" perhaps would be difficult to obtain, for much depends upon a person's taste, or, lack of it, and who are the judges.



Brain-washed Christian's idea of Our Savior.

"OF HIGH TALENT"

The late Pontiff wrote: "It is eminently fitting that the art of our times have a free opportunity to serve the sacred edifices and rites, so that it, too, may add its voice to the hymn of glory which men of high talent have sung in past centuries."

Note the words, "men of high talent." Would Pius XII give his blessing to child-like scrawls in painting, the grotesque wood carvings, the wrought-iron monstrosities, and the distorted symbolisms being passed as "modern art" by mediocre artists who would have us believe they are something which they are not?

I think not.

"BROTHERHOOD"—JEWISH STYLE

Jacob Epstein, an atheist Jew chief proponent of filthy art, was born in New York in 1880 and later moved to London.

Many well-meaning Christians became his followers, not realizing that he used his ability to downgrade Christ and to make all Christians look ridiculous. In his art, Epstein depicted Christ as a praying mantis and His Mother was shown in a hideous, distorted form. Most Jewish writers and speakers picture Christ as a beast or as an object of ridicule.

Pablo Picasso, an acknowledged communist, is the creator of much of this ugly, foolish caricature called art.

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HOW WE LOST THE WORLD

By An Informed American

Two Washington reporters for the Des Moines Register, Fletcher Knebel and Chas. Bailey, have once again focused attention on the tragic summit conference between Truman, Churchill and Stalin at Potsdam. Delving recently in the confidential files of our State Department, they found melancholy proof that our representatives had firm, indeed almost bellicose pleas of Churchill and Anthony Eden on behalf of Christian civilization.

Knebel's and Bailey's findings had the effect of sending me back to a rereading of that definitive sourcebook on Yalta and Potsdam: "The Enemy at His Back," by Elizabeth Churchill Brown, published in 1956.

It will be hard for our younger readers to realize that Russia was never our ally in the war against Japan. All through those grinding years of blood and sacrifice, Russia was on friendly terms with our enemy. Then on Aug. 9, 1945, two days after Hiroshima and one day after Nagasaki, Russia entered the war and proceeded to occupy Manchuria, Northern China and other Japanese strongholds, and Northern Korea.

VJ-Day came five days later. To win that war we had sacrificed 260,000 American boys, lost much of our Navy and Air Force, and spent billions of dollars. We then turned over the fruits of all this to Russia.

It didn't just happen. It was planned that way.

Through his agents in our midst, Stalin was able to sell the American public the idea—

1. that we could not defeat Japan without his help;

2. that he could be induced to enter the war against Japan for a price.

This conditioning of American opinion was done by "off-the-record discussions with Congress, with outstanding newspaper editors and writers, columnists, and radio commentators."

The alleged salesman for Stalin's point of view with our government was Harry Hopkins, seconded by Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall and Ambassador to Russia Averell Harriman.

Thus, the war against Japan must not end before Russia could enter, and Russia would not enter without a signed-and-sealed guarantee of the loot.

With regard to Japan, our Navy was ahead of theirs within six months after Pearl Harbor. Our Air Force was on par by 1943. Japan lost the war with Japan and her defeat was definitive with the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944.

1. By the end of that year, Japan was asking the Holy See to mediate with our country, but our State Department refused even to "nibble," alleging that public opinion over here would never accept a truce negotiated through the Vatican.

2. In March 1945, Gen. George C. Kenney came to Washington on a mission for MacArthur. He pleaded with the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the war in the Pacific was over and that there was no "necessity of holding back until the Russians come in." Gen. Marshall disagreed.

— AIDED REDS TO POWER —



General George C. Marshall

3. Somewhat later, Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew presented Mr. Truman with a surrender paper stating terms for Japan to consider. Mr. Truman thought it was a good idea and the matter was discussed in the Pentagon on May 29, 1945. All those present agreed that an announcement should be made to the Japanese, but Gen. Marshall considered the paper "premature" and the idea was dropped.

4. On June 28, Sen. Homer Capehart of Indiana came across some information and publicly disclosed that the Japanese had made peace offers "within recent weeks which would be acceptable to me personally." Mr. Grew denied any knowledge of acceptable "peace feelers."

5. On July 10, the Japanese Ambassador to Moscow was asked to approach the Russian Government with a request to mediate. The USSR naturally made an evasive answer.

6. On July 12, the Mikado sent Prince Konoye on a personal peace mission from Tokyo to Moscow. Stalin told Mr. Truman of this at Potsdam. Stalin said he intended to say "No," and Mr. Truman, without comment, thanked him for the information.

The big deal, from Stalin's point of view, came off at Yalta, Feb. 11, 1945, when we traded Chinese territory against Russia's entry into the Pacific War. According to the late Father Gills (Nov. 1947), "That mistake may some day be recorded in history as the most stupendous blunder ever made by any man at any time since nations commenced to deal with one another. That blunder with its sequels may be the preliminary to the next World War, and the next World War may be the ultimate catastrophe of mankind."

READ and PASS ON
To a COLLEGE STUDENT

At the time of Yalta, according to the minority report of the MacArthur Hearings, "The Japanese Navy was at the bottom of the ocean and American airpower had destroyed the Japanese industrial potential. Furthermore, with the economy of Japan dependent on imports, there was absolutely no doubt, from a military point of view, that the Japanese home army would wither on the vine."

"... This myth, that the Russian participation in the Japanese war was a military necessity, has been refuted adequately . . . The result of Yalta remains a triumph for Communist diplomacy."

Well aware of all this and hence strongly opposed to buying Russia's entry were Gen. Eisenhower, Adms. Leahy and King, Edward Stettinius, James Forrestal, and Sec. Byrnes. They were all overruled by Gen. Marshall.

The "War Party Double-Cross"

We reproduce part of a column by John O'Donoghue, April 24, 1950. Mr. O'Donoghue, now deceased, was considered the top columnist in the United States.

YANKS WERE ORDERED TO GO SLOW

Just five years ago this week, two important events took place in the political and international planning of Truman and Acheson.

This was the week when American troops in the battlefield of Germany were told by General Eisenhower, acting on instructions from Commander-in-Chief Truman, to hold back, don't take Berlin because it isn't important, let the Russians rush to the West. As the late, brilliant General George Patton told his last press conference five years ago, before the shooting stopped: "Why didn't I take Prague? Because I was ordered not to."

And W, as Acheson and Truman now warn, there may be acheson in Berlin—and soon, they mark it down solely to the orders given then by Truman, Gen. George Marshall and Gen. Eisenhower, orders which made it possible for Russians to take all of Eastern Germany and halt the victorious on-sweeping American troops of Bradley, Patton, Devere.

For Truman, Eisenhower and Marshall are solely and personally responsible for the failure of the U.S. forces to capture and control today the German capital of Berlin and the Czech headquarters at Prague. This was Truman diplomacy. Just five years ago this week.

And Truman, Acheson, the convicted Alger Hiss, and others can celebrate another five years anniversary this week.

In our own San Francisco, on April 25, 1945, this reporter greeted the Alger Hiss announcement of the United Nations creation with the report:

"This ill-starred, poorly timed meeting . . . in an atmosphere of cynicism, suspicion, and the old double-cross . . . Nothing was ever staged in this generation on such a scale of mass hypocrisy and global double-cross."

30 YEARS OF TREASON

Dear Editor:

To be an extreme right winger a person must be a God fearing patriot who believes that we can only be free and keep our Republic by demanding that all officers of the Federal government follow the dictates of the Constitution in all acts of public office.

To set the record straight, extreme right wingers did not give billions to Communist Russia in World War II; they did not and do not vote foreign aid to communist countries and countries who violate international law and the right of American citizens; they never have voted to buy your freedom with your own tax dollars; they did not sell the free world down the river at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; they did not turn free Nationalist China over to the communists, upon orders of a now high official in the Pentagon, who sent them bailing wire and dumped their intended munitions in the ocean; they did not keep us from a military victory and a just peace in Korea; they did not fire General Douglas MacArthur; they did not give North Vietnam to the communists; they did not withhold aid from the Hungarian patriots and stop Adenauer and Franco from supplying them with sorely needed arms and equipment; they did not withhold aid and condemn East Germany and Poland in their revolt against communist Russia; they did not give the military order to forcibly return 5,000,000 refugees back behind the Iron Curtain after World War II; they did not give the last minute order to withhold aid and naval support during the Cuban invasion; they had no part in withdrawing diplomatic relations from the Dominican Republic, which had an anti-communist dictator; and last but not least the extreme right wingers are not trying to abolish the "House Committee on Un-American Activities" and smear and suppress all other anti-communist efforts by alert patriotic Americans.

How can traitors, communists, liberals and nitwits, who are criticizing the extreme right wingers, show us where we are endangering our country by trying to return this government to the dignity and respect that we once held when governed by God-fearing patriots?

Their record of thirty years of treason speaks for itself. Section 2381 of Title 18 of the Criminal Statutes of the United States which in part states: "Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies War against them or adheres to their enemies giving aid or comfort, in the United States, or elsewhere, is guilty of treason and shall suffer death."

It seems to me that the United States Attorney General and Foreman of the U. S. Grand Jury in Washington, D. C., has a lot of unfinished legal business to take care of; provided, of course, that this definition of treason is still a part of the United States Criminal Statutes.

Bobby Kennedy, why have you failed to crack down on unregistered communists—or is it only extreme right wingers who regard high position in the government as a serious public trust and an obligation to God and country?

Yours for America,
Robert J. Miller, M.D.

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Behind Communism—The Jew



Nikolai Lenin

Brief of Facts from the Imperial Russian Okhrana (Secret Security Police) on Lenin. The following information was passed on to the Okhrana members from 1905 onward:

Lenin, called the Bloody, was born on April 10, 1870 in a small village in the vicinity of Odessa, South of Russia, as a son of Ilko Sroul Goldmann, a German Jew, and Sofie Goldmann, a German Jewess. Lenin was circumcised as Haim Goldmann. By trade his father was a tailor and his mother a hat maker.

During the reign of Emperor Alexander II, the Liberator, this Goldmann family was exiled to Siberia because of smuggling unlawfully tailored goods outside of the "Pale of Settlement." According to the old Imperial law, such offenders were not imprisoned in Siberia, but sent there for permanent settlement. This happened in 1877 to the Goldmann family when Haim was 7 years old.

On their way to Siberia, during a stop-over at Simbirsk, one of the Kalmyk escorts of the prisoners had a relative, Ilya Ulianov, who a short time before had lost his son by drowning. It happened that Ulianov's son was about the same age as Haim Goldmann. Ulianov liked this bright youngster and persuaded his parents to leave Haim for a while in Simbirsk. Since Ulianov's wife was a Jewess this made the Goldmanns happy and their son, Haim, was left in Simbirsk. Later Ilya and Maria Ulianov adopted Haim Goldmann, and named him Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov.

The name "Lenin" was adopted by Vladimir Ulianov (Haim Goldmann) many years later when he was in exile in Siberia, near the River Lena.

Lenin's stepfather was a Kalmyk—thus not a Russian and not even a Slav. His stepmother was a German-Polish Jewess—at home they would always speak Yiddish. Ilya Ulianov was a merchant-teacher, and the principal of a Simbirsk four-year Public School. He was a well-liked person and received a government citation for his services—that of a "Statist Sovetsk" or Civil Counselor, an honor to anyone of peasant origin.

Lenin married N. Krupskaya, a Jewess. They had no children.

Lenin was also known as Nina and Cederboom. Lenin had no "doubles," but he was apprehended several times disguised as a woman, utilizing a reddish wig, and looked better as a woman than a man.

Submitted by Dr. Judy Jewel, widow of an important Imperial Okhrana Member, who from 1914 onward always accompanied His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Nikolai II.

Wake Up America

In 1787 Gibbon completed his notable work, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Have you read it lately? Here is the way Gibbon accounted for the fall of the Empire:

- (1) "The rapid increase of divorce; the undermining of the dignity and sanctity of the home, which is the basis of human society."
- (2) "Higher and higher taxes and the spending of public monies for free bread and circuses for the populace."
- (3) "The mad craze for pleasure; sports becoming every year more exciting and more brutal."
- (4) "The building of gigantic armaments when the real enemy was within, in the decadence of the people."
- (5) "The decay of religion—faith fading into mere form, losing touch with life and becoming impotent to warn and guide the people."

(Quoted from Glenwood Hills News)

Dear Reader:

I am sure that many of our readers are just as anxious as I am that Common Sense carry on after you and I pass on.

Our children's future is dear to us. I have four children and 17 grandchildren. During these years I have given all that was in me, and hope to recover my health and do a better job; but we should provide for the future, whatever it may hold.

To insure the preservation of freedom for the future citizens of our beloved country, you may wish to remember our cause in your will. Kindly drop us a line for details.

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By Jo Hindman

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HON. JOHN E. RANKIN
Republished from Congressional Record
August 29, 1950

Mr. RANKIN: Mr. Speaker, it has been most amusing to listen to the two gentlemen from New York [Mr. Marcantonio and Mr. Celler]. You can hardly tell which is which when they really get started. They both reminded me of Mr. Wingo's description of the Snake Railroad. He said:

It wiggled in and wobbled out,
And left the people all in doubt.
Whether in its zigzag track
It was going west or coming back.

I wonder when anything was ever written into the Constitution of the United States to protect these traitors whose names I am going to read to you today. Communism is out not only to destroy our form of government but also to destroy the Christian religion—the Christian civilization. Not a single one whose name I shall read to you today has ever been a member of a Christian church. There is not a white gentile in the entire group, and the same may be said of at least 75 percent of the communists in the country.

We have the right to protect America, and God being our helper, we are going to protect her against our enemies, at home and abroad.

The statement of the gentleman from New York, comparing the communists with Irish patriots, such as Robert Emmet, is simply ridiculous.

LEE PRESSMAN

You just had the case of Lee Pressman, one of the outstanding communists, who was a member of the Communist Party, and who, when it became dangerous, went underground and kept his treason a secret until brought before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

You have just witnessed an exhibition of whining and dodging by this Lee Pressman, an admitted communist, who according to Who's Who in American Jewry, volume 3, page 825, has been a member of several law firms in New York and was counsel for the Works Progress Administration under Harry Hopkins in 1935, at which time, he now admits, he was a member of the Communist Party.

While he claims to have relinquished his membership in the Communist Party about 1936, as I said, he merely went underground and continued his connections, affiliations, and conspiracies with the communists in this country until the fire got so hot that he was compelled to come before the Committee on Un-American Activities and admit his treason.

There are thousands of other Reds, communists, stooges, and fellow travelers in this country today on the Federal, State, and municipal payrolls of the Nation, who are plotting the overthrow of this Government, the destruction of our Christian civilization, and our American way of life.

HARRY GOLD—ALIAS GOLODNITSKY

Then you have Harry Gold, alias Golodnitsky, who has just been convicted. His real name is Golodnitsky. Arrested on charges of espionage May 23, 1950, this notorious traitor was put under \$100,000 bail.

He admitted to, and gave detailed accounts of his contacts with Klaus Fuchs, one of the most dangerous atomic spies on earth.

Born in Switzerland of Russian parentage, or born in Russia, he entered the United States with his parents and claimed "derivative" citizenship. Their name was changed from Golodnitsky to Gold.



Congressman John E. Rankin

He attended Drexel University, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University, and Xavier University in Cincinnati.

He was placed in Holmesburg County, Pa., prison for failure to post bond, and entered a plea of guilty. Sentencing, which could be death, was postponed until September. He is now in prison where all his followers should be lodged.

DAVID GREENGLASS

Then you have David Greenglass, one of the confessed spies, and one of the cohorts of Harry Gold. He was defended by John Rogge, a communist attorney down here who put in his time persecuting, and using the powers of this Government to persecute, real Americans who were trying to expose communism and drive it from the country. Some of the ones he persecuted died here in Washington, and never did get a trial; they never were tried.

Greenglass was arrested on June 16, 1950, and charged with giving highly secret atomic bomb information to Harry Gold, a confessed spy, who then turned the information over to Anatoli A. Yakovlev, former vice consul of the Russian Soviet consulate in New York. O. John Rogge was retained as his attorney. He was born in New York. His father was a native Russian and his mother was a native of Poland. He admitted joining the Young Communist League in 1938. He was inducted into the Army on April 5, 1943, and discharged on February 29, 1946. From August 1944, until discharged from the Army, he was a machinist at an atom-bomb project at Los Alamos, N. Mex. Here he gained the confidential information he later turned over to our enemies. He was indicted by a Federal grand jury on July 6, 1950, at Santa Fe, N. Mex., and his bail was set at \$100,000.

SANFORD LAWRENCE SIMONS

Then there is Sanford Lawrence Simons, another one who is charged with participating in this Gold, or Golodnitsky, treason to turn over our atomic secrets to Russia.

Simons was arrested on August 22, 1950, for stealing a glass vial of top secret plutonium from the Los Alamos laboratory of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. He is now held in jail in lieu of \$10,000 bond.

MORTON SOBELL

Then there is Morton Sobell, who was arrested on August 18, 1950, on charges of spying for Soviet Russia.

He is a former civilian employee, engineer, for Navy Ordnance, and is charged with conspiring with his brother-in-law, Julius Rosenberg, and others, in sending national defense information to the Soviets while employed on restricted Navy work at the General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y., from 1942 to 1947.

He was supposed to conduct radar research for the Navy during the late war.

He was arraigned on August 28, 1950 and held on bail in the amount of \$100,000.

ANATOLI H. YAKOVLEV

Then there is Anatoli H. Yakovlev, former Russian vice consul in New York, who was indicted on August 17, 1950, on charges of conspiring to spy for atom-bomb secrets.

He is believed to have returned to Russia in December 1946.

JULIUS ROSENBERG

Here is the record on Julius Rosenberg who was arrested July 17, 1950, and charged with conspiracy to commit espionage. He is, or was, owner and operator of Pitt Engine Products, Inc., in New York.

He was linked with Greenglass and Gold in transmitting atom secrets to Russia.

He was born in New York City May 12, 1918, and is a City College of New York graduate.

He has been a junior engineer in the War Department's Signal Service in Brooklyn, and an assistant engineering inspector in the Signal Corps at Philadelphia.

The FBI said he was removed as associate engineering inspector by the Secretary of War in February 1945 on the recommendation of his commanding officer on the basis of information indicating Communist Party membership. His attempts at reinstatement were unsuccessful.

MRS. ETHEL ROSENBERG

There is also Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, wife of Julius Rosenberg, whose record follows:

She was arrested on August 12, 1950, and bail was set at \$100,000.

The charge was conspiracy to commit espionage.

She is a native New Yorker and in 1940 she was a United States Census clerk on the Federal payroll. Her father was born in Russia and her mother was born in Austria. She has long been affiliated with the communists and was indicted on the above charge on August 17, 1950.

The following are some of the others who have been engaged in these subversive activities:

MIRIAM MOSKOWITZ

This individual, who was arrested on July 29, 1950, on charges of conspiracy, was born on June 16, 1916, at Bayonne, N. J., graduated from City College of New York, and was employed by the War Manpower Commission in New York from 1942 to 1944. An officer of the Brothman engineering concern, this party was indicted for obstructing justice in allegedly influencing Gold's testimony before a Federal grand jury investigating subversive activities, and bail was fixed at \$25,000.

ABRAHAM BROTHMAN

This outstanding Red was arrested on July 29, 1950, on charges of conspiracy, and charged with having influenced and intimidated Harry Gold into giving false testimony concerning their relationship.

J. Edgar Hoover disclosed that Gold and Brothman had been brought together by Semen H. Semenov, an official of Amtorg, which, you all know, is a Russian corporation.

According to Gold, a Russian official, in commending Brothman, told him that his work for the Soviet Union was equal to the efforts of one or two brigades of men.

He was head of an engineering concern, A. Brothman Associates, Inc., Long Island City. He was born in New York on August 15, 1915.

He was indicted for obstructing justice in allegedly influencing Gold's testimony before a Federal grand jury investigating subversive activities, and bail was set at \$25,000.

ALFRED DEAN SLACK

Then there is Alfred Dean Slack who was arrested on June 16, 1950, charged with passing on a sample of a new secret high explosive to Harry Gold for the Russians.

At the time he was supplying this secret data, and samples, to the Russians, Slack was employed in the Holston Ordnance Works, at Kingsport, Tenn. He was born in Syracuse, N. Y. on August 6, 1905, attended Syracuse University, Central City Business Institute, and later worked on the Manhattan Project at Oak Ridge.

After his arrest, he was taken to the Onondaga County (N. Y.) penitentiary pending removal to Knoxville, Tenn., for action by a Federal grand jury there, and his bail was fixed at \$100,000.

SIDNEY WEINBAUM

One Sidney Weinbaum was also arrested, on June 16, 1950, on a charge of falsely concealing a Communist Party connection in applying for an assignment to a secret military research project at the California Institute of Technology.

He was released on \$5,000 bail for preliminary hearing, July 11.

He was a physicist at California Institute of Technology, and worked on jet propulsion. He was formerly with the Bendix Aviation Corp. and Curtiss-Wright research laboratories, and was formerly a senior physicist at the Cornell University Aeronautical Laboratory. He came to the United States in 1922 after studying at "Charkoff" Institute of Technology.

He was naturalized in 1927, dropping his original first name of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, these are the people who have been stealing our atomic secrets, to aid this enemy of civilization known as communism to blow the United States to pieces.

There is not a single Christian or a single white gentile among these communists which I have just named, who have been plotting the overthrow of this Government and the destruction of our Christian civilization.

If we fail to take every step necessary to protect our people against these enemies within our gates then, God save America.

"WINNER TAKE ALL"

There is something puzzling about the aimless drift of the Administration's policy toward the Enemy — puzzling, until it dawns on one that that is exactly what it is: aimless drift. You and I have convictions. We have no ordered set of values. We know what we are, whither we are going, and how we are to get there.

The Communist too has a one-track mind. He does not want wealth. He does not want peace. He wants the world, and the United States is the chief obstacle standing in his way. Hence, the United States must be overthrown at any cost.

But the Administration seems uncertain. It has no convictions, no hierarchy of values. It is like a boat adrift without an anchor.

In any conflict of interest with the Soviet, then, the outcome can easily be predicted. While our own diplomats stand hemming and hawing and making exquisite little gestures of dismay, the Communists will go down the line methodically, systematically applying their old principle: "What's yours is negotiable, what's mine is my own," for all it's worth.

You must remember the great difference in viewpoint between the "sophisticated" of this generation and those who went before us. Who are the "sophisticates?" They are our rulers, the upper classes, the ones who had their high school away from home, who studied abroad or graduated from ivy-league colleges.

The "sophisticated" outlook holds absolutely nothing sacred and is at least mildly skeptical

There is NO middle ground!



of everything. If he goes to church at all, the sophisticate keeps his fingers crossed during the Creed for he is not even certain that there is a God. In fact, he holds to only one certainty: that one can be certain of nothing.

But if there is no such thing as eternal truth, it follows that right and wrong are merely social aspects of behavior — that while it may be bad breeding in Minneapolis to eat your mother-in-law, it is not even a venial sin down in the Congo. Right and wrong are determined by heredity, glandular setup, environment, and other variable factors.

The Mounting Tide

It takes time for ideas to seep through society from the top to the bottom. This is known as "the cultural lag." Nevertheless, since the 1920's, the philosophy of public education in this country has been largely based on such ideas and little by little they are making their way among the general populace.

All Catholics, together with all other "old-time" Christians, hold to fixed values: God, eternal truth, a changeless moral law — but we are uneasily aware of the mounting tide around us, as represented, for instance, by "life adjustment" courses in the schools, which teach, paradoxically, not that the student is to adjust his life to fixed standards of conduct, but that he should adjust the standards to suit his own convenience.

The lowering of standards in the movies; perversion is now an OK theme; the increase in magazines pandering to both natural and unnatural appetites; the idea that patriotism is somehow a useless and embarrassing excess; and the relentless war against Christ in our public life: the fight against prayer in the public schools, against the crib on the public square, against Sunday closing laws in business.

Let me quote you, now, the full flowering of this melancholy philosophy, as expressed Nov. 12 by George F. Kennan, a leading advisor on Communism to three of our Presidents and now our ambassador to Tito. Read it carefully and you will understand why we keep losing ground before an Enemy who knows precisely what he wants. Says Mr. Kennan:

"The picture, then, which I hope I have presented is that of an international life in which not only is there nothing final in point of time, nothing not vulnerable to the law of change, but also nothing absolute in itself: a life in which there is no friendship without some element of antagonism; no enmity without some rudimentary community of interest; no benevolent intervention which is not also in part an injury; no act of recalcitrance, no seeming evil, from which — as Shakespeare puts it — some 'soul of goodness' may not be distilled. . . . Let us leave a few problems for our children to solve, otherwise they might be so bored."

Double-Think

Or take this masterpiece of double-think, put out by a World Brotherhood seminar held in

August, 1958, at Bern and attended by Paul G. Hoffman, Herbert H. Lehman, John J. McCloy, George Meany, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Adlai Stevenson:

"We must recognize that the Communist countries are here to stay and cannot be wished away by propaganda. All is not bad in Communist countries. Western nations could learn from Communist experiments. We should study ways to make changes in both systems — Communist and ours — in order to bring them nearer together. We should try to eliminate the stereo-type attitudes about, and suspicion of, Communism. We must assume that the Communist side is not worse than, but merely different from, our side."

For full impact, read it with the substitution of another totalitarian philosophy which is certainly not worse than Communism:

"We must recognize that Hitler is here to stay and cannot be wished away by propaganda. All is not bad in Nazi Germany. Western nations could learn from Nazi experiments. We should study ways to make changes in both systems — the Nazi and ours — in order to bring them nearer together. We should try to eliminate the stereo-type attitudes about, and suspicion of, Adolf Hitler. We must assume that the Nazi side is not worse than, but merely different from, our side."

"Communism is many things, but above all it is absolute evil. Nothing can mitigate that statement. In the theological terms of those who settled this country, it is the Devil — and with the Devil there can be no accommodations, no compromises."

"The world has arrived at a point of no return. To mix a metaphor, it is now a case of winner take all."

"Let's Keep It That Way"

By J. Johnston McCauley

Our Republic is now in the midst of a great upheaval, partially due to world pressure forces, but mainly to groups who have labored incessantly to bring Marxian and Fabian socialism to this country. This alone is serious, but in addition, and to a large degree because of it, our Republican form of government faces what may prove to be the greatest test of its Constitutional vitality and the most threatening challenge ever presented to American courage and determination. That challenge and test will come especially when the termination of current wars cease and when reverberations of cataclysmic changes from war to victory begin to permeate and influence the entire world, and the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa will be more vulnerable to all the powerful imperialistic and ideological designs of socialism than they have ever been previously. Enigmatic Soviet Russia will probably be the dominant factor and power in Europe, possibly in both Asia and Africa.

Universally, there is a rapidly growing socialistic organization and influence, which no longer hides its devotion to a common purpose. Into this Marxian-Fabian socialistic objective is geared the sympathy and cooperation of all left-wing forces which have become so robust and militant since 1932. Today, they are feverishly energetic in planning and scheming to perpetuate and expand the so-called "New Frontier" system of deficit spending, regimentation, speaker-mind planning, bureaucratic control, and the narrowing of opportunity for the ordinary citizen.

Here is a challenge to every educator, churchman, social worker, labor leader, business man, parent, civic leader and each and every citizen in these United States. It is a challenge to take inventory and clean house, a challenge to assume responsibility and exercise it. To quote a prominent patriot: "This is a Republic, not a democracy. Let's keep it that way!"

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b7c Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: July 15, 1964

FROM : J. J. Casper *b7c*

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE (IACP)
CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA
AUGUST 7 - 8, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

b7c DATE 9/9/81 BY [REDACTED]

7/18/89 #254,356

SAC Purvis, Richmond, called this morning and informed he had just been orally advised by Colonel Charles Woodson, Virginia State Police, concerning captioned conference.

Woodson told Purvis he had just received a letter from Quinn Tamm, Executive Director, IACP, inviting Woodson to attend a two-day conference to be held at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, on August 7 and 8, for the purpose of explaining the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Tamm's letter pointed out 150 are expected to attend the conference. Enclosed with Tamm's letter was a press release which Woodson could fill in and release to Virginia press concerning the conference and concerning his attendance, if he desired to go.

Woodson explained to Purvis that the conference is to be sponsored jointly by IACP and the Anti-Defamation League of Washington, D. C. Fifty per cent of the cost of the conference is to be borne by the "Kellogg Fund."

This document should be corrected
Bufiles reflect an inquiry from the Oklahoma City Office, dated 6/29/64, advising it had received an inquiry from the Chief of Police at Norman, Oklahoma, to the effect that an official of the Kellogg Center for Continuing Education, University of Oklahoma, had received a telephone call from a member of the staff of the Attorney General of the United States suggesting the possibility of holding a seminar of law enforcement officers from Southern states to discuss the then pending Civil Rights Bill. Inquiry was immediately made of the Department and we were advised that the Department had no plans for such a seminar. The Oklahoma City Office was so informed and was instructed to advise of any additional reports or plans concerning the matter.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Rosen

13 JUL 28 1964

(7)

b7c (CONTINUED - OVER)

Memo to Mr. Mohr

Re: International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)

OBSERVATIONS:

Obviously, Quinn Tamm is trying to inject IACP into a training area which he is not equipped to handle. To insure proper credit for the excellent program which the FBI is planning on this subject, our release concerning our forthcoming conferences is being made immediately. On the basis of existing instructions many of our conferences will undoubtedly be starting before the one at the University of Oklahoma; however, to make sure we beat Tamm to the punch we feel the first law enforcement conferences in all Southern states should be conducted before the IACP conference.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Field Divisions in all Southern states be instructed that their conferences begin no later than August 3, 1964, and sooner if possible. (Our lecture guide will be completed well in advance of that date.)

Press release to be sent through this afternoon.

This afternoon

✓
PM
This shows what can happen when we procrastinate as we have been doing. Tamm & others like at Schumaker move in & scoop us.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 8/13/64

FROM : J. J. Casper

SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS SEMINAR
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA
AUGUST 7-8, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/9/81 BY [REDACTED]
7/19/84 #259,356

My memorandum dated 7/15/64 reported information received that the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C., and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith were cosponsoring a two-day conference to be held at the University of Oklahoma regarding the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Conference was held as scheduled; Bureau did not have representation at the conference, but we have learned through friendly sources that 123 law enforcement officers, representing 31 states, were in attendance (allegedly the expenses of these officers were defrayed by the conference sponsors).

Interesting aspects of the conference are as follows:

Mr. Arthur B. Caldwell, Special Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, discussed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, title by title, explaining in general outline form the provisions of the law. Copies of the Act were handed out to those in attendance. Police Commissioner Edmund McNamara of Boston (former Bureau Agent), who attended the conference, stated there was no improper reflection in any respect on the Bureau; to the contrary, both Mr. Caldwell and former Governor LeRoy Collins, Director, Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Commerce, allegedly pointed out to those in attendance that complaints of Federal violation should be referred to or through the FBI for proper handling. Governor Collins, in his address, stated local law enforcement has no direct responsibility in the enforcing of the new Civil Rights Act, but qualified that observation by stating "This is not an invitation to turn your heads and ignore the situation."

Executive Director Quinn Tamm, IACP, spoke at the conference on "Police Professionalism," and Mr. Nelson A. Watson (former Bureau Agent), currently Project Supervisor, Research and Development Section, IACP, spoke

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. Evans
 - 1 - Mr. McGowan
 - 1 - Mr. Rosen
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J. J. Casper to Mr. Mohr
Re: Civil Rights Seminar
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
August 7-8, 1964

regarding the development of guide lines for police practices. Mr. Tamm emphasize the time has passed when law enforcement can sit silently by toward those who unfairly criticize the profession when it is doing what is legally and morally right. He urged that law enforcement, if our actions have been proper, speak up and say so. Mr. Watson, in his talk, spoke against irresponsible allegations of police brutality by those who are inclined to play fast and loose with facts. He cited specifically the allegation by James Farmer, Executive Director of CORE, that a police officer in New York City shot a Negro woman and when she screamed "You shot me," the officer allegedly said "Well, lay down and die then." According to Mr. Watson, an investigation developed such an incident did not occur. Mr. Watson's talk, over all, emphasized the necessity for law enforcement establishing and following guide lines which will insure its professional conduct is above honest reproach.

Former ASAC Frank Meech, now Police Commissioner, Indianapolis, Indiana, advised that this conference was worthwhile and he gained the distinct impression that everyone in attendance "respected the job the Bureau can and does do."

ACTION:

None....for information.



WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C., EXECUTIVE 3-5288

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President, B'nai B'rith

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B'nai B'rith Women

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WAS
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October 13, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

When MASTERS OF DECEIT was published you were kind enough to send me a copy with a generous inscription. I valued it highly. Unfortunately, it disappeared from my shelves, I seem not to be able to keep my library from becoming, so to speak, a circulating library.

May I trouble you to autograph my office copy of the book, which I am sending to you under separate cover with a stamped return envelope.

With thanks and appreciation,

Sincerely,

Herman Edelsberg
Herman Edelsberg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-4-81 BY

7/19/89 #259,356

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EXP. PROC.
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CORRESPONDENCE

EX-114

REC-56

100-530-440

October 16, 1964

Mr. Herman ~~Edelsberg~~ ^{DC}
Director

0 Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-4-81 BY [REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Edelsberg:

Your letter of October 13th has been received.

In response to your request, it is a pleasure to
autograph the copy of "Masters of Deceit" which you forwarded,
and it is being returned to you, under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Mr. Suttler - Enclosure (Sent direct)

NOTE: Mr. Edelsberg who is the Director of the Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith was sent an autographed copy of "Masters
of Deceit" on 2-13-58. This replaces that copy which has been lost.
The stamps he sent in are being utilized in the return.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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REC'D-10
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7/9/89 #254,352

October 20, 1964

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/8/81 BY [redacted]
7/14/84 #259,356

Mr Hoover

I am writing to you on a matter of grave consequence. I would like to know the truth about the Anti-Defamation League.

In the community of Farmland, Indiana there was a smearing and defaming campaign against a minister of outstanding faith. He preached the true gospel and would include in some of his sermons the threat of Communism. Some members of this church did not approve of this, so they got together to do something about this. On September 27, 1964 they held a meeting, unknown to other members, for the removal of this minister, with [redacted] a member of the Anti-Defamation League, of Indianapolis, Indiana. The only way I found out about this meeting was from a couple who could not keep this meeting secret. They stated that that what this [redacted] had to say was not in nature to what their basic beliefs in God and America is. This couple also told who the others were who attended this meeting. When confronted with [redacted] about this meeting, they stated that it was over their heads. But yet on October 24, 1964 there was a meeting held at the church to vote to either keep the minister or to vote him out; they were able to control this meeting to the effect of the case of the Anti-Defamation League not even being discussed and were able to vote this outstanding minister out.

In your book "Masters of Deceit" on page 239 you wrote "Some of the most effective opposition to Communism in the United States has come from Jewish organizations such as B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish League Against Communism, the Anti-Defamation League, and a host of other Jewish groups". If this is so then why was there smearing and defaming of a minister who has been preaching against Communism for 25 years.

I am inclosing a pamphlet from the Canadian Intelligence, who in effect state just the opposite of what you wrote in "Masters of Deceit". I am also inclosing a clipping from the "Uncle Sam", "the Public Letter Box", a statement from the President of the B'nai B'rith supporting the Anti-Defamation League.

I urgently request for your answer to this as to who is correct on this organization. Thank you

REC-31/60 530-441

18 OCT 21 1964

CORRESP

100-530-441

ACTION

Communism are the *Morning Freiheit*, a New York City. literature in the growth of the century and of the on." On the same flowers of Judaism by reaction . . ."

the progressive against Commu- December, 1956, display of Soviet here was an anti-an uprising, and the Soviet actions

Daily Forward, on ck in a story cap- ter Enemy of the the Hitler-Stalin sh caused writers o remained wrote The newspaper his way to prove kia were correct rmer communist arrested Moscow to poison Stalin. at "anti-Semitic

the Party for offices, explained e had renounced ose on others his

THE COMMUNIST ATTACK ON JUDAISM 257

atheistic views, and that he was "not a religious Jew." He flatly said that most Party members he knew who claimed to be Jews did not follow their religion; they did not attend the synagogue, although they did not work on religious holidays; and the comrades who claimed to be Jews took no part in organized Jewish religious activities.

Some of the most effective opposition to communism in the United States has come from Jewish organizations such as B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish League Against Communism, the Anti-Defamation League, and a host of other Jewish groups.

The reasons for the extensive activities of the Communist Party in seeking to infiltrate and make use of Jewish work in some Jewish organizations and those of other minority groups are readily apparent. In the Soviet Union, the proving ground for Marxism-Leninism, communists are confronted with a minority problem of staggering proportions. Only 58 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union is Russian whereas 42 per cent is non-Russian and consists of 168 national minorities.

The Bolsheviks prior to 1917 sought to win support from minorities by defending their rights and developing such propaganda come-ons as "self-determination of nations," "national cultural autonomy," and so on. Once in power, the communists soon forgot their promises but continued to pay lip service to minority rights. The Soviet Union still retains the "legal fiction" that it is a voluntary federation of union republics, each of which is free to secede if it wishes. In fact, Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 states, "The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to each constituent republic." No "republic," however, has ever tried to secede, and the possibility is remote indeed, as long as the Red army responds to the will of the dictators in the Kremlin as it did in Hungary.

A more important reason for communist interest in minorities in the United States is, of course, the opportunities they provide for exploitation and propaganda. The large number of commu-

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DATE 7/19/89 BY [REDACTED]

#259,356

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April 21, 1963

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/89 BY [REDACTED]
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Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

In view of the anti-semitic charges made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith against me and The Miami Junior Woman's Club in the insulting article contained in your monthly newsletter which said in effect, we assumed they were ladies .. but, we've been wrong before, I have today forwarded copies of your letter, newspaper articles and other related documents to the following Federal agencies for investigation.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman
Sub-Committee to Investigate the Administration
of the Internal Security Act
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Francis Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

It is indeed tragic, Mr. Perlmutter, that the A. D. L. engages in this type of activity that benefits neither Christians nor Jews. The ill feeling and the division of peoples that you have created serves only Communist purposes.

Enclosed is a program from The Miami Junior Woman's Club's Annual Fashion Show which was held Wednesday, April 3, 1963. You will note the well known Jewish people and their places of prominence in that program.

You will also be advised that the recipients of medical scholarships given by the Miami Junior Woman's Club were Jewish, as were recipients of art awards at our recent fashion show.

You may be interested in the fact that my husband and I own Israel Bond No 51250 ^M_A purchased in 1951 and payable in May 1, 1966. This Bond, incidentally, was purchased, and the money loaned to Israel, at a time when Israel's future was not as secure as it is now.

Even the most superficial examination of my background would have revealed to you, that Mr. Dahl did not speak for me in his alledged anti-semitic statements. I defy you to produce one bit of anti-semitism that I have ever shown.

As a result of your newsletter, I am receiving correspondence and phone calls of defamation caused by your organization which, supposedly, is set up to prevent this very thing.

You owe us an immediate, acceptable, public apology and in the future, I suggest the A. D. L. turn their information over to the proper Federal Agencies for investigation.

It is time that the Anti-Defamation League stop this constant attack on individuals and organizations that are pro-American, and are doing what they can to protect our American heritage and our Judaic-Christian civilization, that have made this country the greatest, most envied country in the world.

50¢

The Anti-Defamation League

and Its Use in
the World Communist
Offensive

By ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/19/89 BY [REDACTED]

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... "A picture of what more and more Americans regard, with alarm, to be a secret police among us; and its relation to the world movement which threatens our civilization, reported by an Army Reserve Intelligence officer."

Upton Close

INTRODUCTION

Many persons have come to, or written to, CLOSER-UPS for an answer to the question: "What is the Anti-Defamation League?" They number United States Congressmen, military and civil officials, Jews, Gentiles, Catholics, Protestants, workers, professors, excited persons; collected persons, "crackpots," responsible and weighty persons.

On the lips of too many people of all kinds today is the whisper: "Look out!—SHH!—The Anti-Defamation League!" Deservedly or not, it has achieved in the minds of too many Jewish and Gentile Americans alike a fear-inspiring quality and a status above the law such as attached to the private secret police organizations of upcoming dictators in unfortunate European countries.

Some persons have come with apprehensions that their telephones have been tapped, their mail opened, their names referred to smear sheets and their intimate associations intruded upon, their professional standing attacked, their business boycotted, their employers or customers alienated by a mysterious network organization with vast funds and agents available to follow cases anywhere. Some have suffered legal persecution. Some American citizens of Jewish ancestry have come to confide that their own feelings and better judgment were ruthlessly over-ridden in the process of campaigning and collecting funds for the purposes of "fighting anti-Semitic defamation."

It is high time, therefore, to reveal this organization and its money-raising and money-spending activities. It is time to discover its place in American life and its part in Jewish world community trends. If some sinister force is using the tremendous potentialities of this richly-financed staff, its own officials and representatives ought to be called to account, and its supporters ought to know such facts. The American people and American Congress ought to know them.

With painstaking care, Major Robert H. Williams (Military Intelligence, Reserve)* counter-intelligence, as conscientious an officer as our military intelligence ever had, and a contributor to the Encyclopaedia Britannica supplement, "Ten Eventful Years," has prepared the following report. If there is further interest, a Congressional Committee should take up from here. To go further would require official investigative authority, unless the high command of the ADL itself should wish to throw open to the public its complete files and records of activities. If this study of the ADL is unfair or incorrect, a Congressional Committee and a public hearing are the League's proper recourse—of which, in all honor, it should avail itself.

This is not a study of the Jewish question. It is purely an investigation into a specific organization and its relation to human rights and American procedures. It does pose the question of whether or not this specific organization, in final sum, is a help or a hindrance to good relations between our people of all racial and religious affiliations in the United States, or whether, under the guise of rendering rather costly aid, it is actually doing the work of an enemy.

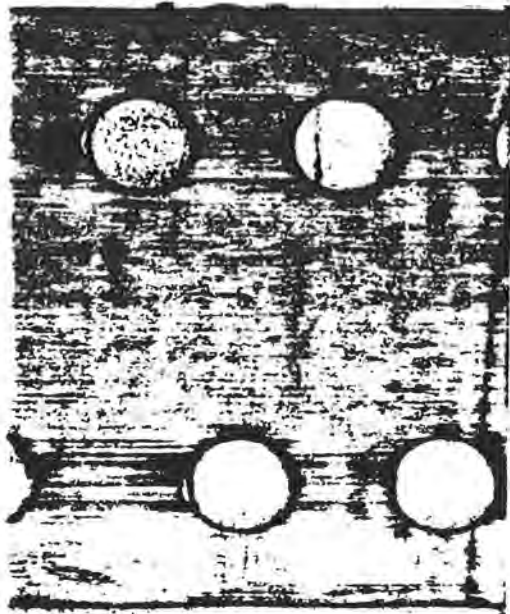
Upton Close

*Mr. Williams is no longer connected with the military service. He was (honorably) discharged Dec. 21, 1940 on the day Anna Rosenberg was confirmed as Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of military personnel after he had exposed the Communist-aiding record of Mrs. Rosenberg.

—PRINTED IN CANADA—

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PART I

WHAT IS THE "ANTI-DEFAMATION" LEAGUE?

What is the Anti-Defamation League? *Who* is it? What does it do? These questions are heard with increasing frequency.

The full name of the group is "Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith." To start at the end first, B'nai B'rith (Hebrew for "Children of the Covenant") is the oldest and largest American fraternal lodge for Jews only. It was founded in 1843, called "purely an American institution," although it has branches in many countries. ("B'nai B'rith represents Jewry throughout the world"—B'nai B'rith magazine, July, 1937, page 352, quoting Ludwig Lewisohn.) Many B'nai B'rith lodges sponsor forums or other active discussion groups on the problems of the day and cultural matters. B'nai B'rith claims to have, during its century of history (for the most part), resisted attempts from within and without to drag it into partisan politics and international controversial questions such as Zionism. But it has, at times, been flavored with strong partisanship. Leanings in its lodges were recently frankly interventionist and New Deal.

An organization of similar name and purpose to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith existed in Germany and border European countries during the years following the First World War. Its stated purpose was to stop and prevent the growth of anti-Jewish feeling among the defeated German people, who tended to look for a scape-goat for their humiliation, and resented the activities of citizens of Jewish name and connections during these hard years. Its methods were such that it probably aggravated, instead of discouraged, ill-feeling. Some who are now American citizens (refugees from Hitler) say that for this reason they parted from the Anti-Defamation League of this period in Germany and Alsace-Lorraine. They report having suffered a degree of reprisal for their independent judgment.

The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith was organized in 1913 in Chicago. Its heavily staffed national headquarters there knits together fifteen branches in large cities. I do not have accurate information as to the number of its executives, clerks, attorneys and informers. One spokesman said "Two hundred." This would mean a pro rata budget \$25,000 for each employee. However, according to the appeal of the national chairman for the 1945 Joint Defense Appeal Campaign for Four Million Dollars for the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation

League of B'nai B'rith, (commented on in *Closer-Ups* Volume I, Number 6, August 27, 1945) "The Community Service Division consists of a central staff, 150 public relations committees in as many cities, 14 (now 15) regional offices and 2,000 key men in 1,000 cities."

The ADL is said to receive a regular budget from the B'nai B'rith lodges. It augments this with campaigns that raise millions of dollars through public and private subscription. These fund-raising campaigns are conducted with great vigor and professional drive, aided by a degree of hysteria created by picturing some fearful invisible force rising to terrorize Jews in the United States. The campaign literature shows pictures of lynchings (although no American Jew has been lynched, to my knowledge. Lynchings of negroes are rare and fortunately growing rarer). The Nazi swastika is repeatedly shown on page after page of literature, the implication being that millions of non-Jewish Americans are transplanted Nazis, or in league with that evil movement.

The results are tremendous. The League reported raising \$4,000,000 in 1946. Its goal for 1947 is \$5,000,000.

Founder of the League in 1913 was Sigmund Livingston, who also served as perennial chairman till last October when he was succeeded by Meyer Steinbrink of Brooklyn, a member of the New York State Supreme Court. In honor of the retiring chairman ten fellowships were established to provide annual awards in colleges and universities for winners in essays on the study of group prejudice.

Richard E. Gutstadt is the guiding genius behind the legal and investigative staff.

But the power behind the secret organization is Henry Monsky, Omaha, Neb., attorney, head of B'nai B'rith since 1938. Monsky is active in a wide range of welfare and educational organizations, both Jewish and Gentile. He has been a member of the board of trustees of Father Flanagan's Boys Home since 1925, was a member of the national board of the Community Chest in 1935, is a member of the national council, Boy Scouts of America, and served on the voluntary committee of the Office of Civilian Defense during the war. He is honorary chairman of the United Palestine Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal. Samuel I. Rosenman, adviser to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, both at the governor's mansion in Albany, N. Y., and later at the White House, writer of documents and speeches for both Roosevelt and Truman, was Monsky's New York state chairman of B'nai B'rith.

SUPPRESSION OF SPEECH

The purpose of the remarkable fund and unusual staff engaged in administering it is generally given as: to combat racial and religious intolerance, specifically against Jews. This is done through: (1) a negative or suppressive program against real and supposed opposition, and (2) a positive or propaganda program of great scope and power.

The negative, suppressive program sets up a self-constituted censorship

over public speech, fixing a watchful eye on every radio, every lecture platform, every publisher, every movie film producer, every school teacher, every political party, every public official and every citizen who becomes conspicuous or influential.

The surveillance extends to private clubs and drawing rooms. The directors of an exclusive club in Miami, Florida, were told by two self-designated agents of the ADL *whom* their club should *not* permit to address it. These agents offered to provide the expenses of calling off the engagement. The *same* suppressive attempt has been made many times in many parts of the nation.

According to government officials in investigative duties, and to my own information when on duty as a counter-intelligence officer, the League maintains a large number of investigators who gather information on any individual marked for surveillance or public disgrace. Information goes to a central file. From there it is distributed to branches and to an interminable number of groups or individuals, either automatically or on request.

Representatives of the Anti-Defamation League, according to its own "confidential" letter of appeal in 1945, have called on thousands of editors and publishers to persuade them, or hint to them, not to publish material which would displease the League, such as speeches by persons on the ADL black list. The editor of one of America's great dailies told me that local ADL representatives called on him, bringing along an expert from the Chicago headquarters. Their request was that the newspaper should never mention certain men favorably. Beyond that they were vague as to demands. In this way they made it plain, I was told, that they were putting in their presence to alert the editor not to offend them—a kind of hooded censorship. The editor recognized that they could withhold enough advertising to cut deeply into the paper's revenues, perhaps bankrupt it, and that they could smear him till he would have to leave town.

A careful study shows that the persons singled out as ADL victims are seldom anti-Semitic but are always anti-Communist.

Here is an illustration of how the smear works. A lecturer, John Blank, talking against Communists and upholding Jeffersonian principles of our Constitution, but never having said a disparaging word against a Jew as a Jew, is booked to lecture at a convention, a forum or club—perhaps a Republican club. As soon as the lecture engagement is announced, some prominent citizens—Jewish or Gentile or both—call on the booking committee to urge cancellation of the lecture. In a confidential manner they "inform" the committee that John Blank is anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism is an ugly word in America. It is apt to frighten the men or women of the program committee who booked the lecturer. Likely they are handed some typed or printed material, nearly always anonymous but in some instances bearing the stamp of the Anti-Defamation League or group friendly to it, which is cleverly put together to show what a vicious, un-American character is this man Blank. The club can see that it is going to be intimi-

dated and harassed locally and, if it is a political club, that it may lose some support for its candidates at the polls and *Jewish financial support for election campaigns* if it refuses to cancel the scheduled lecture.

Often the local citizens who make the contact with the club officers are gullible innocents. They have been approached by unseen figures who have sold them a bill of goods. They do not always think to demand proof. The club officers likewise may not think of that. They do not always investigate to learn what John Blank is really saying. They may not examine the smear literature closely to see that it is a clever fraud. Blank is never given a chance to face his original accusers and demand to see their defamatory evidence; he is never given the chance to defend himself.

The press carries a sensational story that Blank's engagement was cancelled, due to something mysterious in his past or present connections; the public does not understand, and Blank's reputation is injured. The word goes around that he is "a Fascist or anti-Semite or something." His chance to continue earning a living in his profession is damaged, as is his opportunity to serve his country.

Big names often are used further to condemn the anti-Communist speaker. For example, when a certain lecturer in a Pennsylvania city last year revealed that Communists are plotting to throw Jew against Gentile, he was reported instead as having delivered an anti-Jewish speech and a newspaper asked the Governor to comment. The Governor condemned anti-Semitism, as was proper; but when he learned the true text instead of distorted version of the lecture he had not himself heard, he issued another statement correcting the erroneous impression made by his former statement. The defamation press was loath to carry the correction or played it down so that it was not widely read, until the governor became insistent.

The following is a typical example of the way private secret police are working: A young man placed in the files of the ADL for his intense opposition to intervention in the war, but in no way guilty of attacking persons as Jews, returned from the service to find himself the object of a smear campaign. Pressure was put on his employer to get rid of him. The manager said he liked the man's work and saw no justification for firing him. But the firm had many Jewish customers who could be made to believe it was their enemy. The threat of great loss of business was too much. "With regrets" the ex-GI was cut off from his source of livelihood.

Such an act is a violation of Section 51, Title 18 of the U. S. Criminal code, being a conspiracy to bar a citizen from the full enjoyment of his Constitutional rights. Maximum penalty is \$5,000 fine and ten years imprisonment. But the victim may not have had sufficient proof of the identity of the guilty organization or individual. Perhaps his employer would be threatened with bankruptcy if he should testify in court on behalf of the victim. Perhaps the prosecuting attorney would feel it politically unwise to take up the case, or perhaps the court itself could

be influenced or selected for its known friendliness. There are indications that these things have happened. There seems to be evidence that some courts are favorable to certain organizations which operate in the manner of Hitler's early secret police.

I do not accuse the Anti-Defamation League of having inspired this particular act, but I am sure that as long as the ADL works in secret and commits such acts of defamation as are well known, it is going to be suspect.

QUALITY OF ADL INFORMATION

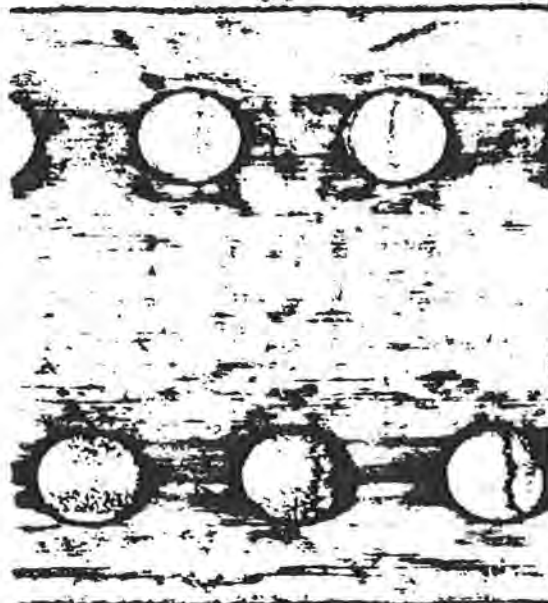
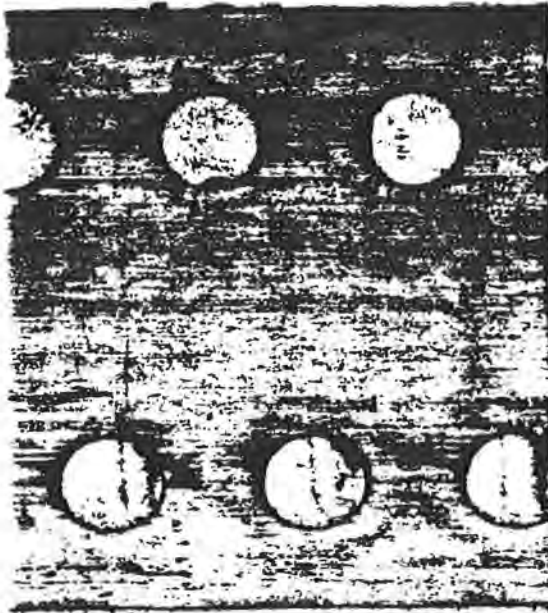
Some files made available to government agencies by ADL representatives during the war were helpful in checking on the activities and records of certain pro-Nazi suspects. However, I am informed, and I think reliably, that much of the material collected shows a lack of understanding—or willful ignoring—of what constitutes treason and other crime, under the Constitution and laws of the United States. Much of the information deals with the question of whether or not the individual loves all of his neighbors or just some of them. I do not know that it is ever stated in any of these files whether or not the accused may have been given reason to dislike or suspect or fear some of his neighbors. The tenor of much of the reports, I believe, is based on the assumption that anti-Semitism is a crime and should be severely punished, and on the further assumption that opposition to the aims and purposes of the ADL itself constitutes anti-Semitism. That is, that anyone opposed or believed to be opposed to the aims and activities of the Anti-Defamation League should be punished. Which puts the ADL—in its own private interpretation of what is punishable—above the law.

It is the intent to "improve" the law, in order to take the prejudice out of people by law—to make them love others through fear. If you do not believe that men in this free America can spend millions of dollars pursuing such an idea, let me remind you that Russia and all its puppet guillotine regimes have made anti-Semitism a crime, subject to severe punishment.

But this subject will be dealt with more at length in the second section.

The Anti-Defamation League urges a so-called Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), which as finally established by law in New York state (with the active help of Governor Thomas E. Dewey) and as proposed in many another state, requires an employer to hire and promote personnel according to the dictates of an appointive board which may fine and imprison any employer. The employer must hire and promote negroes, Jews and other minorities as the board may direct—which amounts to forcing the employer to discriminate racially and religiously according to another's preference or prejudice.

Let me quote for you a statement from a Jewish publication, *The Day*, on the advantage the Jews are told they may expect wherever an FEPC



law is enacted. Dr. S. Margoshes, in his regular column in that publication, issue of July 11, 1946, said: "FEPC is as much a Jewish issue as anyone can think of. . . . It must be evident that the sooner we get such agency established and in working order the sooner we shall be ready to stand the impact of the economic depression." I cannot believe this represents the true sentiments of the wiser Jewish leaders, but the fact remains that few Jews have raised their voices against this measure which would be a sure way to set in motion a wave of anti-Semitism.

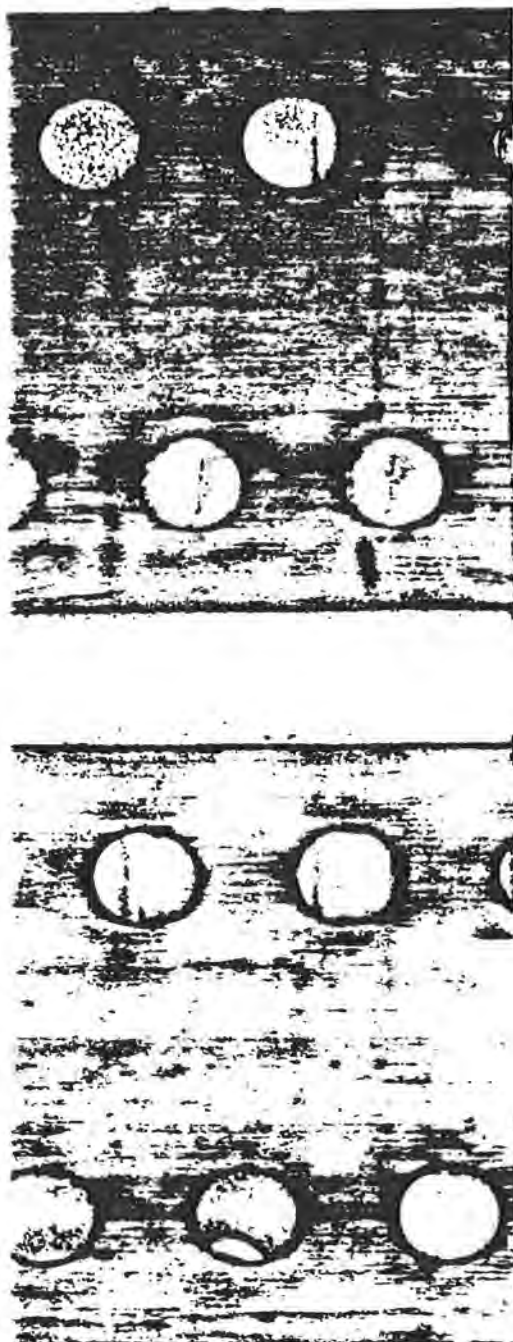
There is another law closely associated with the FEPC in political circles, championed by many people who support the FEPC, which should be mentioned here to show the direction in which the FEPC would lead. That is a law to make any derogatory reference to a Jew a criminal offense. This would give much immunity to criminals and schemers willing to hide behind it. It would tempt Communists and the criminal underworld to go into the Jewish community *en masse*!

Yet a Congressman had the supreme stupidity to introduce such a proposal into Congress last June. Ordinances thus discriminating racially between citizens have been proposed to city councils to accomplish the same anti-Constitutional ends. It was former Representative Patterson of Los Angeles who introduced the bill in the House. The Bill mentioned only Jews—"Jews as a nation, people or religious group." It did not offer equal protection to negroes, Swedes, Danes, Spanish, Russian, German, Polish or British Americans. Under its provisions you could be jailed for defending yourself against viciousness on the part of one or more members of the Jewish community. The Communist Party championed it with daily headlines in its press, and would make dastardly use of it. In the section of this article dealing with Russia you will see to what use this law has been put there.

As stated, this is a companion piece to the FEPC. At the time being the Communist Party is letting the New York state FEPC law alone except perhaps for subtle planting of their agents in desired positions by the ruse of demanding racial "fairness." They need not be expected seriously to abuse this law till they have "sold" it to many other states and the federal government. Then we may look out.

The suppressive program of the Anti-Defamation League appears to have wide ramifications. The League is generally accused of cooperating with many other groups. We should be given the full facts. It certainly is known to have had a hand in defaming certain persons who opposed the New Deal, some whose only "sin" was to fight to keep America from becoming embroiled in war, some whose "crime" has been that of attacking Communism and trying to preserve Americanism.

An organization such as the League, set up to spy on the whole country and unhampered for funds, naturally would become a prime objective for Communist infiltration. And Communists have not overlooked the opportunity.



LEAGUE LIKED LIBELER

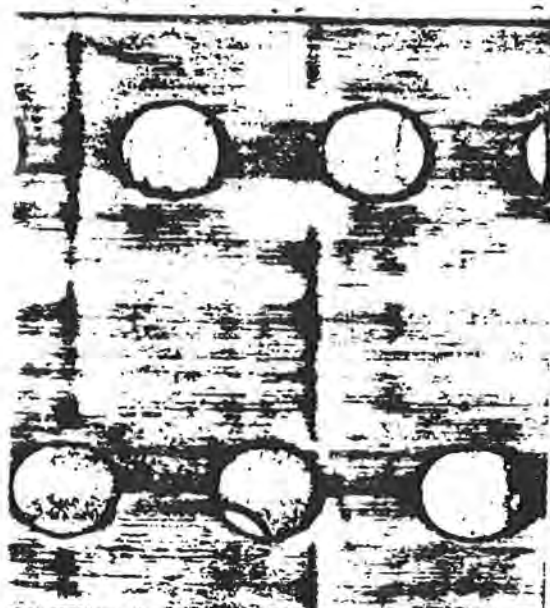
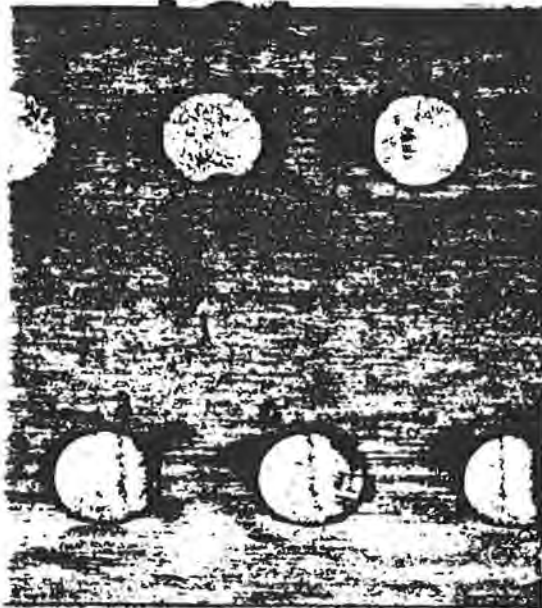
Officials of the League must be given credit for recognizing the likelihood of Marxist infiltration. A League official recently admitted they had failed to prevent it, but said they were trying to keep Reds out. At the same time he said the League could not enter a campaign against Communism—that would be “taking political sides.” League officials point to several self-proclaimed Republicans among their officials. Yet some of the literature they send out is written by men long identified with pro-Communist activities, such men as Carey McWilliams.

The League does not appear shame-faced that it hired, as an undercover man to snoop on honorable American citizens for nearly two years, the now convicted defamer and dealer in trash, untruth and “twaddle,” John Roy Carlson, whose real name is Avedis Boghos Derounian. This Armenian by race, born in Greece, helped to crush the anti-Communists of his own race. He now mildly disavows Communism, but he passes ammunition to the Reds who fire the guns, and therefore must share their guilt. He was, in fact—despite his cheapness of method or perhaps because of it—one of the most valuable contributors to Communism during the war years, because he successfully smeared for a time a number of prominent American leaders exposing Communism.

I confess, not without chagrin, that—though I was engaged in Intelligence work at this time—when the Derounian smear volume *Undercover* came out, I thought perhaps Derounian really had something on the victims. His method was to associate in one way or another an honorable man with one or two persons either in disgrace or suspected of being pro-Nazi. It now is clear that many of the victims, if not in fact all, were innocent of any connection with Nazi bund activities and with the persons with whom Derounian cleverly contrived to associate them. A federal court has so ruled, shaming the would-be prosecutors. The men chosen for this character assassination, I eventually became convinced, were so attacked solely because they opposed Communism, the war and the devices of the New Deal which were tending to involve us in war. I am not debating here the wisdom of our having so involved ourselves; I am frank to defend, however, the right of an honorable and loyal American citizen to speak up whenever he thinks we are heading in the wrong direction.

As you perhaps know by now, three federal court verdicts have found Derounian guilty of libel, and Federal Judge Barnes of Chicago said of *Undercover*, after many days of hearings, “I find this book 500 pages of twaddle—mere twaddle. . . . I would not believe this author if he were on oath. . . . I believe he would do anything for a dollar.”

The *Chicago Tribune* reported that a libel suit for \$1,000,000 damages against Walter Winchell was filed in the same federal court, charging this keyhole reporter with having plugged the smear book over his network. Derounian—who has operated under fifteen aliases and who was



accused by Judge Barnes of having distributed anti-Semitic literature himself at one time for particular purposes and who boasts of duplicity and lying—now has a book on sale called *The Plotters*, attempting to continue his money-making graft at the expense of reputations of men promoting Americanism and fighting Communism.

Such is the man the Anti-Defamation League hired for nearly two years as investigator. The League now says Derounian was satisfactory for its purposes. I quote from the *Chicago Tribune* of January 16, 1947: "A spokesman for the Anti-Defamation League said today that services of Avedis Boghos Derounian had been found 'satisfactory and reliable' while he was in the League's employ between 1939 and 1941." If the Derounian standard is the standard for the "Anti-Defamation" League in its work of *defamation* and its self-designated job of educating our children, I should say a Congressional investigation of the League is urgently needed.

One of the most active operations of Communism in America is that of attacking anti-Communists on the charge, often false, of anti-Semitism. For many years the Communist interpretation of anti-Semitic, however, has been *anti-Communist*. The purpose of this device is to frighten Jews into the Party (and to have them bring along the friends they have created among other minorities by their sympathetic activities). In this vastly significant activity—that of attacking anti-Communists as anti-Semitic—the ADL is extremely active. The similarity to the work of the Communists on this theme is inescapable.

New York's largest pro-Marxist daily, *PM*, issue of August 21, 1946, carried an article quoting a spokesman of the ADL demanding that the Federal Communications Commission investigate a certain radio commentator accused of being anti-Semitic. (The accusation is false, I am prepared to say, since I know the accused intimately.) Specifically he was charged with being "a transmission belt for nationalist propaganda." The implication is plain, and it is important that more Americans understand it: That if you are for "nationalism" (which I have always understood to mean loyalty to country), you are anti-Semitic. According to this reasoning, anybody for his own country first instead of for the International, is anti-Semitic. Meaning to say that all Jews are Internationalists.

By this logic the ADL places itself in the position of siding with the Communist-Internationalist. This is *self-accusation*, not my accusation. It is my belief that you cannot be loyal to country and also to some outside power which would dominate your country.

This spokesman may have thought his organization still had power enough over the FCC to get the accused radio commentator ruled off the air—because many a pro-American commentator has suffered that discrimination. The FCC could not oblige, for it is itself under Congressional suspicion and the face of the FCC itself is a guilty Red. But even an

investigation of the accused commentator would have served (as *PM* and Marxist publications would have played it up) to discredit him.

PARASITES OR OFFSPRING?

The League's activities are largely behind the scenes. More open in "checking up" and making charges and interfering with citizens' rights are groups officially described as Communist-fronts. Some of these have made use of ADL literature, but we naturally suspect that a great deal of this kind of activity has been accomplished without the League's identity becoming known to the public or the victims.

"Check-up" and secret-police activities parallel to those of the ADL are carried on widely by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League and the "Friends of Democracy," recently dragged out into the light of day by John T. Flynn in his historic pamphlet, "The Smear Terror," (published by the author at 15 East 40th St., New York 16, New York.)

In many cities throughout the country the American Veterans Committee, well known for its heavy Communist infiltration and its championing of Communist legislative objectives, sends out goon squads to harass and intimidate speakers and to intimidate audiences to prevent them from hearing speakers who oppose Communism.

The national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of America last year stated in a press conference before several newsmen that his organization was "fighting Fascism." Specifically, he told of an instance in Chicago where his squads had caused a near riot in order to deny a speaker the right to speak and an audience the right to hear its own privately chosen speaker.

These are a few of the groups which cluster about the ADL—either through community of interest and method or in spite of its lack—interfering with the right of free speech and peaceful assembly. They bear a striking resemblance in technique and objectives to Communist gangs wherever the scourge of Marxism has risen. Their methods are not unlike those employed by Hitler's underground before he took over in Germany.

Americans have a right to know what relationship these groups have to each other. After all, probably a good hundred million Americans are nationalists, and proud of it, though this fact has been too often scorned these fifteen years.

It is asked, also, what connection, if any, the League has with some extremely loud, but effective, Sunday afternoon and evening radio propagandists. It is asked whether or not any of the League's funds have aided periodicals which stir animosity between Protestant and Catholic as an aid to the Communist attack on Christianity. It is suggested that if the League is such a good thing that it deserves five million dollars from the public to spend in one year—to augment four million dollars worth of free propaganda—why cannot its operations and books be thrown wide open to every-

body? Why does it work secretly, and why must its reports be confidential? What is it hiding, and why?

ADL IN POLITICS

The charge of anti-Semitism has become perhaps the most potent weapon in the Communist arsenal as well as in League operations. It has been used with telling effect by individuals and groups in political campaigns, in the internal politics of organizations and even in connection with religion in public schools. Senator Ives of New York was viciously attacked as anti-Semitic by the Communist press and also by some Jewish organs in his campaign last fall, although actually Ives has gone so far toward favoring special privilege for minorities as to champion an FEPC. Apparently the purpose of the smear in this instance was not so much to defeat Ives as to elect his Jewish opponent, former Governor Lehman.

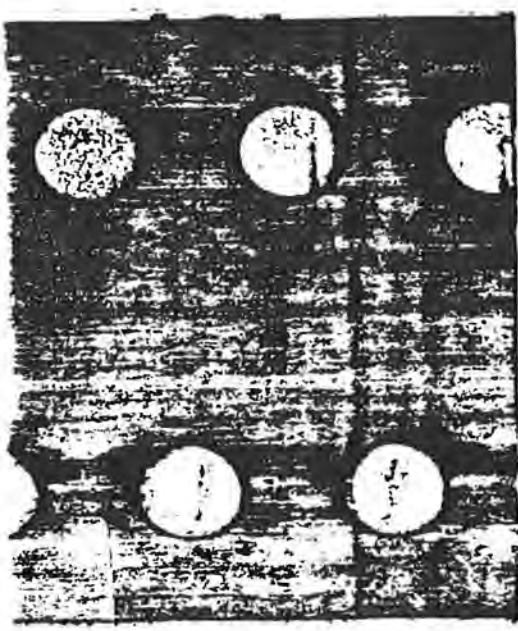
Congressman Stratton of Illinois suffered a similar smear attack.

One of the most vicious and unjustified smears of our political history, of course, was that which defeated veteran Senator Burton K. Wheeler for re-election in the 1946 campaign. Much of the filth thrown at Sen. Wheeler cannot be printed here, but it included anti-Semitism — despite Wheeler's record of friendliness toward the Jewish community and his support of legislation favorable to that community. Wheeler opposed our entry into the war, and therefore was an enemy of the Left. He also once dared to urge that such activities as the Anti-Defamation League be abandoned, pointing out that they create more anti-Semitism than does the output of all the crackpots and bigots of the American scene, filling Gentiles with suspicion and fear, making the Jew super-sensitive and perhaps bitter.

Among the revealed contributors to Wheeler's defamation were: Arthur J. Goldsmith, Albert Lasker and Edmund Waterman, all New Yorkers, the last named being "a leader of the Anti-Defamation League," as revealed by George E. Sokolsky in his column in the *Washington Times-Herald* of October 11, 1946. Sokolsky also exposed the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress for having attacked Wheeler as an anti-Semite, saying, "I was ashamed of their infamy and called upon him (Wheeler) to tell him so. I found that he was deeply hurt by the unfairness and untruthfulness of the charge."

The columnist commented, "It is growing increasingly difficult for outstanding men to run for public office and to debate important issues because of the smear tactics employed by the vicious groups centering in New York and operating out of Hollywood and Chicago."

Smear activities may have played a part in the defeat last fall of Congressman Dean Gillespie of Denver, who lost his seat to a Democrat in a year of Republican landslides. Gillespie covered up local pressure and intimidation which, exposed to his electorate, might have returned him to Washington.

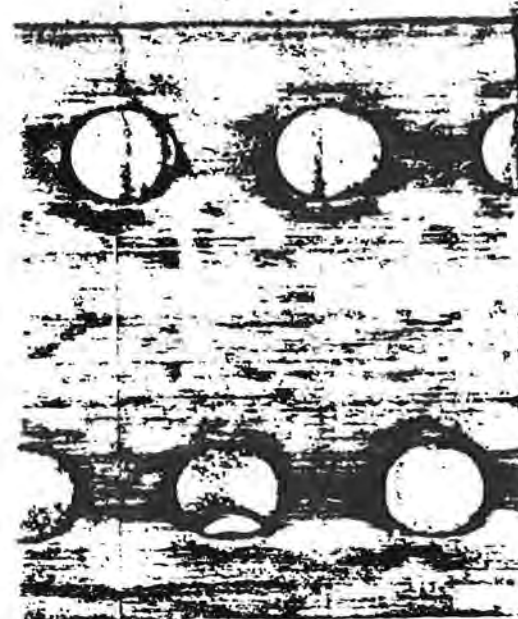


How many times a Senator or Congressman or other public servant has been pressured or intimidated, how much support has been forced for political measures under threat or fear of intimidation, we will never know; but it is safe to say that many public officials would like to have done with the League and other secretly operating groups which always carry the implied threat of defamation.

The accusation of anti-Semitism, accompanied by the dissemination of "information sheets" from the files of the ADL and kindred groups becomes a racket in the politics of private organizations for selfish purposes. It also gets into national, state, county and district school politics.

A recent incident is significant: A woman lawyer who had rendered signal service in obtaining woman's rights and other anti-discrimination accomplishments in some states was in line for election to the presidency of the Woman's Bar Association at the recent National Bar Association convention at Atlantic City. Suddenly a delegation supporting a dark horse candidate of their own background arrived on the scene from New York City, making the utterly false charge that the prominent candidate was anti-Semitic. They distributed surreptitiously some so-called information sheets. The intimidation frightened even some of the main candidate's intimate friends, including a prominent Jewish woman attorney, who told the now falsely maligned woman that they could do nothing in the face of such charges—since that would bring down the smear on them also!

The dark horse candidate who used, or permitted to be used, such tactics won by five votes, but hundreds of delegates, influential persons in their communities, went back to every part of the United States to spread their resentment of the smear conspiracy.

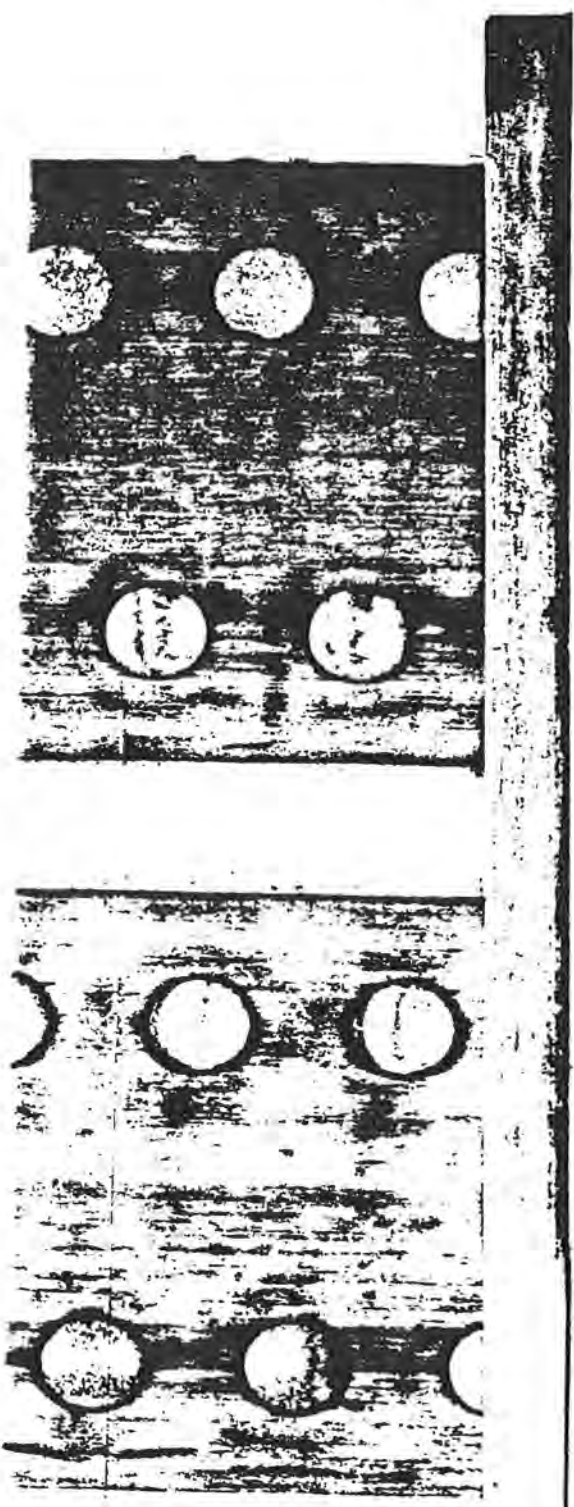


It should be well understood that Communism makes Christianity its number one enemy (though some of my Protestant denomination do not appear to understand this fully) and that it wants Jews also to attack the Christian religion. Many Jewish leaders make it plain that they understand this false leadership. Nevertheless, the Reds make progress. The *New York Times* of January 15, 1947, carried a dispatch under a Davenport, Iowa, date line, revealing that Jewish protests had stopped a religious society from giving New Testaments to school children, even though the donations were purely on a voluntary basis. The dispatch quoted Rabbi Abram Vossen Goodman as saying:

"Subsequent to the distribution of these New Testaments many Jewish parents—members of Temple Emanuel—approached me concerning the propriety of this innovation. I have brought the matter before the board of the congregation which, after obtaining legal advice, has authorized me to protest."

The Rabbi's protest was successful. The school board of Davenport, Iowa, permitted one religious sect to intimidate it and prevent the children of Davenport schools from accepting New Testaments.

Rabbi Goodman may not have known that this attack on Christianity



was Communist-inspired, but a reliable informant has given me information which makes such inspiration seem highly probable.

THE POSITIVE APPROACH OF THE ADL

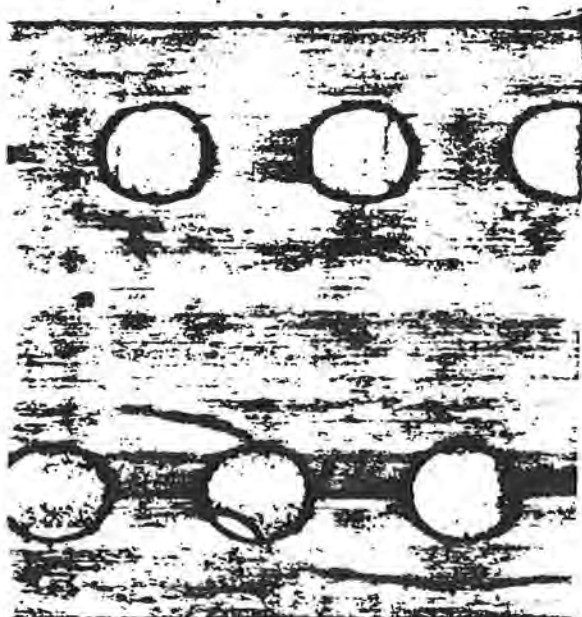
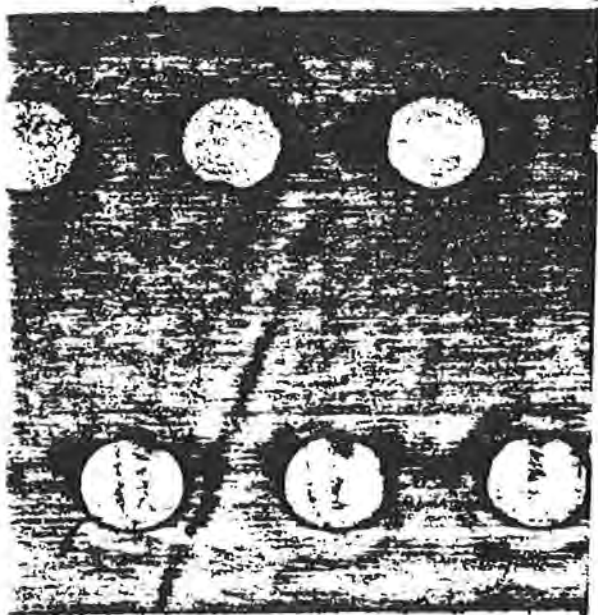
The positive program of the Anti-Defamation League is described by one of its own officials as follows: "To send literature to various groups, work through the radio, the motion picture industry and other media; to subsidize speakers' bureaus and suggest speakers to schools, forums and clubs; to subsidize and publish periodicals, pamphlets and books (from comic strip books to literature) fostering good will and condemning discrimination, whether social, political or economic, to encourage movements, meetings, programs of all kinds, use every advertising media from newspaper ads to billboards."

The solicitation letter of the National Chairman for the 1945 appeal claims: "This is a high-powered educational program geared to reach every man, woman and child every day of the year—through the press—over the radio—through advertising—comic books—schools—speakers—information—community service—movies—churches—labor—and special groups." It claimed 216 individual station broadcasts a day in 1945 and a goal of 65,000 for 1946. (For this it received a special award from *Variety*, notoriously left-wing paper of the amusement trade). It listed 26 full page ads run in 397 newspapers, 2,000 insertions reaching 100,000,000 readers (space free), a series of 12 posters displayed on 1,000 billboards in 130 cities costing a quarter million dollars, 16,000 cards in 24 cities, space on payroll envelopes, blotters and millions of match covers. It claimed to influence 1,900 daily newspapers with 43,000,000 circulation, plus the rural press, the foreign language press, the negro press, and the labor press with 10,000,000 readers. It recorded 330,000 books placed in libraries during the year, 9,000,000 pamphlets "tailored to fit the audiences," and 40,000,000 propaganda-laden books of comic strips to children and men in the armed forces. It "presented the most noted names on the lecture platform" to more than 30,000,000 people by subsidized lecture bureaus. It arranged for and aided special movie shorts and radio programs by stars in the amusement world.

The *Jewish Year Book* for 1945-46, page 700, says, in a chapter on Domestic Public Relations Activities in 1944: "Our message has been included in every variety of radio program from 'soap operas' to news and sports commentaries. The value of commercial rates of the radio time available to us without cost in 1944 is estimated at close to four million dollars."

A special project is the production and circulation of "educational" films and comic strips, to various audiences including labor unions and school children.

An example of the ADL-indoctrinated motion picture film, one of the ADL officials stated, is a picture called *Till the End of Time*. A typical scene from the usual indoctrinated motion picture is one in which a hand-



some young ex-service man knocks down another (who is cast as a "pug ugly" to be instantly disliked) because the second veteran invites the first to join a veterans group which accepts only Christian Gentiles.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE POSITIVE PROGRAM

Such movies, however well meant, create race consciousness, suspicion and eventually hatred. The movie goer begins to wonder why this grossly exaggerated theme is being thrown at him week after week. He would resent with nausea a picture which reversed the situation: In which, for instance, one Jew knocked down another because the second invited the first to join the exclusive Jewish War Veterans of America or the equally exclusive Young Men's Hebrew Association. He begins to notice that the Jews have hundreds of clubs which he, as a Gentile, could not get into or in which he would not be wanted. I am sure he does not begrudge them their exclusiveness, and would actively oppose any imposition on the rights of Jews as American citizens.

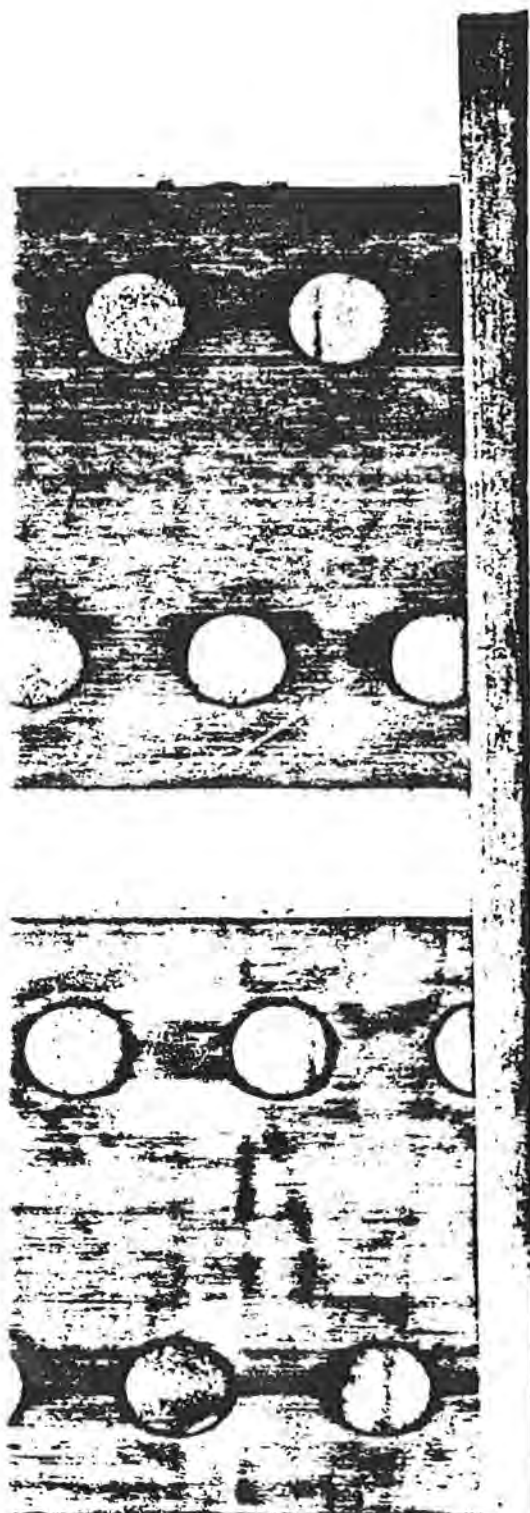
But he wonders more and more why all the one-sided propaganda.

The example of violence over the race question is a dangerous preaching. It is precisely the method of the Communists, who organize violence on a wide scale, sponsor gang warfare and eternally pit one race against another. Violence on the race issue also was encouraged by the Ku Klux Klan in its heyday.

The ADL program makes the Jew frightfully race conscious, jumpy at the slightest shadow (or appearance of a shadow) of feeling against his race. Marxists take advantage, stimulating his fear. The cry of "anti-Semitism" hurled against men whose only public activity has been to oppose Communism, is the same cry the Communists raise. *It is well known in investigative offices that Communists are instructed to brand all opposition as anti-Semitic. This frightens the Jews and tends to make them run to the Communist-fronts for protection.*

Who are the speakers the ADL sends to talk to our children in the schools? And by what right does the Anti-Defamation League presume to "educate" our children?

In Denver last year one of their speakers, Dr. Carl Herman Voss, a paid executive of the American Jewish Committee which jointly with the ADL raises and spends the Joint Defense Fund, was strongly pro-Soviet. He said, for example: "My only fear is that the Russians will withdraw their troops from the Balkans too soon—before those people become democratized." The statement was quoted in the *Denver Post*. Dr. Voss addressed every high school and junior high school in the city and county of Denver. In January, 1947, he told the Daytona Beach, Florida, Forum in the high school that, "Russia wants more buffer states for her security"; that he is not an "anti-Communist"; that certain anti-Communist radio commentators and Senator Wheeler—"all of these must go." I repeat: Dr. Voss is one of the prominent officials of the committee which helps the ADL raise and spend the funds.



Also addressing Denver and other public schools was Ethel Alpenfels, who openly ridicules Americanism and subtly undermines racial traditions and pride. Here is a quotation from a recent article of hers: "Ralph Linton has summarized the day of a '100 per cent American.' Dawn finds him in pajamas, a garment of East Indian origin. He glances at the clock (medieval European invention) and goes into the bathroom (porcelain from China, toothbrush from 18-century Europe, soap from ancient Gaul, toilet from Roman original, razor an iron-carbon alloy from India). . . . Very likely as he scans the news of the day *he thanks God (a Hebrew deity)* in an Indo-European language that he is a 100 per cent (decimal system invented by Greeks) American (named after Amerigo Vespucci, Italian geographer)."

You would dismiss this prattle with no more thought than brushing off a green fly if it were said once and in the spirit of fun. But when it is said viciously over and over, from school to school, by a paid lecturer, it is time to find out the aims and purposes of all organizations sponsoring her and her ilk.

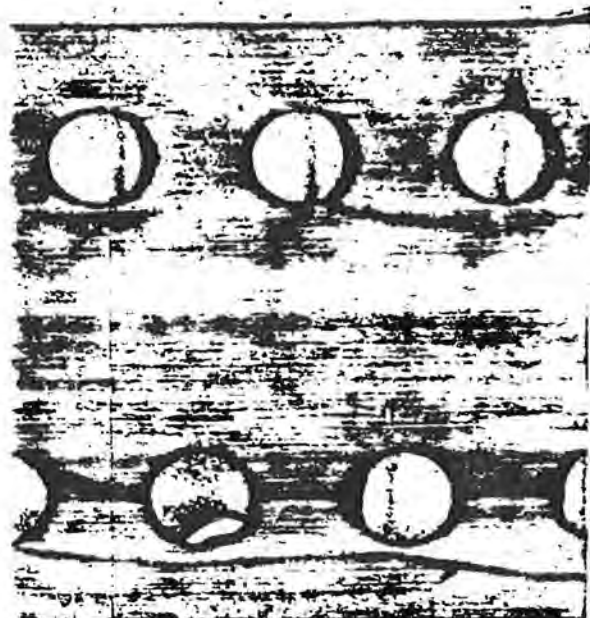
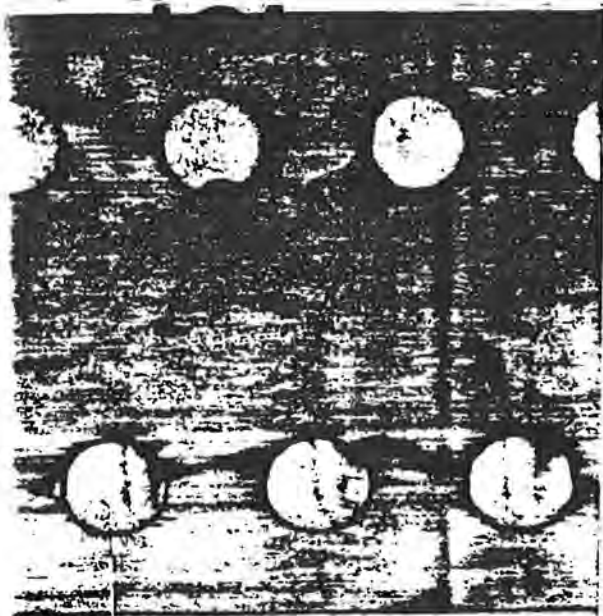
Shortly after Hiroshima, Miss Alpenfels began urging, before school children and other audiences, that we give our atomic secrets to all nations, "not to Russia alone," she hastened to explain—but it is noted that Russia was one of the United Nations, the only one who really appeared to want the bomb.

Miss Alpenfels has written a book called *A Race with Time*—the title punning on the word "race," she says. Her contribution is to soften the foundations of Anglo-Saxon type tradition, the traditions on which Western civilization largely lifted itself out of serfdom. I observe that she is addressing Gentile audiences on the theme that in effect says we should be ashamed to think of race pride. I contend that people of any race surely should cherish the memory of its leaders who helped establish great ideals and traditions. Her words appear to apply to all minorities who may happen to be in the audience, shaming them too for pride in their ancestry and the efforts of their race to set up for itself ideals and patterns of conduct. But the effect of her line is unmistakably against the "majority" and, by maudlin crying on the shoulders of minorities, tends to sharpen their race consciousness and to make them suspicious, fearful and bitter toward the supposedly arrogant majority. Discrediting Nazi-like racial arrogance is one thing, ridiculing and breaking down racial pride is quite something else.

It cannot be overlooked that the same people who support such attacks on the Anglo-Saxons are at the same time stirring the Jew to extreme race pride.

HOW THE FLAME IS FANNED

Here we come back to the very heart of the *positive* program of the Anti-Defamation League. The League pours a constant stream of this kind of propaganda into America, especially designed to influence children



and youth. The repetition of this theme makes it effective. If children repeatedly see pictures and hear stories which exaggerate cruelty to minorities at the expense of Anglo-Saxon traditions—the effect is to take advantage of our natural good-will and sympathy, to establish a feeling that we are vicious toward minorities.

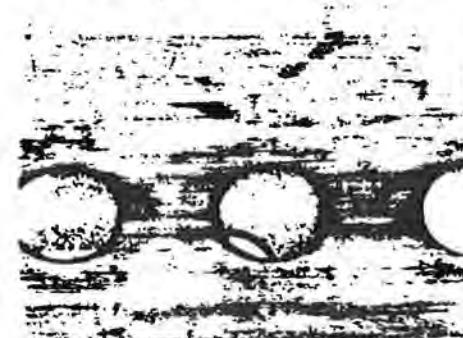
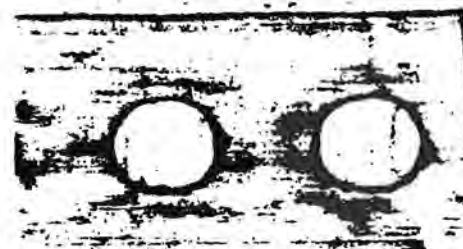
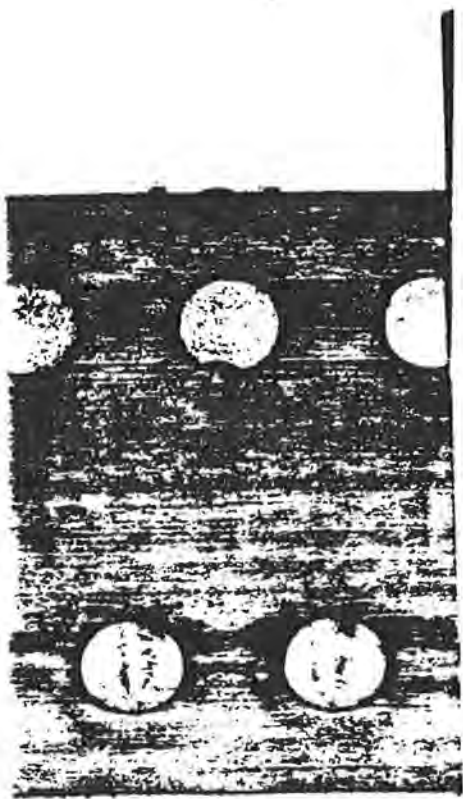
Meanwhile, such activity drives older people to fear and suspect evil in this program of propaganda. This is a subtle campaign. It is hard to put your finger on any one item. But the effect is enormous on the school children. Some tend to identify themselves with the rabid, outspoken element among minorities, who get their inspiration from the Marxist movement. After the softening-up process by the delicate touch of the League, Communist Party propaganda—which champions precisely the same line and uses the same methods, only more violently—takes the “sympathetic” youngster and teaches him to hate opposition or supposed opposition and creates a preferential status for Jews. Presently some of these young men and women have become active in goon squads, underground gangs and Communist-fronts. And here again the status of the Jew is exalted above all others. A Communist can be violently anti-Anglo-Saxon, anti-Italian, anti-Spanish; but he will be crucified if he is anti-Jewish.

Meanwhile, those who become suspicious and wary of propaganda which seems conspicuous for its undue emphasis on the race theme, tend to react defensively. And thus begins the flame—enraging Gentile against Gentile, Jew against Gentile, Negro against Anglo-Saxon—which the Red startegists hope they can fan into a nation-wide conflagration at a time favorable to them.

Whatever the motives of the men steering the Anti-Defamation League, it is apparent that they are ill-advised and that their millions of dollars are tending to soften up our youth for the march of Communism.

The race theme amounts to an attack on the Anglo-Saxon-type freedom, the idealism which has spearheaded the upward drive for freedom for many centuries, benefiting all peoples the world over. It is precisely this Anglo-Saxon idealism which the Communist International most violently hates and must destroy to succeed. This culture springs from the innate temperament of Western peoples—the sturdy individuals who will not be slaves.

In its championing Internationalism, the League again plays into the hands of the Communists. Internationalism is a One World philosophy which insists on giving up sovereignty to a super government, one that must—if it is to accomplish any of the things the Internationalists expect of it—be more powerful than our own government. Our President, then, and our Congress, would be subordinate to the One World administration. In such a government we would be only one nation among many; we would have only one vote among a dozen votes as to what is good for America and American people. All the other nations could regularly day after day



combine to exploit us, to take our wealth and ship it to other countries through a super-UNRRA bureau. We are the "have" nation, of whom there is much jealousy and perhaps some fear. Our millions of free men have taken wealth out of the earth and made it useful. It is America which certain other nations want to whittle down. We would be helpless to check the spoliation. Our individual freedom would disappear like ice in a kettle. The curtain would come down on the age of the Constitution with its Bill of Rights.

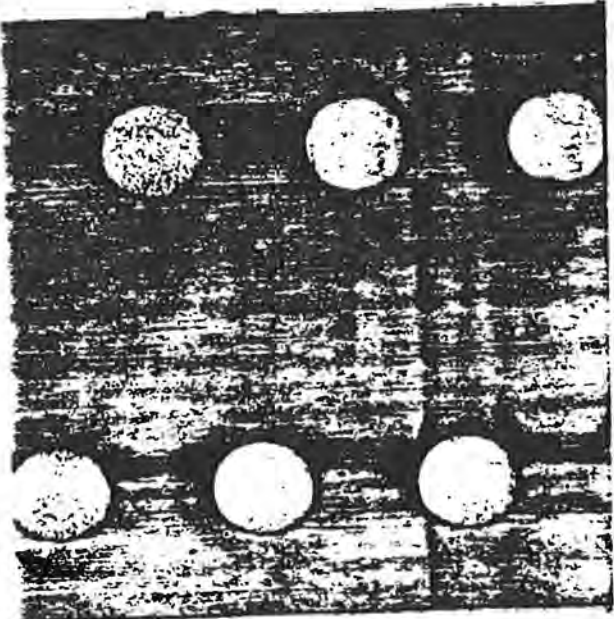
But we must remember that certain people would stand to gain—people who control the One World power machine in the government behind the government of which Disraeli and many another political leader have spoken. In all countries, including America, friends of the invisible power group would stand to gain through exploitation. Men would presently have to work where and when so directed, or go without a job. Secret police would soon take care of them if they tried to make trouble.

This is the future the Internationalist champions, however badly he may be deceived about it. No doubt that most of our Internationalists have been sold this bill of goods by clever propagandists who appealed to their Utopian idealism. Some of our most hopelessly idealistic men and women have been the most dangerously taken in by the propagandists. These men and women ordinarily do not realize that behind the entire One World movement is the vast, world-wide "educational program" of the Communist International. You cannot separate Internationalism and Communism; both lead directly to the same thing—absolute dictatorship over the world and enslavement and exploitation of men and machines.

Now back to the Anti-Defamation League. It is safe to say that the majority of the men steering the League are Internationalists. It would be hard to find one who would admit he was a "nationalist." League spokesmen want you to think of a nationalist as something vicious, a Nazi or Fascist. Yet we are all nationalists who love our country and repudiate the totalitarian foreign "isms"—Nazism, Fascism, Communism and Internationalism. The League, as you have seen, attacks men as "anti-Semitic" on the grounds that they are nationalists. This is another self-accusation of the League that it is siding with the pro-Communist movement. Their logic, which says that the nationalist is against all Jews ("anti-Semitic") is an arrogant and false assumption, accusing all Jews of being Internationalists.

A brief summary of the work of the Anti-Defamation League shows that—regardless of its intentions—it is of inestimable aid to the march of Communism, especially among our young people:

1. The League is Internationalist, violently anti-nationalist. It tends to condition the mind of youth for the program of the Communist International, in its various deceptive disguises.
2. The League is a secret-police. Communism always builds its operations through such machines.



3. The League defames all who actively and aggressively oppose Communism. I know of no instance of its defaming and trying to suppress a Communist.

4. The League makes use of pro-Communist writers and speakers.

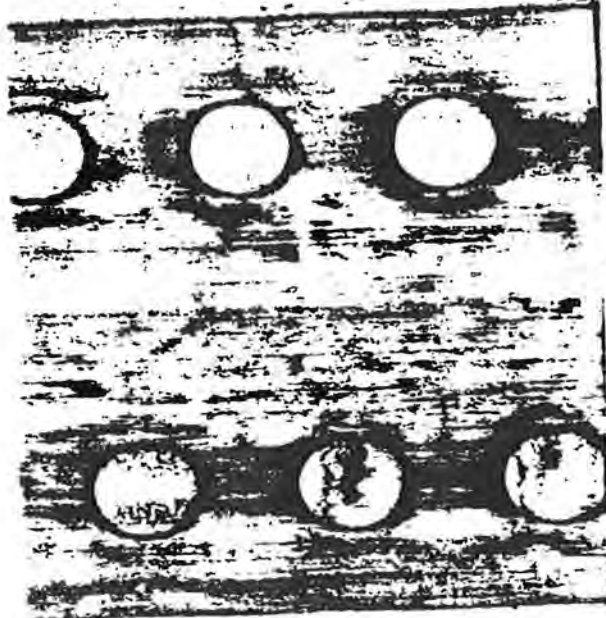
5. The principal themes of the League's propaganda coincide with the principal themes of Communism. The League's program is a subtle, but continuous and effective undermining of our unity and traditions. The race propaganda tends strongly to divide the "majority" and to pit minorities against the majority. The Communist Party drives this wedge hard, obviously aiming at open warfare at the propitious moment. Also does not the League violate that section of the U. S. Criminal Code which provides a maximum fine of \$5,000 and ten years imprisonment for conspiring to deprive any American citizen of his Constitutional rights?

6. The League indicates that it has a foreign program. What is this foreign program and by what right does a private, secret organization presume to carry on operations abroad?

7. The League uses techniques identical with those of the Communists in all countries. Character assassination, for instance, to keep down opposition to Internationalism and Communism.

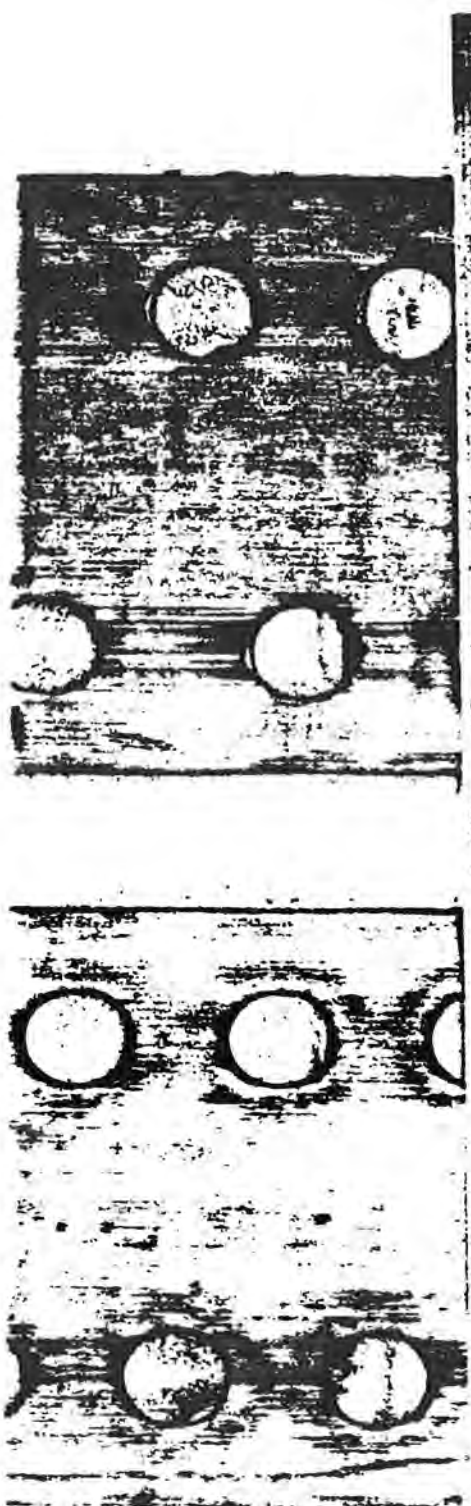
8. The effect of the League's work is to set up Jews in a preferential status—a "chosen people" in this modern age when all people have equal rights. The League seeks to bring other minorities under its leadership in a race rivalry fanned by its propaganda. This is entirely parallel to one of the major activities of Communism. Both the League and the Communists champion FEPC and demand a law making anti-Semitism a crime.

Thus the Anti-Defamation League is an atom-powered Communist-front, whether it means to be so used or not.



A better way to prevent anti-Semitism would be, as former Senator Burton K. Wheeler implied, first to quit the exclusive secretive organizing and propagandizing on the race question, and its defaming of American citizens who happen to disagree. Doubtless in a society as in the human body, an organ is healthiest when we are least conscious of its existence. Many of us have Jewish friends with whom we got along normally until the propaganda flood gates were thrown open; now they and we often are self-conscious in our conversation and deals. For this miserable condition you can thank the Anti-Defamation League perhaps as much as the Communist Party.

Short of taking itself apart—which we would be naive to expect—the League should be quickly and thoroughly suppressed by Congress and the Chief Executive.



PART II

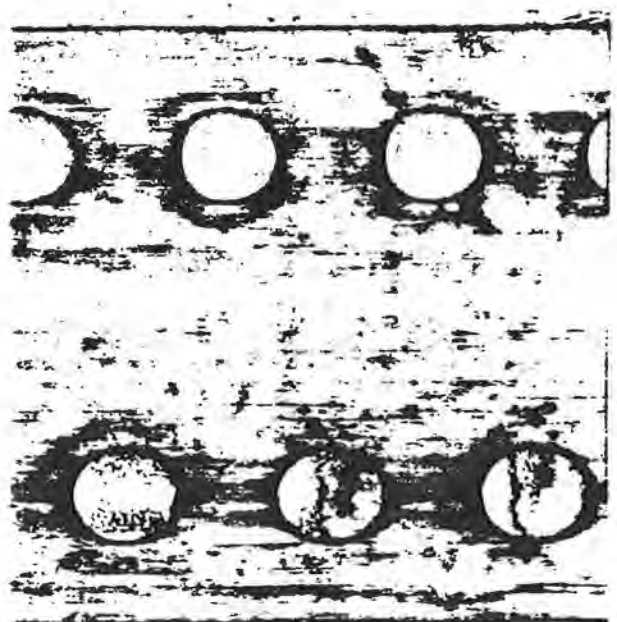
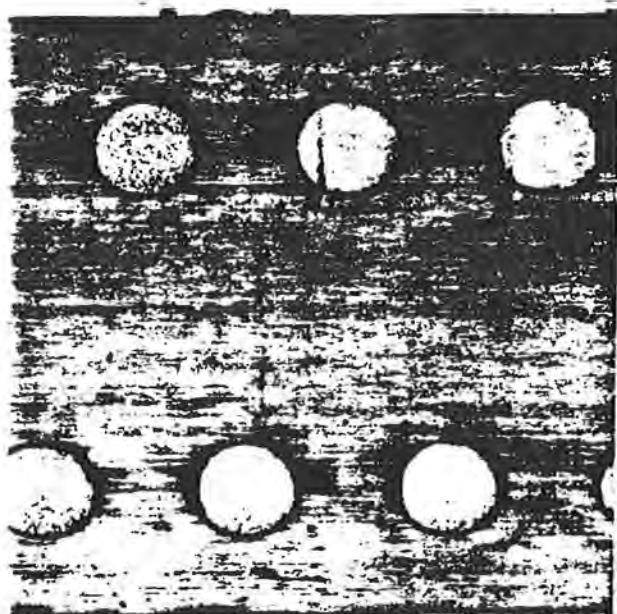
THE ADL IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE

I DO NOT WISH to condemn the Jewish community. The Anti-Defamation League is but a part of that community. I do not wish to condemn the Anti-Defamation League for activities for which it may not be responsible. I do know, however, that to get a true perspective of the results of the League's activities it is necessary to look at the whole disturbed world. It is necessary to read the Jewish press to see what is being put into the minds of the Jewish people, for whom the B'nai B'rith, the League's parent, claims wide representation in America. It is necessary to estimate how much of that press is frankly Marxist and Zionist and pro-Russian. It is necessary to see what foreign influences attract Jews in America, and what their more radical leaders are trying to do for and to them. Then you can form your own estimate of the activities of the ADL.

Such a survey reveals information of such extreme importance to America that it would be marked "Top Secret" in the files of the Army or the State Department if reported by one of its officials.

No thoughtful American can read the Jewish press today without becoming alarmed. Too many Jewish periodicals are pouring a stream of Pro-Communist, Marxist, pro-Russian sentiment into the Jewish people. I became aware of this shocking fact while on active duty as a counter-intelligence officer in the Army. In that capacity I also was astounded to see that so many of our younger Jews had gone pro-Communist—that so many of our Communists were Jews. These facts may shock conservative American Jews who will pay heed as much as they shock non-Jews. The remark that "all Jews are Communists" is an irresponsible statement. This is the mistake more and more Americans are making today. The rigidly Orthodox Jew is likely to be a loyal American citizen, opposed to Fascism, Communism and Political Zionism, adhering only to religious Zionism, a spiritual concept. Jews who belong to, or agree with, the American Council for Judaism likewise acknowledge only one flag, the Stars and Stripes. They too, oppose being used by radicals in a revolutionary movement which they regard as certain to end in terror and bloodshed for Jew and Gentile alike.

In my own experience in Intelligence I found Jewish officers and soldiers whose Americanism could not be questioned. But I am forced to admit, not without foreboding, that those Jewish officers and enlisted men



who did not show a preference for Communism and who were not fanatically pro-Soviet were few in number. Among Intelligence officers and CIC investigators, it was a common saying—and I know Communist-fronts will denounce me as anti-Semitic and a Fascist for reporting this—that "seventy-five per cent of the Jews in the army are pro-Communist."

This percentage may not hold true of the old people; but among those in their thirties and younger, I think it conservative.

An energetic young Jewish reporter on a leading American daily, with whom I have conversed many times, admits frankly his pro-Communist sentiments—for which I have tried to shame him. Asked if he knew any Jewish people who were anti-Communist, he said, "Sure. My old man jumps on me all the time, just as you do." Asked if he knew any Jewish young people who were not pro-Communist, he said, "Very few."

My own investigative staff and I in the army reviewed or processed thousands of pro-Communist cases. The percentage of Jews among them was disproportionately high. The "heat" is put on any person, Jew or Gentile, who mentions these facts. An official of the ADL said to a friend of mine, "Why talk about them? We want you not to mention them." I am not talking with the intent to create prejudice. I am reporting facts of the greatest importance to our future security, internal and external.

ATTACK GROWS VICIOUS

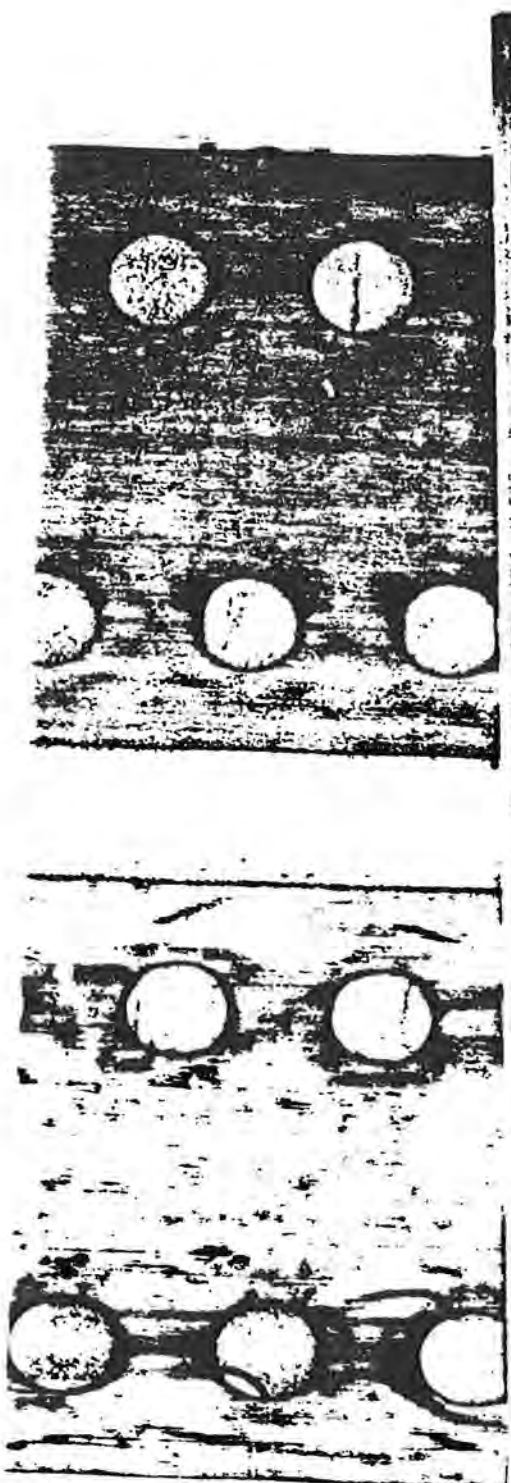
The responsibility for this strong Communist trend among the young Jews is squarely on the left-wing leaders in the Jewish community. These people have managed virtually to control the Jewish press—which I urge you to read.

Here are just a few quotations:

Dr. Louis G. Reynolds, in the July 5, 1946, issue of *California Jewish Voice*: "I cannot conceive of any Jew in the role of an enemy of the Soviet Union. To me, such a Jew is an unnatural monstrosity, a travesty on everything that is decent and right."

J. I. Fishbein in *The Sentinel* (sub-titled "Devoted to Unity in Jewish Life"), issue of June 20, 1946 (under caption, "The Editor Views the News"): "The fascist-minded scum and Naziphiles of this country are threatening Russia with everything from atom bombs to 'democratic elections.' . . . We recognize that in this country the 'Hate-Russia' element is also the 'Hate-the-Jews' element. . . . Did you ever hear of any anti-Semites anywhere in the world who were not also anti-Soviet? . . . We recognize our foes. Let us recognize our friends, the Soviet people."

The Jewish Opinion Publishing Company, as long ago as 1937, awarded prizes to six essayists on "How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America." All prize winners expressed sentiments hardly compatible with the American tradition of freedom, some of them attacking the Christian religion as causing anti-Semitism. Judges were George Gordon Battle,



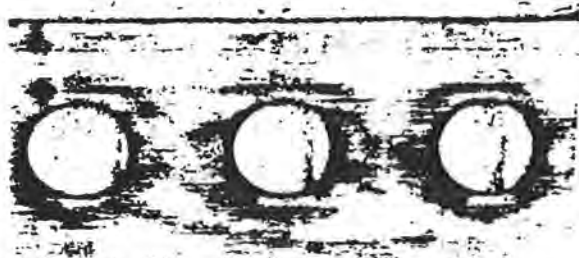
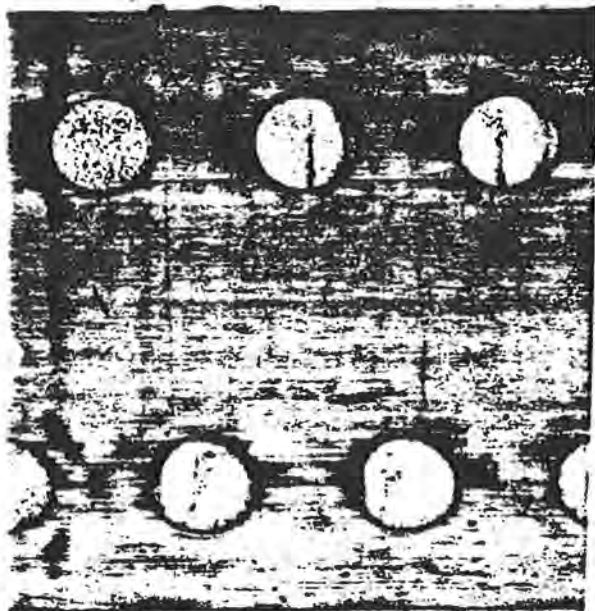
John Haynes Holmes, Everett R. Clinchy, Ludwig Lewishon and Stephen S. Wise. Dr. Clinchy is the present director (non-Jewish) of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise is too well known as a leader of the Marxist Zionist movement to need introduction.

Here is a question from one of the prize winners, Joshua Trachtenberg, a Rabbi of Easton, Pennsylvania: "Were this essay entitled 'How to Eradicate Anti-Semitism in America' it should have to open with the grim admission: It can't be done! *Not short of demolishing the America we live in and building a new one, at any rate.* Even outside Marxist circles it is a commonplace that anti-Semitism . . . is a disease indigenous to our economic system, which goads the underprivileged . . . to exact payment of the eternal scapegoat, the Jew, for the iniquities of the system itself . . . Anti-Semitism is a potent buckler in the defensive armor of Capitalism. In the degree that the various secondary factors that make for the victimization of the Jew lose their force, the inchoate rebellion of the masses can be less readily diverted from the real oppressors and the doom of the Capitalist system draws near." This frank anti-Capitalist does add: "Nor is it politic to press an argument which might alienate a great many of those non-Jews who would come to our aid on less controversial ground."

It is the frequency of such sentiments which today makes Americans suspicious of all secretive organized movements. What, they ask, is the Anti-Defamation League up to, and why does it need to spend \$5,000,000 trying to persuade our children and young people to some end it has conceived to be to the best interests of the Jewish community? Why are so many of our own neighbors here in America highly organized and financed and saying the same things that the agents of the Communist Revolution are saying all over the world, while western civilization, the so-called Christian world, is crumbling nation by nation under the onslaught?

More and more intemperate language is used, as one writer stimulates another. Here is a statement, the sentiments of which are prominent in the Jewish press:

Rabbi Leon Spitz, a sermon quoted in the *American Hebrew* of March 1, 1946: "Perhaps the time has come when roles should be changed. Let Esau whine and wail and protest to the civilized world, and let Jacob raise his hand to fight the good fight. The anti-Semite . . . understands but one language, and he must be dealt with on his own level. The Purim Jews stood up for their lives. (Note: Reference is to the Book of Esther in the Old Testament. "Esau" is used by modern Jews as a code name for the stupid gentile; "Jacob" for the crafty, deceptive Jew.) American Jews, too, must come to grips with our contemporary anti-Semites. We must fill our jails with anti-Semitic gangsters. We must fill our insane asylums with anti-Semitic lunatics. We must combat every alien Jew-hater. We must harass and prosecute our Jew-baiters to the extreme limits of the laws. We must humble and shame our anti-Semitic hoodlums to such an extent that none will wish or dare to become (their) 'fellow-travelers'."



This from a Rabbi to his flock! This in a land which has shown greater tolerance for all races, Jews included, than any in history!

To understand the full import of the above sermon by Rabbi Spitz it is necessary to remember that any man or woman who actively opposes Communism is immediately branded by Communist-fronts as anti-Semitic. If a law can be passed making "anti-Semitism" a crime, the Communists can hail their enemies into court—as in the infamous "Sedition Trial."

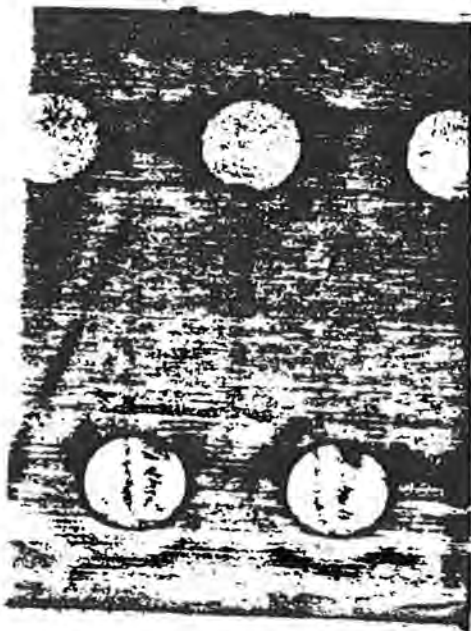
Who decides what citizens are "anti-Semitic" gangsters, lunatics and Jew-baiters? Courts recently have assessed libel judgments against self-appointed prosecutors of innocent victims of this fury. Derounian, for instance (alias Carlson), author of *Undercover* and *The Plotters*, has been found guilty on numerous counts of libeling American citizens with this false smear. A federal judge, presiding at one of the suits against Derounian, said he found no evidence of anti-Semitism in the speech, the writings and the activities of the libeled smear victim. Yet 700,000 copies of *Undercover* had been sold, with the assistance of Walter Winchell, spreading false defamation from coast to coast.

The above statement of the rabbi need not necessarily imply that he is himself pro-Communist. He may have been taken in by the fear hysteria spread by Communist leaders, including both Jews and Gentiles. But he is stirring his Jewish flock almost to the point of violent eruption.

I am sure there is no organized Fascist movement in America worth all the scare. Such a movement is not what the Reds are talking about. It is the anti-Communist movement they are fighting and they brand it Fascist—and anti-Semitic. It is the pro-Americanism "reaction" they are fighting. Of all times and places in history when a Jew could settle down to a normal relationship with his Gentile neighbors, the time is now, the place is America. I see signs that the activity of the Communist crusade to brand the opposition as anti-Semitic, coupled with the activity of many secret Gestapos, including the ADL, is setting in motion a wave of anti-Semitism. The burning of a fiery cross where never a Klansman is found, simply to frighten negroes and Jews, the writing of anti-Semitic phrases on a synagogue—these tricks, exposed in several places as done by young Communists to fan race friction, are beginning to take effect.

WHY DO SO MANY JEWS LOVE RUSSIA?

Many a Gentile is completely stumped by this question. He is confused because, knowing the extreme brutality of the Bolsheviks and their successors, sympathizing deeply with the enslaved Russian people, (for whom Victor Kravchenko appeals eloquently to us in his remarkable historic document, *I Choose Freedom*) he cannot understand why so many of his Jewish acquaintances are pro-Soviet. He has a right to ask the question, and he is entitled to an honest answer. We are in a precarious position today, our leaders and publishers afraid to tell the people the real



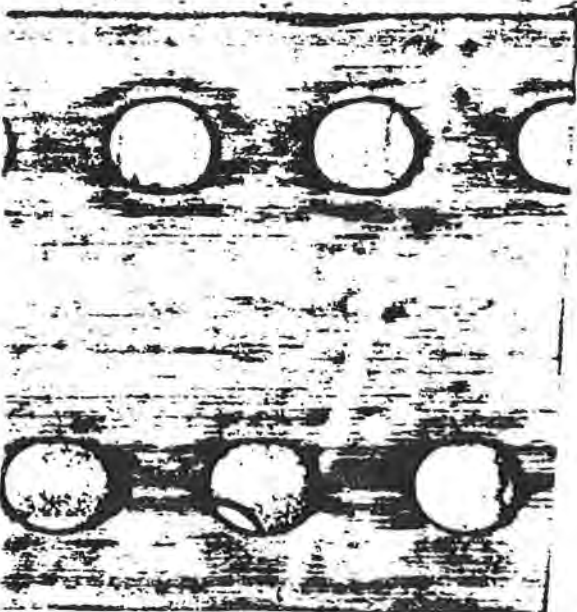
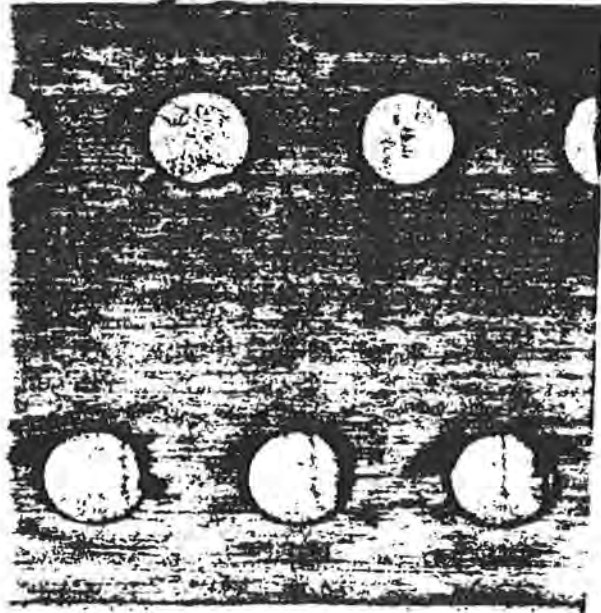
answer, afraid of the smear or loss of business, because we have blacked it out of the news for thirty years. Our sin is catching up with us. *Many an editor himself now does not know the real secret behind the Iron Curtain.*

Let Louis Levine, national chairman of the Jewish Council of Russian Relief, tell you. Levine paid an extended visit to Russia last summer and came back hysterical in his enthusiasm for the Soviet regime. He reported before an audience provided by, and I believe sponsored by, leading Jewish organizations and publicists of Chicago. The heart of these group gatherings appears to be the ADL. In an article in the November, 1946, issue of *Soviet Russia Today*, Levine (billed as "Outstanding leader of American Jewry") wrote: "Special concern for the Jewish people has characterized the Soviet Union since its birth in the 1917 Revolution. A week after tsarism was overthrown, the infant Socialist government, headed by Lenin, legally abolished national oppression, making it the first country in the world to declare anti-Semitism a crime. . . . Every manifestation of anti-Semitism was fought openly and sternly."

He makes the amazing statement, "Many American Jews did not quite believe that the anti-Semitic scourge of several thousand years could be wiped out within one generation and certainly not in a country in which it had been an official part of the state apparatus for many hundred years."

I don't know where in all literature I have read such an appalling statement. Considering that there must have been millions of Russians adjudged anti-Semitic, especially by Communist standards, it does not seem possible that "anti-Semitism" could have been wiped out in one generation short of killing and exiling countless hordes of Gentile Russians. Was it, then, the suspicion of anti-Semitism as much as property considerations which caused the Communist regime to destroy 20,000,000 Russians? Levine continues: "And there were some (American Jews) who believed the 'miracle' had taken place, but frankly wondered whether it was accomplished at the cost of a loss of a distinct Jewish life, of a decline in religious observances and of a deterioration of Jewish culture."

Levine then describes expansively his 6,000-mile trip inside the Soviet Union, going wherever and whenever he pleased without surveillance—a rare concession, made not even to our ambassadors. And everywhere he says, he encountered a Jewish culture. He tells that "more than in any other country in the world, Jewish literature, theater, poetry is considered basic to a full cultural life. I met many non-Jews who had read Sholem Aleichem in the original Yiddish. Many non-Jews, including the Ukrainian leader, Dmitri Manuilsky, were brought up in Jewish surroundings, and retain great interest and pride in their background." (Manuilsky is often mentioned as a possible successor to Stalin.) He says that the "center of Jewish life in the Soviet Union is the extremely active and influential Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. . . . When I spoke to government officials about the Jewish Council or the Soviet Jews, I was generally asked, 'Wh



does Mikhoels (head of the Committee) think about it' or I was told that 'If it is OK with the Committee, it is OK with us'."

In my Intelligence research I had learned from documents and authentic excerpts from documents gathered from numerous sources, that the Russian Communist government was still under powerful Jewish influence; also Jewish soldiers from Russia and Poland in the U. S. Army to me something of this power. (I don't think they themselves realized the magnitude.) But here it is again, from one who ought to know.

Levine wrote of meeting world-famous Jewish surgeons, a Jewish general, and many other high government officials of Jewish origin. "It was apparent—and even the sketchiest of observations would have disclosed—that the Soviet Jews participate fully and freely on every level of government activity."

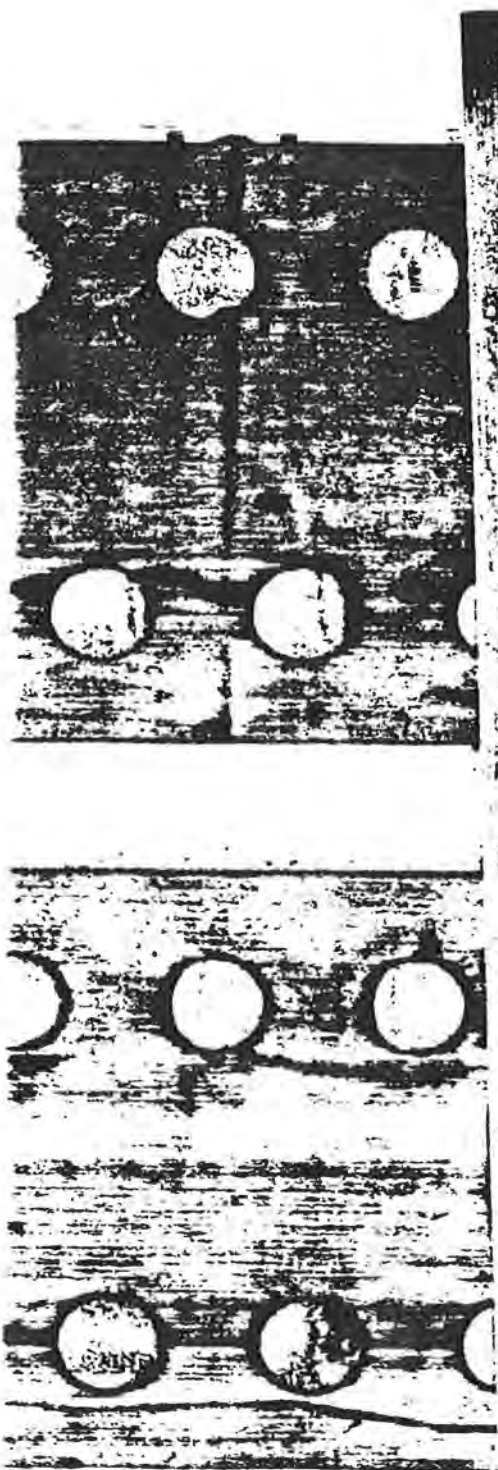
He went much stronger than that in Chicago, (on the 12th floor, 32 West Randolph Street) on the night of October 30, 1946, saying that many of the high ranking government officials were Jewish, and explaining one of the devices which, I believe, has kept the Russian people the selves much in the dark as to the extent of Jewish control over the Many of the Jewish officials "did not look Jewish, but they spoke to privately in Hebrew or Yiddish."

He implied what we find confirmed from other sources, that "miracle" by which all anti-Semitism had been "wiped out" in Russia one generation was the weapon of Liquidation or exile to Siberia. "C does not dare be anti-Semitic in Russia," he wrote.

This undoubtedly is the real secret behind the iron curtain—the power of the highly organized, utterly ruthless Marxist wing of Russian Jew. It terrorized anti-Communist Jews, the same as anti-Communist Gentiles for a time; but Levine, in the article previously quoted, relates how they have opened their synagogues again and the Jewish people again enjoy complete religious freedom. Now that the Christian church has been virtually exterminated, it may be the intent of the Russian government to permit religious freedom. How can we know for sure?

THE PRIVILEGED CLASS

This reminds me of Kravchenko's pitiful story of the complete utter degradation of the Russian family, the closing of their Christian churches, the killing and deporting of the kulaks—the farmers. Now in all the articles and reports I have read of the Russian scene have found any indication that the non-Jewish people enjoyed or now enjoy any such privileges as Levine reports for the Jewish people there. Kravchenko writes a pitiful chapter in *I Chose Freedom* on seeing the privileged persons evacuated in Packard automobiles with their families or mistresses as the Hitler armies approached, and of how other people were forced at bayonet point to remain behind, to let the Nazi armies pass and



harass them with underground activities at great personal risk. He describes the bitterness as intense.

Levine wrote, "And at the outset of the war, as we all know, Jews were among the first evacuated from the western regions threatened by the Hitlerite invaders, and shipped to safety east of the Urals." Thus Levine tells us the privileged persons saved from the Nazis were Jewish. He said 2,000,000 of them were thus saved. (Were the privileged class of whom Kravchenko wrote among these?)

Another observer writes of seeing Jews vacationing in luxury at resorts on the Black Sea, while Gentiles starved in Russian mills. This was just before the War.

Is it any wonder that Jews the world over are interested in the Soviet Union? Even if we had no other documentary evidence to substantiate Levine's report—even if he were manufacturing considerable of it to swing American Jewry into the Marxist movement—their inclination in that direction would be understandable—except those who were sickened at the mass killings.

W. L. White, in his new book, *Report on the Poles*, (condensed in the December, 1946, issue of *Readers Digest*) estimates that only about 50 per cent of the Polish Communist government are Jewish. An official representative of that government has told me that he believes White's estimate "conservative."

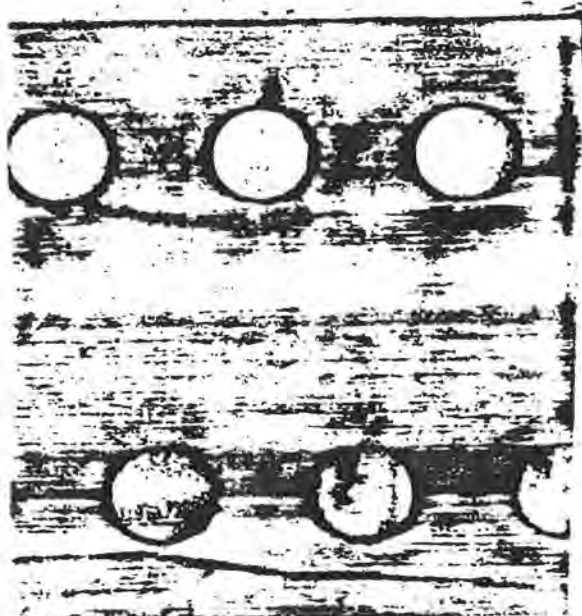
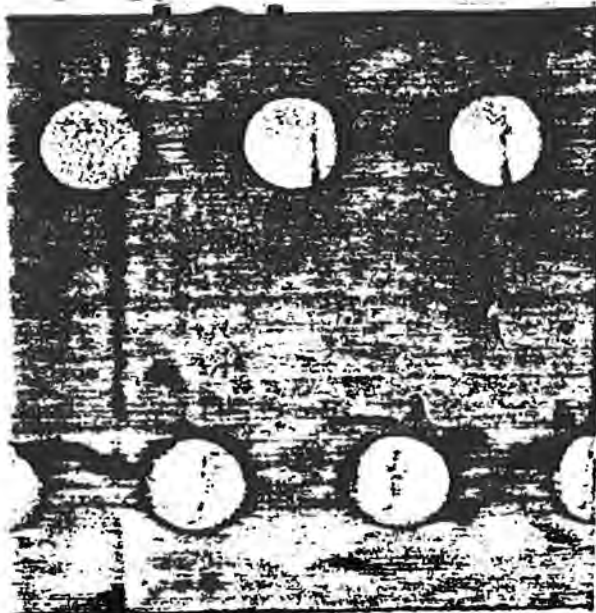
Sokolsky reports that anti-Semitism is raging in Poland worse than anywhere else at any time in history. The Poles understand Communism.

Reports on Roumania and Hungary indicate great bitterness among the Christians, the same as in Poland, because of their fathomless fear of the radical Jewish element in their government.

White states that many Jews in Poland, before Russia took over, opposed the march of Communism. He says that the Polish Communist Party was dominated by Jews, who comprised about 70 per cent of the total Party membership; but the Party itself was small. I have reputable Jewish magazines and other publications issued during the war stating that many a Catholic and Protestant in Poland, including some Catholic priests, risked their lives to hide Jews from the Nazis. It may be there was much firm friendship and not very widespread Communism among the Polish peoples, Jews and Gentiles, before Russia took over. In the army I found very little pro-Communist sentiment among our Gentile Poles; I did find considerable among the Jewish Poles.

I have statements from trusted sources that many of the richest Jews in the Baltic states turned Communist overnight when the Red army came in. But this is not proof that they would have been Communist had the Baltics remained "free." They had little choice; embracing Communism for them was easy. Resistance meant punishment, while as converts they would expect favored treatment at the hands of the Russian government.

Eye witnesses say they immediately began helping the Reds liquidate Christians.



Our own government and all governments understood that it was the Bolshevik element among the Jewish people who took over Russia in the October Revolution of 1917. A report by our own American Intelligence Service in 1919, never released in America but published in Paris (*Documentation Catholique*, issue of March 6, 1920), listed the names of the 25 leading Bolshevik officials, 24 of whom were shown as Jewish, the 25th, Lenin, married to a Jewess. (Some authorities insist that Lenin was half Jewish.) Heading the list of the 24 was, of course, L. Trotsky (Bronstein of New York).

Broadly, this report was confirmed in a British white paper "Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April, 1919," now a rare document, a photographed copy of which I have in safe keeping. This document was suppressed almost immediately after it was presented to Parliament, and when it reappeared the entire reference to the Jewish influence had been deleted. I will presently have a copy of the censored edition also. Originals are in safekeeping in several English and Irish university libraries.

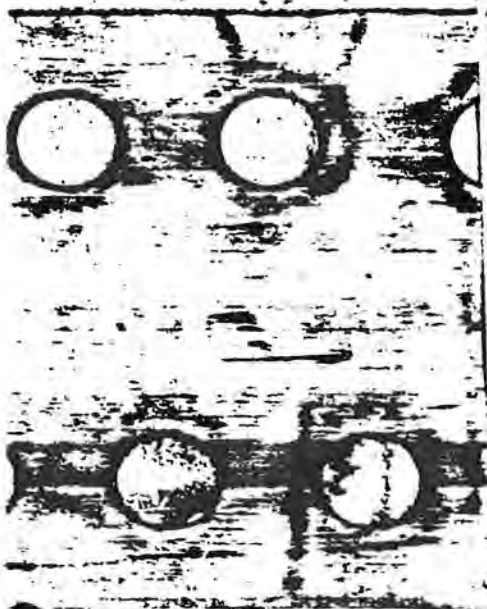
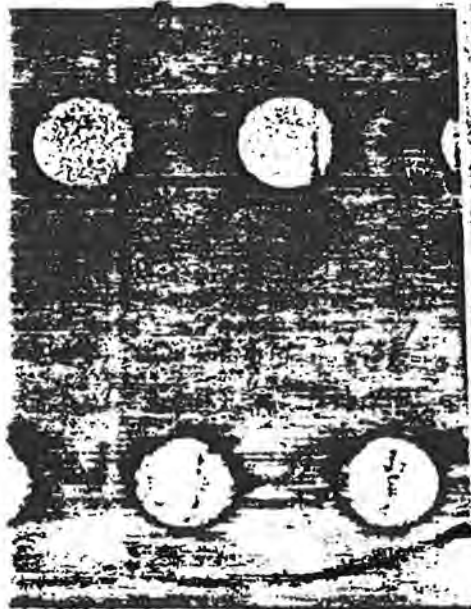
The *Jewish Transcript* of Seattle, Washington, of May 29, 1936, said: "The Communists are Jewish controlled."

Winston Churchill, in a speech on the floor of Parliament in 1919, reviewing the Revolution, also brought out the fact of Jewish Bolshevik domination. "The Last Days of the Romanoffs," by Robert Wilton, an Englishman who served as an officer in the Russian army and was in an excellent position to observe; official reports made to President Woodrow Wilson and to the British government, and many reports by individuals, substantiate the fact that the power was seized by Jewish elements of the Bolshevik Party in the October Revolution of 1917. The money which went from New York City to finance the Revolution was raised and sent by American Jewish bankers, some of them not likely Bolsheviks themselves but rather anxious for revenge against a Czarist government which had committed pogroms against the Jews of Russia. This money, nevertheless, was placed in the hands of the Jewish element of the Bolshevik Communist Party in Russia—not in the hands of Gentile Bolsheviks—and it made possible the buying of arms and ammunition, the printing and distribution of seditious revolutionary literature among soldiers of the Russian armies, the feeding and financing of Communist agents, the setting up of governmental machinery. It was supplemented, to be sure, by funds stolen and seized in Russia.

THEY CAPTURED THE NKVD

Douglas Reed, in his *Insanity Fair*, published in 1938 in England, told of his official visit to Moscow accompanying Anthony Eden, and of finding the entire press censorship service in the hands of Jews. Other observers confirm his statements.

The terror, however, was more directly due, I think, to the fact that



much of the NKVD was staffed by Bolshevik Jews—cruel to all religious peoples, anti-Communist Jews and Gentiles alike, but particularly bent on annihilation of Christians. The GPU (NKVD) and its successors have been virtually the government since the Revolution. This terroristic secret police throws fear into every man in Russia except possibly Stalin. It is now in command of an estimated 20,000,000 slaves in work and prison camps, and in recent years has developed all Russian heavy industry with slave labor. It apparently no longer waits for workers to commit offenses or even to be suspected of sabotage or anti-Semitism, but deliberately impresses workmen by the million. It is at last the full realization of Marx's dream of complete enslavement of "enemy" peoples.

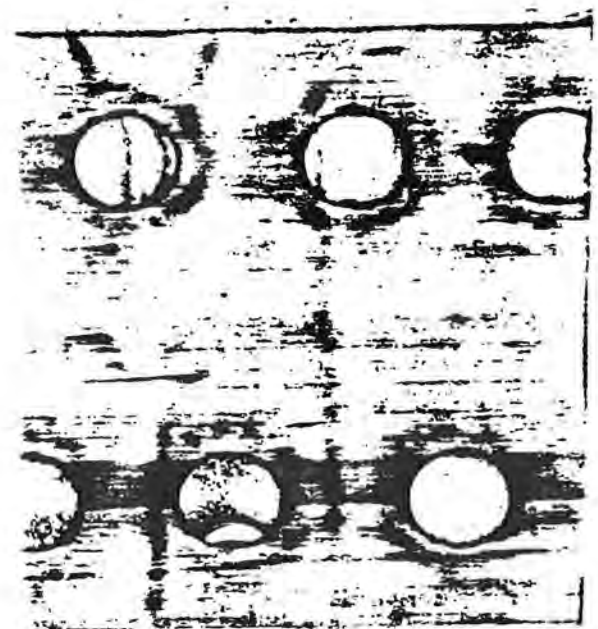
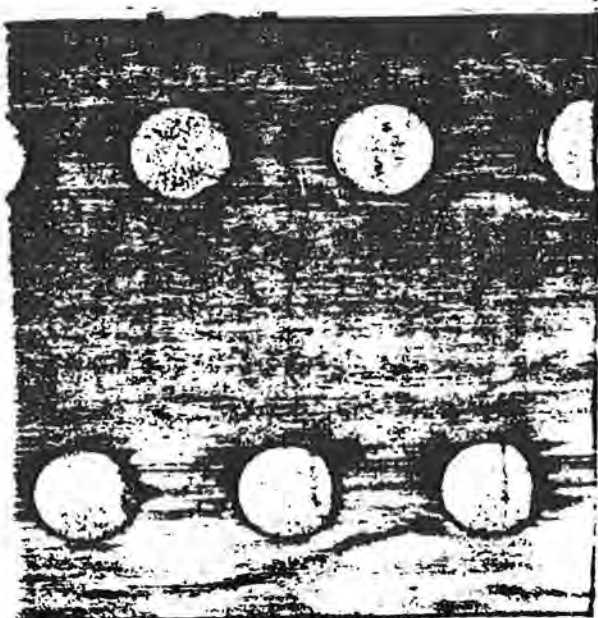
Henry Jagoda (or Yagoda), "merciless head of the NKVD," as Kravchenko described him, was a Jew. Succeeding Jagoda, after he himself was liquidated in 1937 for reasons we may never know—but most likely jealousy—Yezhov took over. He too was Jewish. The head of this machine for annihilation would have to be a prime hater of Christians and of all anti-Communists, and above all of *anyone accused of being anti-Semitic*.

Beria, last head of the NKVD before its recent division into domestic and foreign branches of secret police, is reportedly an Armenian from Georgia; but his picture shows such pronounced Jewish features as to throw considerable doubt on his origin. The story that he is an Armenian or a Georgian may be a cover.

All through the great liquidation of the officers of the Red army, of the Old Bolsheviks (including the original, largely Jewish Politburo) and hundreds of thousands of others in Stalin's domain in the middle and late 1930's, we were mystified as to the reason for the purge. We have been told repeatedly that the accusations were false. Perhaps an anti-Semitic plot was suspected—though this reason would not answer for all cases, because many prominent Jews were liquidated too.

In the trials and brutal "investigations" as described by many a writer, seldom was it possible even for the accused to discover any cause for his persecution. Most often the charge was sabotage. It is clear, on reflection, that if the victim was suspected of being anti-Semitic, the NKVD could not afford to say so, because millions of liquidations on charges of anti-Semitism would breed more anti-Semitism. This is the only plausible explanation I have found. Our government could doubtless enlighten us on these facts of history. It is to its eternal discredit that it has not seen fit to do so; and for concealing a truth of such significance we may all suffer.

Some Jews have repudiated Marxism. The correspondent who got the first interview with Stalin, a second writer who was married to a lady assistant commissar, and a third who was pro-Communist and in Moscow during the Revolution, today are in the battle against Communism.



Here is what Dr. Oscar Levy wrote in 1920 in a letter used as the preface to a book, *The World Significance of the Russian Revolution*, by G. Pitt Rivers:

"Jewish elements provide the driving force for both Communism and Capitalism for the material as well as the spiritual ruin of this world . . . to the intense idealism of the Jew." He pointed out, however, that not all Jews are financiers, Zionists or Bolsheviks. He continued, "We who have promised to lead you to a new Heaven, we have finally succeeded in landing you in a new Hell. . . . I look at this world and I shudder all the more as I know the spiritual authors of all this ghastliness. . . . But its authors themselves are unconscious in this as in all they are doing." I do not have a copy of this book but believe it still available in big libraries.

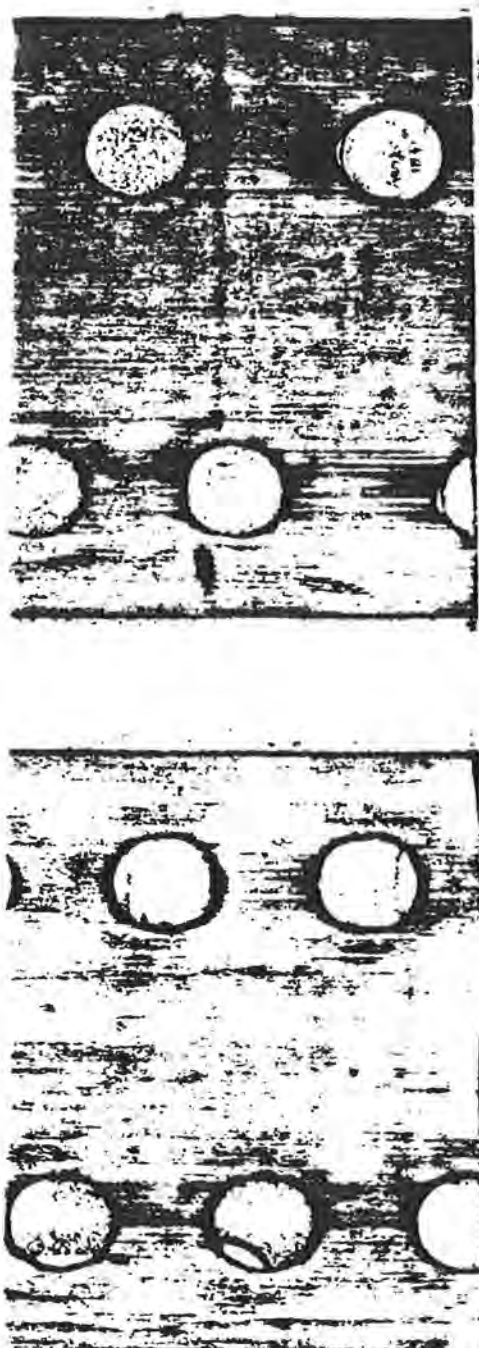
I am sure that if the average idealistic young American of any race who has become innoculated with the hate hypnosis, and therefore has become a captive and tool of these rulers of the Marxist world, could open his eyes and accept the facts he would abandon Communism. If he could look back into undeniable source books of facts and see that Communism from the very outset was invented as a vehicle to sell to gullible peoples, wrapped up in a package to appeal to both Jew and Gentile, for the one purpose of elevating the Marxist radicals to world power over their fellow men—nobody but the power seekers themselves would be Marxists.

But the pitiable, misled petty Communist soon becomes so intense in his hatred of all anti-Communists and is so thoroughly grounded and goaded, he rejects historical facts as propaganda.

WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

In the matter of the history of Marxism, all of us can learn a valuable lesson if we will. We should remember the story: Jews were at the head of the revolutionary groups leading up to and during the Communist Revolution of Germany of 1848. They were too conspicuous. The revolution largely failed—for this and other reasons. And the people of Germany and Austria never forgot or forgave the Jewish people; they held all Jews responsible for Communism. They seemed to believe that all Jews hated Christianity. *Anti-Semitism never died in those countries thereafter. This fact should make American Jews repudiate the radicals who are trying to herd them into the Red camp.*

No movement in history has been so successfully deceptive, so complete a fraud as Marxism. Americans do not understand it. I hear it said that not fifty of us really do understand it in its entirety. Marxist propaganda agents are well schooled and well financed; they create confusion; they deny all facts; and the average person will not think the movement through, even when equipped with a mass of factual information.



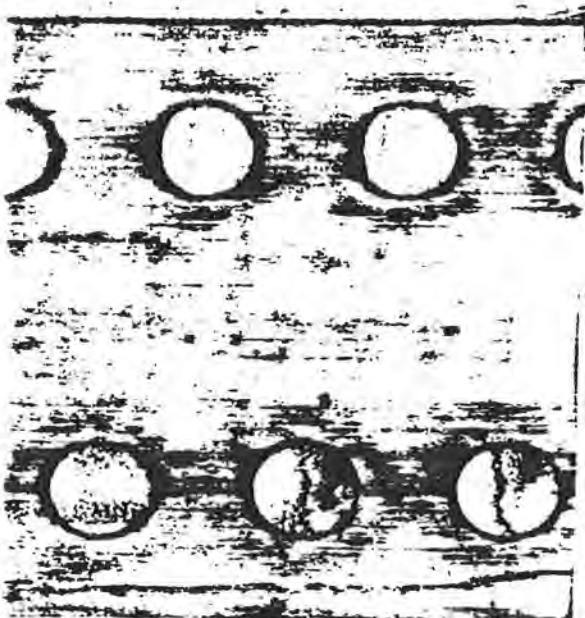
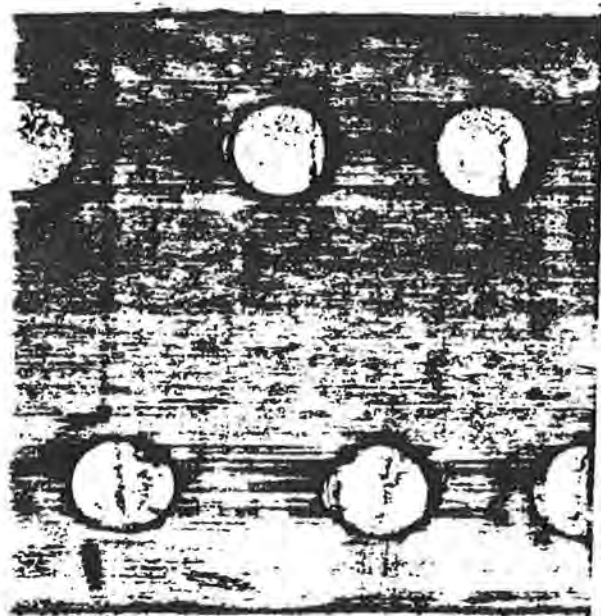
The principal reason for this failure to understand the core of the movement is that we look at the means rather than the end. We are thinking of business instead of people. We think and speak of Communism as state ownership of all capital wealth. That is only a device which helps the planners accomplish their purpose. Destroy private ownership of property and every man, woman and child is at the mercy of the State by next meal time. The purpose for which Communism was perfected by Karl Marx and his associates, largely radical Jews, was to place world political power in their hands—to give people power over other people. If this sounds ridiculous, I agree with you; but I must remind you that Napoleon and Caesar and Alexander and Hitler and Stalin all have dreamed of world power—to the misery of mankind.

There is one history-making difference in the Marxist reach for world power and that of a Caesars. The men on horseback were individuals grasping for power. Marxism (or Communism) is a program. It did not die with the power seekers who carried it to perfection. *It was perfected by a small group of haters and it is the doctrine of hate.* The greatest hater of all time was Marx. He was an atheist. He hated all religion, but above all, he hated Christianity. He even hated Judaism (the religion) as the parent of Christianity.

He and his circle believed they could elevate themselves to power principally by spreading hatred, and their main theme song, whispered among Jews ever since by Red agents, was to fan Jewish hatred of Christianity, and promise Jews that through Marxism they would triumph over their Biblical "enemies," the Gentiles. *From its outset, the movement was basically Marxism versus Christianity.*

The Marx program was broader than may appear in the brief statement above. It would take a shelf of books to bring all its facets into focus. It offers the most beautiful idealism, such as world peace, but does not mention that the price of a Communist peace is slavery. It is a case of the spider and the fly. Marx and his radicals thought they could rouse to class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred, against the existing order, enough workers and minority groups in one country to seize power, especially to seize all industry and productive wealth—not for themselves, mind you, but for the little clique of Marxist conspirators, who made them extravagant promises.

Meanwhile his agents would be organizing secret police and other suppressive squads and propaganda machines and sabotage cells in other countries, especially industrial countries. They would organize the workers into what they termed trade unions, under strict discipline by dictatorial leaders. Once a victory in one country, that nation's men and machines would be hurled at other countries in combined operations with Fifth Columns. Soon the world would be a Marx apple.



The plan put Marx and his radical Jewish circle in command at the outset of the movement, and everywhere Communism has traveled, in Russia, in Poland, in the Baltics, the Balkans, France, Italy, England, the United States, Central and South America, Africa, and now into Japan, it has sought to deify the Jew.

Marx published his pamphlet, "Communist Manifesto," in 1848. He thought his crowd would win that year in Germany; but the Communist revolution there virtually failed and he fled to England, where, abusing privileges of freedom, he plotted for many years to destroy freedom.

Next year will end a century of Marxist agitation, labor union organizing for political power and building of Fifth Columns. Thirty years ago the Marxist crowd succeeded in seizing one potentially great military power. They can now hurl that against others. We shall soon see whether Communism will wipe out the age of freedom or shall be turned back.

Stalin is a Georgian, though some of our Jews have been made to believe him Jewish. He is, however, married to the sister of Kaganovich, Jewish commissar of heavy industry. Kaganovich long was considered Stalin's closest friend and second in influence in all the Russias. He still is powerful. Molotov's wife is Jewish, the sister of Samuel Carp of Bridgeport, Conn. Manuilsky, as Levine told us, was raised Jewish. Manuilsky is a power in the Soviet Union, often mentioned as a possible successor to Stalin. He is head of the government of the Ukraine and head of the Communist International.

Of Stalin, Louis Levine had this to say in his article in "Soviet Russia Today":

"The Jewish people are unanimous in their love for Stalin. They regard him as the greatest friend of the Jewish people. They attribute to his understanding of national minorities and to his leadership the new, exalted status of the Soviet Jews." (Emphasis is mine.)

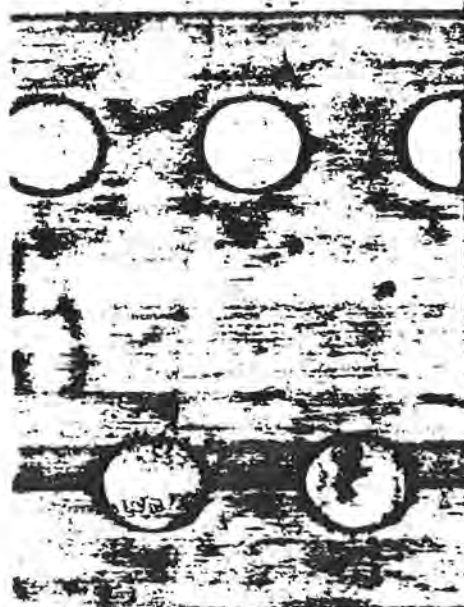
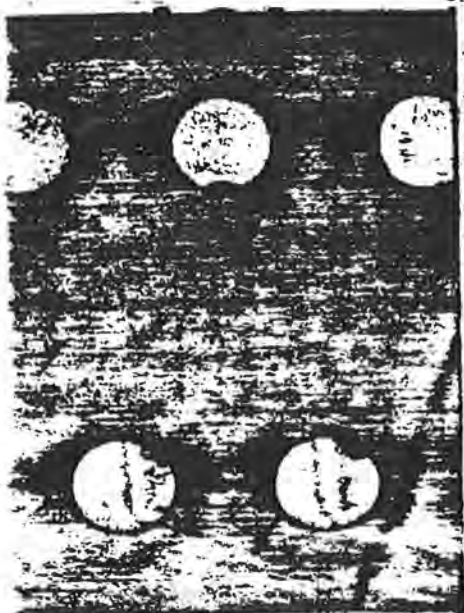
Levine also tells us that Stalin's daughter is to marry a Jew. "I need not add that the Soviet Jews greeted with joy the news that Stalin and the father of his prospective Jewish son-in-law drank 'lachaim' together in the Kremlin!"

Any supposition that Jews are fleeing from official Russian persecution should be quieted once and for all time by that single statement.

(The New York-Moscow Red Axis is moving Jews out of Eastern Europe into Palestine to increase the Communist-Zionist underground there, tightening the pressure on Britain.)

Elsewhere in the same article Levine said, "It is important to point out that the Soviet Jews, as the entire population, are one with the Soviet government. There is absolutely no distinction between themselves and the government, as some have tried to make out."

"All believed that the final solution to the Jewish problem lies in the victory of full democracy throughout the world, in the struggle for the



complete eradication of fascism whenever it threatens or wherever it exists." To understand this statement you must use the word *democracy* as Levine and the Soviet Communists use it: meaning Communism; and you must translate the word *fascism* as meaning simply all forces opposed to Communism. This makes the statement mean, clearly, that the Jewish people of Russia told Levine the solution to the Jewish problem throughout the world lies in the world wide victory for Communism.

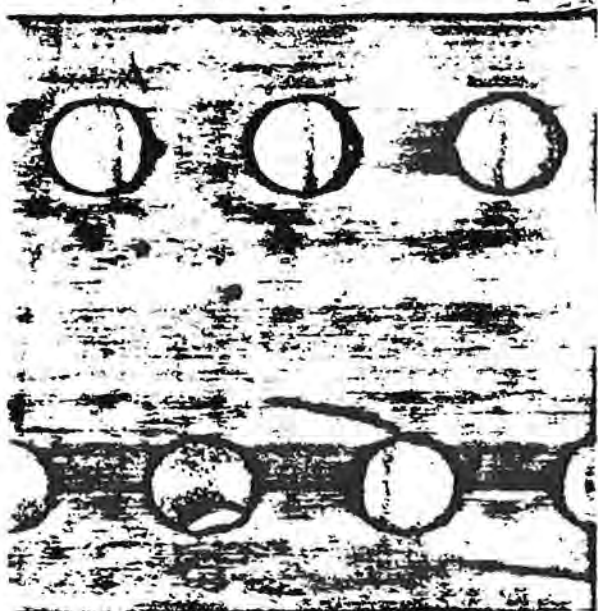
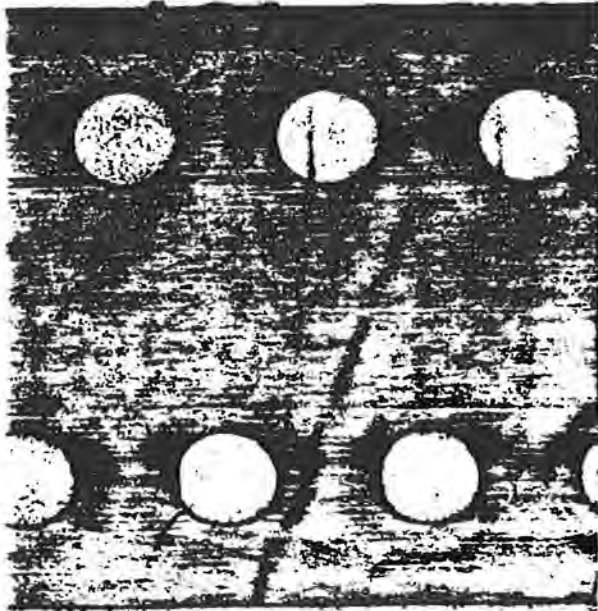
Rev. Denis Fahey of the Holy Ghost Missionary College, Dublin, Ireland, widely known historian, in his well documented booklet, "The Rulers of Russia," printed in 1940, reproduces excerpts from a number of rare documents, naming the leaders of Russia at various periods since the Revolution, contending that there has been no diminution of Jewish power in the government. Some of the lists of leaders can be cross-checked by other documents, or methods. For instance, one document shows that fourteen out of seventeen Soviet ambassadors to foreign capitals in 1935-1936 were Jewish, two of the other three with Jewish staffs. Maisky, ambassador to Great Britain, headed the list. His real name is given in the International Who's Who for 1943-1944 as I. M. Layakhovetsky. I am sure it would not be difficult to verify the racial origin of all on this list, since each was well known in the country where he was stationed.

As previously stated, it is of the greatest importance to the successful radical Jews to keep the Gentile world, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, in the dark about their power.

My information is lamentably limited, but I have evidence of the use of the following devices to conceal their strength:

1. Influence by Jewish organizations (The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, for example, mentioned by Levine, operating with greater influence, no doubt, than the Political Action Committee behind the New Deal).
2. Promotion to important posts of Russians married to Jews.
3. Changing of names of Jewish officials.
4. Placing in high position Jews who "do not look Jewish."
5. The "hidden director" device whereby one who appears to be only a clerk or petty aide, occupying an inconspicuous office, is the real director of a bureau or commission (as, for instance, the Soviet Purchasing Commission to the United States at one time during the war. Kravchenko does not give any reason for the invention of this device, but he states that it is frequently used in the Soviet Union. Russia uses this device in directing the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Gerhardt Eisler, a German Jew, reportedly has been the invisible director—known to only the top Communists and therefore deceiving all the little Communist tools.)
6. Placing responsibility on men who were raised Jewish—as in the case of Manuilsky.

Kravchenko (*I Chose Freedom*) recorded that Mekhlis, the political commissar over all the Red armies, had to be removed because he was



Jewish and the Nazi propaganda machine was striking telling blows at the morale of the Russian soldiers by capitalizing on this fact.

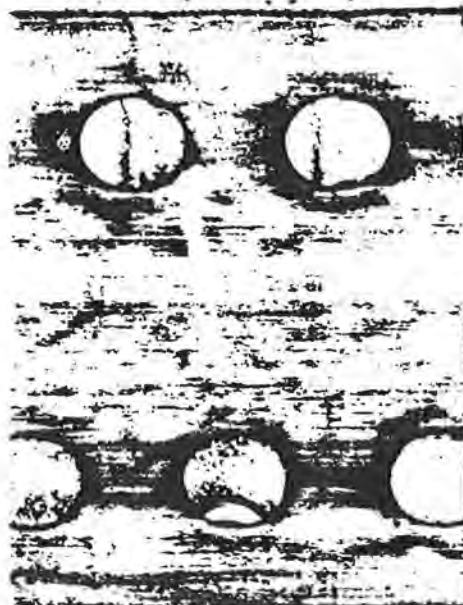
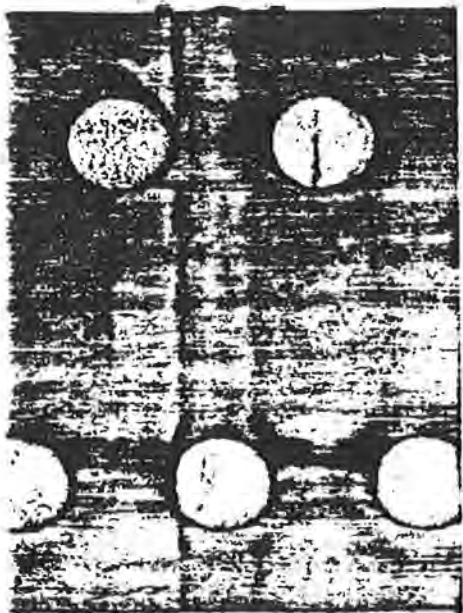
The position of political director over all the Red armies is one of the most powerful positions in the Soviet government.

To summarize briefly the power of Jews in Soviet Russia . . . such power no longer is absolute, as it once was, in the sense of holding all the top flight positions. But the entire Communist regime is theirs. It is their mental offspring. The thinking of Stalin, Molotov and all Communists the world over is so conditioned as to exalt the Jew over the Gentile. If Stalin ordered the destruction of millions of hardy kulak land owners, 99 per cent of them Gentiles, and if he has destroyed millions of Christians, he is doing the bidding of Karl Marx and his heirs. The Communist administration, utterly unlike the non-conspiratorial Russian people, holds its strength largely from the mass of Jewish converts. Without them the Marxist regime would simply become another dictatorship, losing its racial ideology and its Internationalism. Communism has been a movement of the left wing of Jewry from its birth; it still is their instrument and their tool, in Russia as elsewhere.

Perhaps the secret is not too well kept. There are conflicting reports. Whereas Levine says there is no such thing as anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, in the *Detroit Times*, August 4, 1946, declared that racial feeling was running high there. He says that those Polish Jews who cherish democracy fear the slave camps of Siberia; they will not go to Russia. Perhaps they sense the probability of a counter-revolution in the land of the Soviets. Little can be known, however, by asking what the Polish Jews want, because they today are mercilessly herded and propagandized and torn by Jewish organizations in the United States, England and Palestine, and Moscow.

If anti-Semitism is rising again, after 20,000,000 Russians have been killed or shipped off to slave labor camps (Kravchenko's estimate)—the futility of the Revolution should speak eloquently to all peoples, including Jews, outside the blackout curtain.

The peoples of Eastern Europe all along have been better informed than we on the racial complexion of Communism. That's one reason why they have resisted it so desperately. They knew it would completely devastate their civilization. Spokesmen of several of these countries, men of influence and integrity, from Poland and the Baltics, have told me that their people, living against the Iron Curtain, were able to "see through holes in the Curtain" and understood what was going on inside Russia. The people of Hungary have not forgotten that it was the Jewish terrorist, Bela Kun, Communist revolutionary leader, who right after the first World War wrote his name across Eastern Europe in the blood of hundreds of thousands of Christians. Our diplomatic staffs in Finland, Poland, the Baltic states and Roumania likewise must have understood the racial theme. An official of the Swiss government has told me how much better informed are his people than we Americans on the Communist scourge.



There are several reasons why we have so little understood the basic principle behind the Red terror. Originally it was kindness on the part of our editors which deleted any reference to the fact that the conspirators in Russia were largely Jewish; it was kindness toward our own Jewish community. Who could foresee that such kindness would be so vastly taken advantage of by the Jewish wing of world Communism, propagandizing here among us to provide special immunities for the Jew in preparation for Jewish domination of the Revolution?

When, years ago, the Anti-Defamation League began working on our editors, including the wire services, it was only natural for the editors to yield as a matter of tolerance. As far back as the middle 1930s the League was boasting, in confidential communications not meant for Gentile readers, that it had been successful in "securing cooperation of the Associated Press in eliminating the word 'Jew' in connection with one accused of crime." (Photographic copy in my possession.) Under this agreement the Jewish origin of Louie (Lepke) Buchalter, genius behind *Murder, Inc.*, was seldom if ever seen in the daily press. Under this agreement the fact that nearly all the conspirators behind the Red throne in Moscow were Jewish rarely has been seen in print here in America.

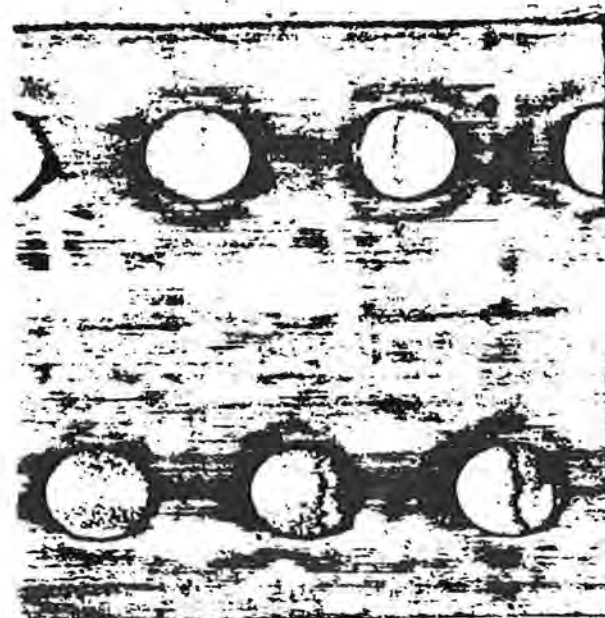
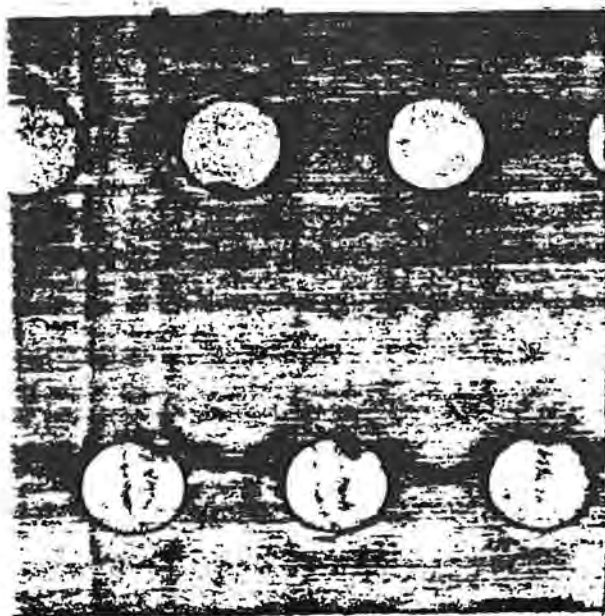
We would all be happy to forget these ugly facts; but because of the manner in which Communist agents have been able to impose on tolerance, it is now of the greatest importance that we understand the true nature of the Communist organization and the true purpose of the movement.

One other condition has contributed widely to our ignorance of the racial involvement in the Soviet regime: the fact that since the first world war we have received most of our "news" from Northeastern Europe—along the path of Moscow—from correspondents who were almost universally pro-Communist Jews. They were not Americans. Few of them ever saw America. And seldom was there an American correspondent on the scene to verify or correct or deny the nature of the dispatches. The local correspondents sold their dispatches, often fabricated or colored, to London and New York for good pounds and dollars; while in Moscow proper only pro-Communist dispatches were permitted.

Today, after this long blackout of truth and against the present power of intimidation of the Anti-Defamation League, it is difficult indeed to get the full facts before the American public. The writer or Intelligence officer who reports them immediately becomes the target of the smear fury. He is discredited so thoroughly that his neighbors may refuse to believe him.

THE FREIHEIT PLAN

The glimpse behind the Soviet blackout curtain does not complete the scene of activities and plans of the ambitious, ruthless left-wing of the Jewish world community. Not long ago I came into possession of some pamphlets issued by a large, influential Marxist-Jewish group in America, which tie up Communism with the Jewish people and with Political Zionism, ("Political" as contrasted with "Religious Zionism," the latter purely



a spiritual concept), in a plan for world-wide power. Before the activities of all propagandizing organizations and defaming secret police here at home can be fully understood, it is important to understand this world political plan. Communism itself is a world political plan, but the pamphlets bring out rather clearly the belief on the part of the Jewish Marxists that it is they who will dominate the Communist International (their man, Manuisky, is now its head); and they tempt the rank and file Jew by picturing his race as destined to triumph, assuring him special privilege. They have transferred the "chosen people" theme of the Old Testament from the sphere of religion to the sphere of temporal power. They even proselyte among Jewish religious groups by promising that while all religion is ostensibly to be destroyed by Communism, in fact, the "secret, solitary worship of the Jew", as perfected in slavery 2500 years ago) will survive the time of religious suppression and eventually, after all other religion is killed, Judaism will flourish "without opposition."

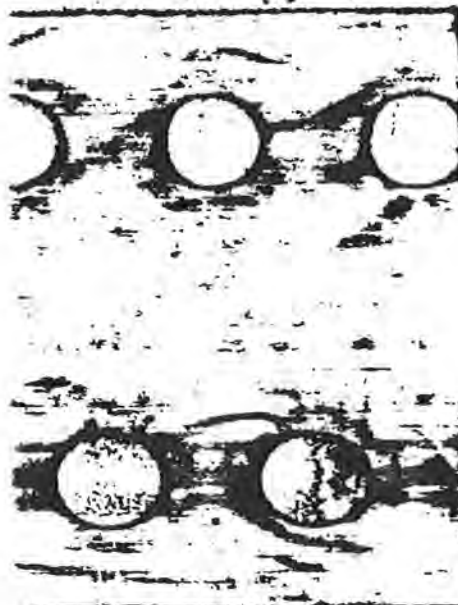
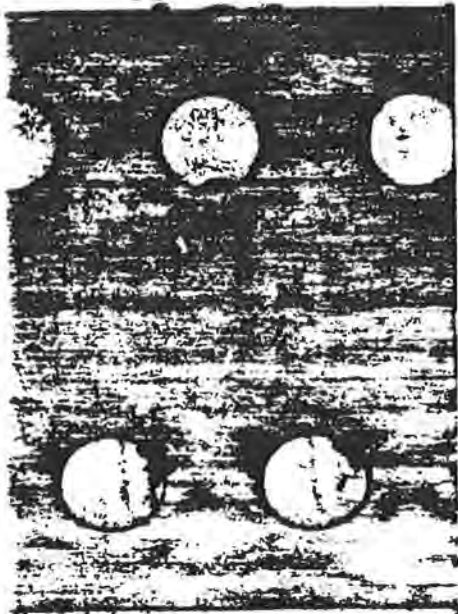
Much of this program is contained in a pamphlet entitled, "The Jewish People Face the Postwar World." The pamphlet was published by the Morning Freiheit Association, 35 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., and sub-titled "Report to the first yearly conference of the national board of directors of the Morning Freiheit Association, Nov. 10 and 11, 1945." The Morning Freiheit Association publishes *The Morning Freiheit*, an openly Communistic daily in the Yiddish language, for which it claims a circulation of approximately 70,000, and reputedly is read by about 300,000 persons. Its readers are principally in New York, but the paper circulates nationally and has distribution offices, supported by branch or affiliated "associations," in several cities.

The first page of the pamphlet—the official report of this large, powerful association—makes its pro-Soviet sentiments clear. Speaking of the "imperialist reaction of American finance capital" of this postwar period, it says: "This imperialist reaction attacks and combats the democratic forces of all countries, particularly the most consistent representative of the people's democracy—the Soviet Union."

I have italicized the words *democratic* and *democracy* because to understand this pamphlet, like all Communist dialectic of today, you must use the words in the sense in which Moscow uses them: simply substitute the word *Communism* for *People's democracy* or *democracy*. Likewise, *Fascist* and *anti-Semitic* in this pamphlet may generally be translated by substituting the word *capitalist* or *anti-Communist*. *Imperialist reaction* refers to the whole upsurge of the spirit of individual freedom and enterprise.

The pamphlet thoroughly aligns itself with the Marxist movement here at home. "Imperialist reaction has begun an offensive against the masses of the American people themselves, against their economic security (substitute government paternalism) and democratic rights, and especially against the American working class and the labor movement."

This is Karl Marx himself talking—attacking the enterprise, property-owning system, championing the Soviet system (wherein the state itself, run by Communists, becomes the exploiter of man's labor).



The author, Alexander Bittelman—a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, USA—sounds the alarm of rising anti-Semitism, abuses the "new Dies" committee and its Red-baiting." He then warns of the danger that in the United Nations there "will emerge a world coalition under American imperialist reaction . . . for its drive toward world domination." He then outlines the Association's plan for the Jewish people, to establish what appears to be world power to defeat the "American imperialist . . . world domination" above mentioned.

Before going any further with this article, let me remind you that this Freiheit thing is not *my* plan; that in telling you about it and warning you against it I am not attacking Jews. I am merely urging all of us to defend ourselves against such bold revolutionary activities as Communists are planning. Does this brand me as anti-Semitic? The Anti-Defamation League will say so, I have no doubt—though at the dubious honor of siding with the Reds.

THE WORLD REVOLUTION

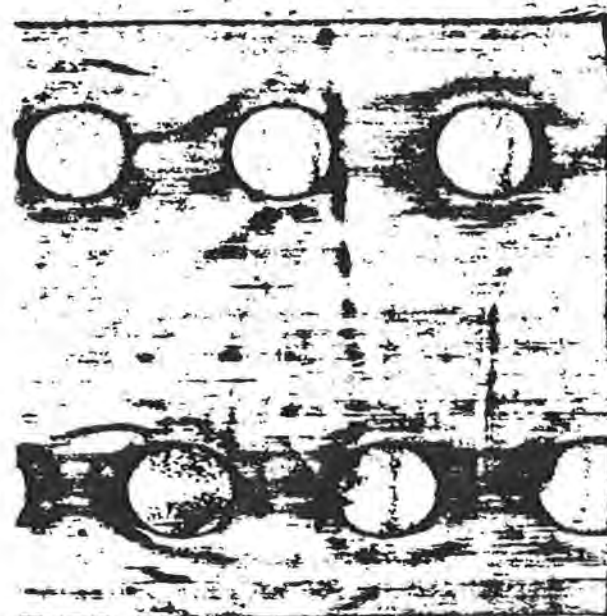
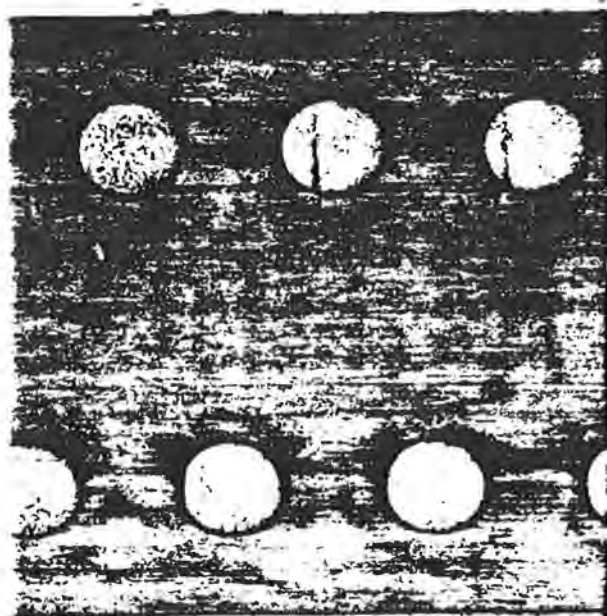
Outlining the plan for "the Jewish people," first for America, the Association's report says to tightly organize "the forces of the growing labor-democratic-anti-fascist coalition," to "compel the Truman Administration, by criticism and sustained political struggle, to carry through in life a policy of democracy, economic security and world peace," to force the pro-Capitalist elements among the American Jews to fall into line by conducting "a systematic struggle against the reactionary elements—in the American Jewish Committee and in the Jewish Labor Committee—which are obstructing the struggle for Jewish rights," and to join hands with "forces of similar coalitions in all parts of the world and in the world as a whole, in which the new 'World Federation of Trade Unions' is destined to play a decisive role. And the ultimate victory belongs precisely to these forces."

This is a remarkably plain statement, condensed from these pages of the pamphlet. *This is the World Revolution.* This is the Moscow plan, as explained to American Jewish Communists. On page 5 the report points out that "The American Jewish Congress, with its divisions and affiliates, can become a vital and decisive force in the general labor-democratic-anti-fascist coalition, for the benefit of the American people in general and of the American Jews in particular"—if it rids itself of "reactionary elements."

On page 7 the report endorses the action of the American Communist Party in condemning Earl Browder because he gave up Revolution in favor of "revisionism."

The domestic struggle unfolds in a vitally important detail on page 8: "The democratic Jewish forces will have to bring forth especially the fight against anti-Semitism, the fight for identical legislation in each state to declare and punish anti-Semitism as a criminal offense."

On the same page the report speaks of a "Black Book" of "indictment by the Jewish people against fascism"—"which is now being prepared



jointly, by the Jews of all countries." The names going into this book are of men marked for liquidation.

In subsequent pages the report attacks (with exceptions) assimilation, or intermarriage of Jews with Gentiles, attacks "nationalism" (or loyalty to country, as contrasted with loyalty to a world order), and insists on a separate Jewish life in America "which is organically bound up with the further building of the American nation as a whole together with all progressive forces of the American peoples." Emphasis is on the word *organic*, which is used in several places in the report. This apparently refers to the cellular organization of the Communist Party by which one or two persons can control a large number. It lends itself readily to the uses of persons who do not wish to expose their identity or racial origin unnecessarily.

One page 16 we are shocked by the statement that . . . "*Jewish life in America can be built only in both languages—Yiddish and English, and for this reason we have formulated as one of our major tasks the unification of the Yiddish-speaking and English-speaking Jews in one common Jewish anti-fascist unity. We have begun this work in our own Association and in our organ, the Morning Freiheit.*" Substitute the word "pro-Communist" or "Communist" for the word "anti-fascist," and you see a picture of the Jewish Communist movement regimenting its people to further and further separate themselves from Gentile America (except Gentile Communist tools) by learning a language understood only by Jews.

Louis Levine tells us they have succeeded in making Yiddish the language of the court, so to speak, in Russia; only the educated, largely Jewish people speak it there. Now we see the plan for the new court language and super-race in America, if the designs of the Morning Freiheit Association succeed.

A very special plan for Poland (p. 22) calls for a "a free, democratic and strong Poland"—but it means, if you understand the dialectic, *free* from capitalist anti-Communist forces. "The Jews need this kind of Poland. . . . In addition we have a national duty of *squaring our accounts* with fascism and anti-Semitism in the matter of Poland." Published in December, 1945, this statement foretold the fate of millions of Poles, since Poland is 98 per cent Christian. This month (January, 1947) has witnessed the "free, democratic election," and now the curtain goes down on pitied Poland.

The Palestine question is understood by very few, if any, Gentiles. It is confused by the fact that several Jewish groups want Palestine under different types of concessions or political conditions—and by the fact that a small, wise group of American Jews don't want to be involved at all in the Palestine or other political issue peculiar to Jews.

The Freiheit Association report makes unmistakably clear what the Communist wing of Jewry all over the world wants in Palestine. It is not simply a matter of relief for Jewish refugees, "not a matter of philan-

thropy, nor is it just an expression of human kindness. . . . It is a sacred national duty, the duty of helping to uproot *fascism* and *anti-Semitism* (i.e., anti-Communism) and to build a free and secure Jewish life." Thus Palestine is to be developed in accordance with the "anti-fascist" or Communist plan.

The Association does not want Palestine just as a homeland, an exclusively Jewish nation where Jews can live apart from other races. "The specific characteristic of the Jewish people, which is not a single nation, consists precisely in this, that out of it are growing two nationalities, one in Biro-Bidjan, the other in Palestine, and that these two growing Jewish nations are surrounded, so to speak, by Jewish settlements and communities in all parts of the world. This is how the Jewish people developed historically, and this is how we must continue the struggle for the culture and well-being of the Jewish people."

Thus, the report insists that its people think not ever of having a separate country of their own, but rather of living always among other peoples. But throughout the pamphlet the *world-wide unity of all Jews of all nations* is demanded—to be had by force, if necessary—in the "coalition" which will exercise power over the principal governments of the world.

In Palestine the Jews must not accept a separate state, according to this Communist voice; rather they must have "a Jewish national homeland in a free and democratic (Communist) Palestine, in collaboration with the Arabs." They want an independent Palestine, but they want it complete with Arabs. There are forty million Arabs in surrounding states. The Freiheit Jews believe they can better accomplish their ends by propagandizing and regimenting these peoples to their will; and their vehicle—as they themselves claim—is Communism. Extremely confident, gambling with the future of their own people, win all or lose all, these world conspirators doubtless believe they can convert all the Moslem world to Communism—under their leadership, of course, if they are the missionaries—and thus add another vast empire to the Marxist world. They frankly state that the Soviet Union will be their pattern for "complete and final solution of the Jewish question."

Another pamphlet, "Crisis in Palestine," by Moses Müller, former president of the Communist Jewish People's Committee, parallels the Freiheit plan. Especially it calls for ousting of British and American "imperialism" in Palestine and turning Palestine, as an independent Arab-and-Jewish state, to the United Nations—because the Soviet Union, the only country which has openly and forthrightly condemned the terror in Palestine, would then have a major voice in ruling Palestine. (The terror referred to does not mean the terrorism of the Jewish underground, which these pamphlets heroize in the boldest spirit of nationalism; it is rather an accusation that the British law enforcement agencies are terrorists and Nazis.)

TO COMMUNIZE THE MOSLEM WORLD?

As to the intent of the Jewish Communists to Communize the Arabs of Palestine, Miller speaks of "a consistent and persistent campaign for the unity of the Arab and Jewish peoples." (p. 31). In this pamphlet, as in the Freiheit plan and in all Communist literature and the Red press, it is clear that the principal weapon to be used is hatred—spreading hatred of the English and the Americans among the Arabs. Perhaps this would indicate a course for us to follow in the matter of keeping our nose out of other people's business.

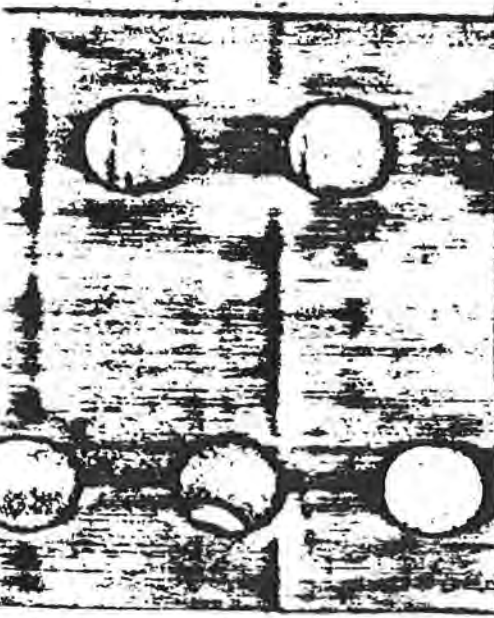
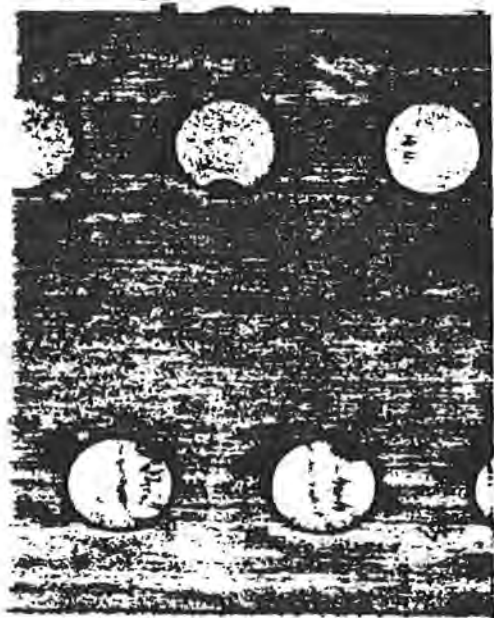
The report adopted by the vastly powerful Morning Freiheit Association envisions a world power machine which would dominate and subordinate this nation. It would create a special privileged race replenished from generation to generation in Palestine and Biro-Bidjan, where Jewish culture would be rigidly cherished; and it scorns the government and the social and economic systems of the United States. All who subscribe to the Freiheit plan are guilty of disloyalty to this country by any reasonable standards of Military Intelligence—and we might be alarmed if we could see a list of famous people who may privately favor the plan as indicated by occasional statements in their advice to their fellow Jews, or their sub-rosa association with Red fronts.

Dr. David Goldstein, Jewish Catholic, stated Feb. 2, 1947, that Palestine's Jews are ruled by "socialists." Other pro-American Jews insist that Communism and Zionism now are a "double-headed drive" for world-wide Jewish political power.

The intimidation of Jewish people by Zionists and Communists to force submission to the plan was given recently by a prominent Canadian Orthodox Jew, Dr. I. M. Rabinowitch, as the reason so few loyal Jews were speaking up against the disgrace of disloyalty to the Crown. Explaining that Religious Zionism was only a spiritual concept and repudiating Political Zionism, and saying that the strictly Orthodox Jew wanted it known that he was loyal to his country and to no other country, Dr. Rabinowitch, in an address before the Canadian Club of Montreal, carried in full in the December, 1946, issue of *Destiny*, said the silence "may be ascribed to three reasons: confusion, intimidation and disgust. The confusion is not difficult to understand. *Intimidation, I refused to believe for some time. I now know it to be a fact. In Palestine . . . there is now the Hagana movement which reminds one of Hitler's youth Movement. . . . Outside of Palestine the intimidation is not so complete, but it is by no means negligible.*"

We have seen the plan. We have seen that there are "reactionary elements" in American Jewry who have not been "sold" or coerced to abandon Americanism and join the selfish movement. We have seen that many of the Orthodox Jews are terrorized in soul if not in body at the spectacle unfolding before their eyes.

But in the first paragraph of this month's (January, 1947) issue of *The National Jewish Monthly*, the official publication of the B'nai B'rith, we learn that support for the United Jewish Appeal, largely for Palestine,



is such that a goal of \$215,000,000 has been set for contributions for the year 1947, \$170,000,000 of this to be raised in the United States, the balance in other Western Hemisphere nations. I repeat: Two Hundred Fifteen Million dollars.

Yet this vast sum indicates "less the extent of Jewish need than the growing awareness of that need."

Is this just for relief? If so, we will all contribute. But the picture is so confused, so appalling we do not understand it. Why are the American people not better informed on the great movements stalking the world today? Why has our government allowed conspiracies to so confuse us that often we cannot choose intelligently? Given proper information we might understand whether to join in with the United Jewish Appeal or to insist that such vast sums going out of our country into the hands of other people be handled exclusively by a government relief committee composed of men whose philosophy and political connections are well known.

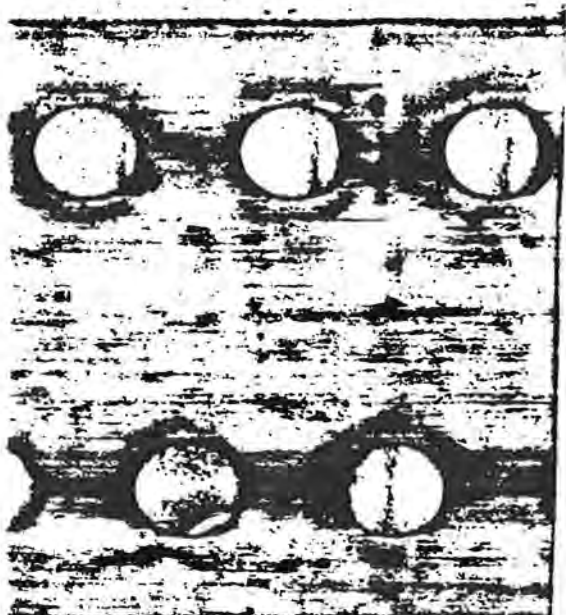
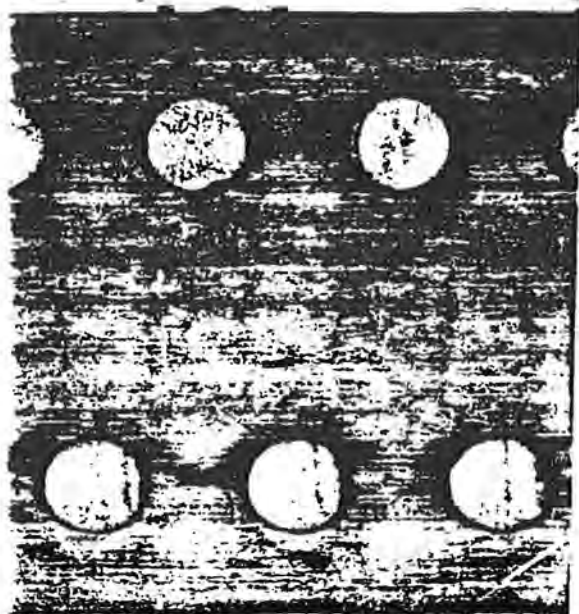
The Associated Press has just published a breakdown of the \$170,000,000 to be raised in the U. S. Quoting Henry Morgenthau, Jr., one of the fund raisers, "More than one-half" of it is to be used for Jewish relief in Europe." Another 40 per cent will go to the United Palestine relief in constructive activities in that land, and the balance for aid of Jewish immigrants who come to this country."

That which goes to Jewish relief surely nobody will begrudge. But what use is to be made of the \$68,000,000 for "constructive activities" in Palestine? Will any of this vast sum go to support the Freiheit plan? Will it get into the hands of the Palestine Communist Party or its infiltrating agents? Will any of these millions find their way into propaganda among the Arabs to make them hate America?

After the pogroms of Europe under the Nazis you would think these radical Jews would be willing to let their people alone in America, a country where they have enjoyed excellent community relationships; but on the other hand they appear to have gone insane over the triumph of their relatives in the Soviet Union. They ignore the fact that it cost the blood of millions of Gentiles and many Jews to accomplish the Marxist triumph there, and the further, appalling fact that a counter-revolution is almost sure to come in time, perhaps wiping out all their brutally gotten gains.

WHICH WAY?

All but two of the great nations of Christendom of thirty years ago now are gone or whittled down to impotency or lie sick from internal disorders and lack of united courage and spiritual strength. For this wrecking of the greatest civilization of the ages we can thank the Marxist movement. Now the two remaining great peoples, themselves suffering from an indigestible lump of Marxism in their stomachs, are being subjected to the merciless scourge of propaganda which seeks to throw one against the other,



in order to leave Stalin free to move and mate and slay at will on the world's chess board—the Dardanelles, the Suez, the Mediterranean, perhaps China, perhaps our neighbors in Central and South America, where the Revolution has risen swiftly in the past year.

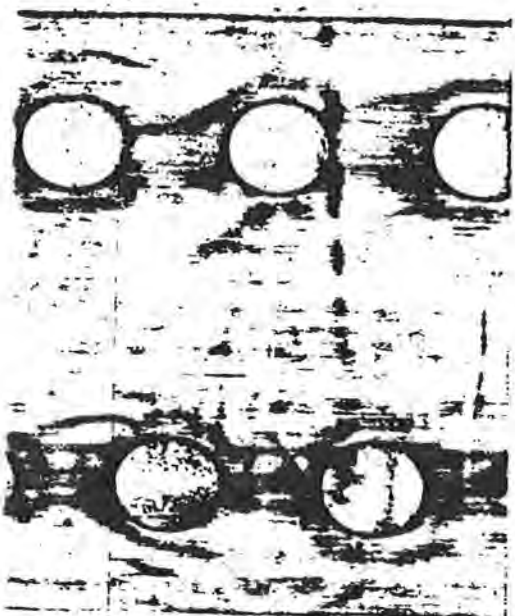
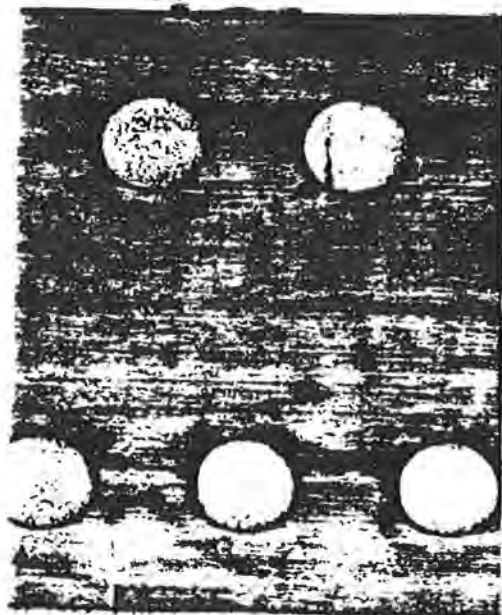
A recent dispatch pictures the pitiful plight of one of the great Christian nations of a third of a century ago. It is sent by Manchester Boddy, publisher of the Los Angeles *Daily News*, who often, before going to Europe, had been accused of leaning toward the Left: "What I found in the Hof area adds evidence to the uncomfortable feeling that the German nation—that is, the collective people of Germany—are disappearing as an entity like a block of disintegrating ice in a relentless sea."

Pity the world caught in the cosmic ray of hatred and Master Race paranoia!

To separate us from Britain and lay both nations open to the fate of Germany—or Russia—the Red propagandists are representing Britain to us as Nazi-like persecutors of Jewish refugees in Palestine. We are supposed now to begin hating Britons as we hated the Nazis. Ben Hecht's play, *A Flag is Born*, is so extreme in spreading this disease of hate that the British have protested its showing. There is talk that Hollywood is to release one or more pictures on the same theme. Reds control nearly all the writing for Hollywood films. Hollywood has measureless influence over American audiences. If you doubt that it can incite us to war, remember the hysterical hatred of the Nazis which swept the country as film after film was released dramatizing Nazi brutality. If you doubt that Hollywood is largely biased in favor of Red Fascism, just try to remember a single film picturing the current threatening dictator as a Hitler. On the Red Square in Moscow they "Heil" and goose-step with no less vicious intent than the Nazis under Hitler, but our film producers don't dramatize it.

The real danger is here at home. Several millions of our people have been so confused and misguided I am afraid they would side with the Soviets in case of a Revolution here which appeared likely to succeed. This condition would have been intolerable enough in the days when wars and revolutions were fought man to man. Today it is immeasurably more dangerous, with the minority much in control of propaganda machines with which to fire the public mind and, at the timely moment, create hysteria and confusion. Anti-Communists have great difficulty in getting in a word over the ether telling us about the Communist menace and the Fifth Column; the FCC has stood like a watchdog favoring the Left for several years. Privately financed pressure groups, the Gestapos, in turn stand watching the FCC as well as the radio outlets, as well as the movie production studios and the press, ready to defame and intimidate any opposition to Communism which threatens to become influential.

Sitting on this atomic-bomb dump we continue to think in terms of the last war—a war in which soldiers did the fighting. Our next war is more likely to be fought by civilians, at least unless we can do something about our massive Fifth Column. By organized sabotage our major cities all could be laid low in a few hours by super-explosives smuggled across our



borders or cut off our atomic stores, planted and timed to a pre-determined D-Day. By injecting new poisons into water systems, a few squads, infiltrating public utilities as employees, likewise could paralyze the urban population of the country. The Four Horsemen could spread new and deadly disease before they could be apprehended.

For the first time in history there are weapons which make world dictatorship a possibility. Is it by some diabolical plan of Satan that at the same time there is—also for the first time in history—a movement which seriously threatens all governments and all peoples?

At this convergence of military science with political conspiracy we have done a most amazing thing: We have placed the Manhattan Project—meaning our entire atomic fission industry, with its supposed secrets—in the hands of a board which is so suspect that Army officers have refused to deliver the secrets to them, short of a direct order from the President.

Here is what the Los Angeles *Examiner* said of three members of the board (January 9, 1947):

"David E. Lilienthal, head of the board, is a long-time ardent New Dealer and a member of at least two Communist-dominated organizations (unless he has resigned very recently), the National Lawyers Guild and the Southern Conference of Human Welfare.

"The FBI and the House Committee on un-American activities hold these groups to be potentially subversive, aligned with the world movement to overthrow this government.

"Associated with Lilienthal on the atomic energy board is Lewis E. Strauss, also a New Dealer, and a member of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, international banking firm. Americans traditionally distrust International bankers, remembering how many of them have figured in world power politics and exploitation.

"A third member of the atomic energy board, William W. Waymack, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, reportedly is listed in the potentially subversive files of the FBI and the House Committee on un-American activities. Waymack is vice-president of the Americans United for World Government, and a member of the pro-Soviet National Committee for Civilian Control of Atomic Energy. He also was a sponsor of a group working for 'medical aid to Soviet Russia' and a speaker before the Communist Russian War Relief—as reported in the pro-Communist magazine, 'Soviet Russia Today' . . .

"It is to be hoped that the new Congress will act swiftly to have these men replaced by persons who believe unequivocally in America and whom the public and the Army and the Congress can trust."

If you read in the pages of history that a great nation placed a world-conquering secret in the hands of five men, three of whom were known to be friendly to a nation admittedly hostile and long bent on world conquest, what would you think?

The "bee" is on us. We indict ourselves for acts of our government which we tolerate. Then should we say: Never in history were there so many fools in one nation at one time!

WE MUST ACT

It is the world picture of thirty years of killing and degradation—the picture of Siberian slave camps, of Dachau and Belsen, of Revolution in Spain—much of it due to racial hatred—which comes before us as we witness an Anti-Defamation League movie of exaggerated racism here at home. It is the Freiheit plan for creating a Yiddish speaking Master Race here and all over the world, following the pattern of the Soviet Union, and joining hands with that blood-drenched government, which comes to mind when we hear a "tailored" radio program or a speaker "educating" our children by attacking patriotism and loyalty to western traditions and culture. It is the picture of the curtain now closing on Christian Poland which comes to mind when we see propaganda designed to create a Brahman privileged race in America through the passage of the mis-called Fair Employment Practices measure and laws making anti-Semitism a crime.

The time is late but not too late perhaps for a counter-revolution of truth-telling and for drastic government action to break up the secret defamation leagues, the Communist Party and all other groups which prey on racism and Anglo-Saxon idealism. We must discredit the false leadership which makes use of the Jewish people for selfish ends, and throw our support to the wiser leaders who stand for normal community relationships among all races.

I cannot quit this subject without mentioning a few of the wide range of changes which may be necessary or advisable in preventing catastrophe. First we should recognize the enemy for what he is—the enemy. Despite his deception he has made it clear at all times that he is out to destroy us, by force if necessary, and to set up a Communist regime under Moscow domination. We should strike first. To wait for the enemy, internal and external, to strike would be insane, giving him all the advantage. Our economy, under a staggering debt, will not permit us to maintain forever a \$12,000,000,000 annual budget for men and machines of defense, made necessary by the existence of both an internal and an external threat. We need an offensive to prevent the expected offensive.

What kind of offensive would be *American*?

Externally, we should start rolling back the Red tide all over the fringe states and inside Russia itself by a propaganda offensive of truth-telling, informing the people of the truth about America and about their own vicious leaders and encouraging them to form resistance groups. You may say they are helpless, having no arms; but there usually appears a leader if the tension becomes great enough—one of their powerful Army generals might side with his people against the tight little circle of Destroyers; and guerilla groups always find ways to smuggle in small arms. A

few hundred million dollars spent on a propaganda war might help prevent "the next way"—which would cost too many billions of dollars and too much human life to dwell on the subject.

Above all, we must break up the interlocking Red conspiracies here at home and prevent them from re-establishing leadership and spreading propaganda. If drastic measures are required, they still are preferable to the alternative of a modern civil war. Strong aggressive action might bring us many years of peace.

I list here some proposals for consideration:

1. Outlaw Communism as a vehicle of a foreign power aiming at destruction of this government; arrest agents for Communistic activities. Would we recognize Hitler's machine operating in America, or permit Murder, Inc., to organize our youth in every city? It was never intended that the Constitution should extend protection to its enemies; that watchdog over human rights does not (and could not) guarantee freedom and at the same time license to destroy freedom.

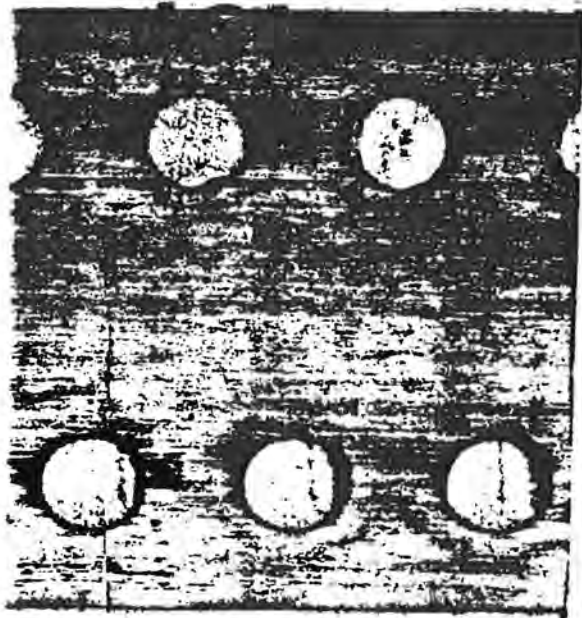
2. Since it is the responsibility of the FBI to watch the civilian front, recognize this agency as a fourth military defensive arm and enormously increase its strength to cope with an unwieldy enemy. Give it rein to act—to seize organizations and files and individuals inimical to our form of government (Nazi, Fascist and Communist).

3. Instruct the Attorney General to act vigorously to provide legal machinery so that the work of the FBI may be accomplished—and so that innocent citizens, should they too be falsely accused, may have a speedy hearing. (It must not be supposed that there would be widespread persecution of innocents under such a campaign; courts—like Military Intelligence—would have no time for the innocuous cases; their attention would be required by the flagrant, dangerous cases, with long records of activities.)

4. Clean out the Reds from key positions in the Armed forces and from all government jobs.

5. Change guard at the Federal Communication Commission, substituting persons who cannot be influenced by radical un-American groups. This is of the greatest importance, permitting radio commentators to explain to the people fully every fact and phase of the Red menace. An informed public can whip Communism.

6. Stop the illegal tide of immigration. Despite the secrecy of our Immigration Service and cooperating agencies on this subject—a secrecy utterly without justification and which could be desired only for concealing enormous irregularities—some of our Congressional spokesmen now claim that hundreds of thousands of European immigrants, largely Jewish, are coming across our borders, legally and illegally. From my own studies of immigrants from Eastern Europe during the war, I know that among them are many pro-Communists. (Many of these immigrants,



drafted into the Army, were granted citizenship after 90 days service, and the War Department encouraged this process by pressuring Commanding officers and Intelligence officers.) But all Jewish immigrants, Communist and anti-Communist, immediately after arrival are under strong pressure to side with the Marxist groups, and most of them will have to yield.

7. Find an adequate home for the homeless Jews of Europe and for all pro-Communist Jewish aliens in America. It is downright stupid to say that there is no place left on this big earth for them. There are undeveloped fertile stretches of geography in several sectors of the globe. I choose New Guinea, first, because I am convinced that great cities someday will gleam on that fertile subcontinent. With a climate much like that of Miami Beach, with malaria and other tropical diseases now conquerable, this virgin island could support 100,000,000 people. It is now principally occupied by 100,000 natives. By agreement with Australia for the eastern end or with the Netherlands for the western end of the island, we could establish a protectorate and an eight-year settlement program, leading up to independence for a new Jewish nation.

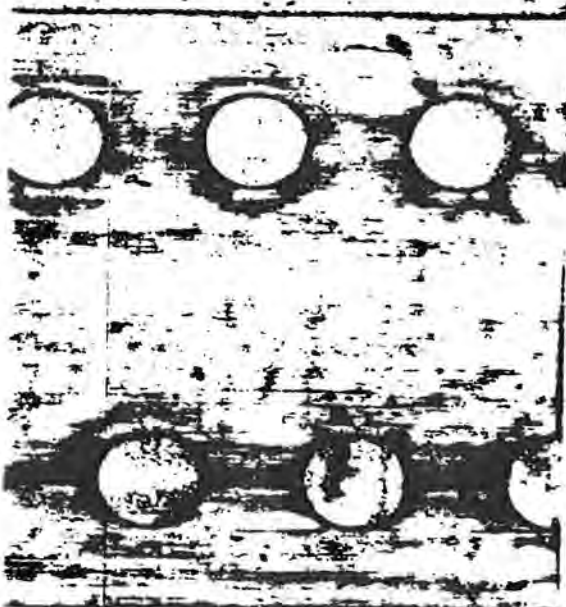
This plan would not please the Communists and Political Zionists; it would make the Freiheit planners and their Moscow mentors burst a blood vessel. Dr. Rabinowitch shamed the Political Zionists for refusing to allow homeless Jews to accept Australia's offer to settle in that country. But must we ask them how to run our domestic and foreign policy? Rather, must we keep on asking them? Such a plan would take the propaganda-torn, hungry and homeless Jews of the world out of the hands of such plotters and give them a new life.

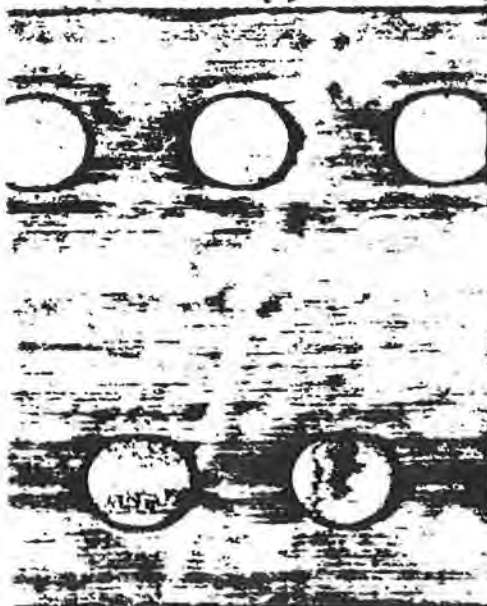
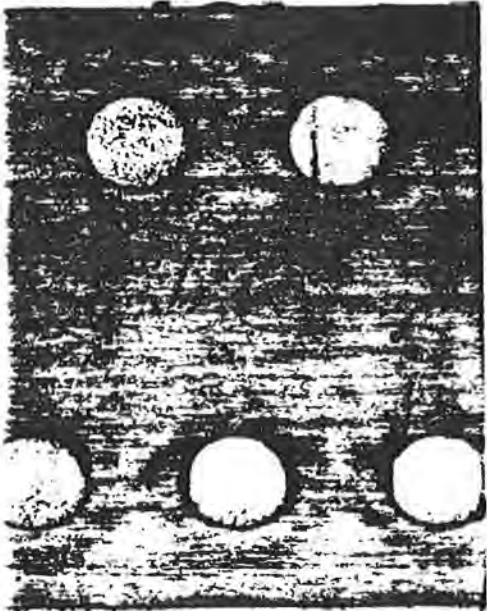
8. Bar known pro-Communists from positions where they may fan the flames of Revolution—the press, the radio, movie production studios, above all, labor unions. Doubtless a law outlawing Communist activities would cover this requirement.

9. Break up the labor monopolies (the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining), now while we are at peace and while the people, including more than half of the industrial workers themselves, are demanding individual freedom and individual responsibility in the field of competition.

Labor unions have reached a position of terrible power, just as Marx predicted they would. Now both Marxist and the non-Marxist union heads are talking about unifying their forces and they are threatening Congress with talk that any weakening of the pro-union laws will drive labor into the Red camp. The union bosses have effective propaganda power with which to drive labor leftward, and many of the propaganda machines are in the hands of leftists.

If we surrender now, the Marxists will consolidate and take over more and more union power, biding their time. Catching us in an economic crisis or threatened with war, they will refuse to let their membership produce the goods needed to save us—unless we completely sell out to them.





It was like that in France in the late 1930s. There the Marxist unions and the fellow-traveling politicians and propagandists, under the Moscow inspiration, sneered at nationalism, or patriotism, so that France was lost before Hitler fired a shot.

But there is much that we may and must do without waiting for Congress. We can encourage self-reliance as opposed to state paternalism. We can check into our local school systems to see that Red indoctrination is not going on there. We can encourage the revival of character-building biographies; we can insist on a revival of pride in the historic rise of Western peoples—including Anglo-Saxons, the watchdogs of freedom—from serfdom to self-reliance. In short, we should dig up Horatio Alger, American.

And, whatever else we do, we must take our children and young people back to the churches.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

January 31, 1947

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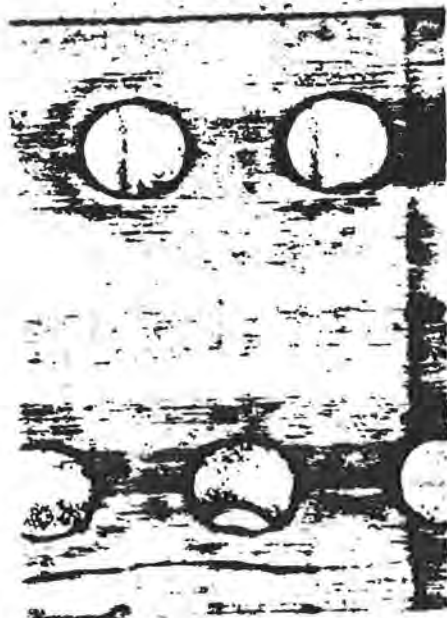
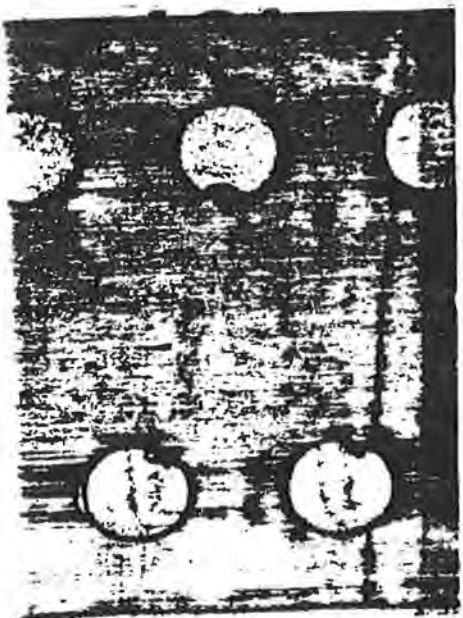
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ADL's Program

PHILIP BRAVERMAN

President of B'nai B'rith, Muncie
Lodge 782

It was to be expected that those organizations and individuals named as extreme conservatives or members of the Radical Right in the new Anti-Defamation League book, "Danger on the Right," would attempt to strike back. This, of course, is their privilege, a privilege exercised by William F. Buckley Jr., in a column which appeared in The Sunday Star.

But while ADL's facts, on Mr. Buckley and many of his friends, are documented and based on four years of research and study, Mr. Buckley's critique on the book and the League itself is a mixture of faulty reasoning and vituperation.

He calls the Anti-Defamation League "a devotedly left-wing organization," and, in doing so, radically differs with the accolads bestowed upon the League by three Presidents and the director of the FBI.

In 1952, President Truman said ADL's program "is designed to preserve and strengthen human rights and save us from the waste of prejudice and discrimination." In 1957, President Eisenhower said "your good work has brought strength to the national community . . . America continues to need your efforts to demonstrate our determination to keep faith with the great traditions of our fathers." In 1963, President Kennedy likened what ADL has stood for for 50 years to "what this country has stood

Readers of The Muncie Star are invited to send their opinions on questions of public interest for use in the Public Letter Box. Write on one side of the paper and please be brief. The writer's name and address must accompany each letter, but will be withheld on request.

for for two hundred years." And J. Edgar Hoover, in his book, "Masters of Deceit," declares that some of the most effective opposition to communism in the United States has come from the Anti-Defamation League.

In the company Mr. Buckley keeps, the three former Presidents are put down as being prone to softness, appeasement, and bungling, but surely J. Edgar Hoover remains an authority on communism and left-wing activity.

Mr. Buckley should know that organization he accuses of being "devotedly left-wing" has been exposing communism for 30 years. In the past 12 years it has published such studies and

books as "Summer of Communism," "How You Teach About Communism," "A Profile on Communism," "A Short History On Communism," and soon to be released, "Freedom vs. Communism" — all designed to alert teachers, students, civic groups and the general public to the hazards of community philosophy and the danger on the left.

Mr. Buckley quotes the authors of "Danger on the Right" — Arnold Forster, the League's general counsel, and Benjamin R. Epstein its national director—in their statement that "many Americans have the inaccurate impression that the Anti-Defamation League's sole concern is anti-Semitism." But perhaps he should have quoted the complete paragraph for an accurate description of where ADL stands:

"Even in its beginning, at the turn of the century, this agency was not concerned solely with the anti-Semitic activities. We believe at the time, as we believe now, that to defend and strengthen the rights of any group of Americans reinforces the rights of all — and therefore the very structure of our democracy."

The League's interest is, and always has been democracy. It includes a continuing concern with domestic extremist movements — of any kind — which threaten to destroy democracy and democratic progress.

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DATE 9/8/81

BY

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 Mr. Tavel ☒
 Mr. Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Miss Holmes ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

b7c [REDACTED]
 November 16, 1964
 47
 17

J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 Department of Justice
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In chapter 19 of your most excellent book, Masters of Deceit, you state that the Anti-defamation League and a host of other Jewish groups have offered some of the most effective opposition to Communism in the United States. This is somewhat paradoxical in light of indisputable evidence to the contrary.

eff b7c I would like to learn how the ADL or any other Jewish group has been effective in combatting Communism in the United States. What are the names of these other groups? Is there a single specific, concrete, or authentic example of this to be found anywhere in anything showing ~~of~~ the anti-communist nature of the ADL in particular or any other specific Jewish group? I would like examples of organizations, not individual Jewish people like [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and others like them who have distinguished themselves in this fight against the most insidious enemy of mankind.

Mr. Robert H. Williams, Army Reserve Intelligence Officer, wrote a booklet called, "The Anti-Defamation League and Its Use In the World Communist Offensive". Of this book Upton Close says: "(It is) a picture of what more and more Americans regard, with alarm, to be a secret police among us; and its relation to the world movement which threatens our civilization."

It appears to me that the ADL actually defames more than it antis, and under this situation I would appreciate it if you would give me substantial information on this question to reconcile your statement from chapter 19 and other known facts.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
 b7c [REDACTED]

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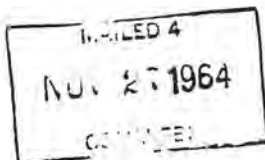
Dear [redacted]

Your letter of November 16th has been received, and I want to thank you for your interest in communicating with me.

With respect to your inquiry, I feel that the statement in my book, "Masters of Deceit," to which you refer stands on its own merits.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing derogatory concerning [redacted] and we have had prior cordial correspondence with him. The tenor of his letter indicates that he may be anti-Semitic and it is not felt that a further elaboration of the Director's remarks is warranted.

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July 23, 1965

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE REPORT
ON THE KU KLUX KLAN
WRITTEN BY ARNOLD FORSTER
AND BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN**

An Anti-Defamation League (B'nai B'rith) report on the Ku Klux Klans, written by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein and issued June 13, 1965, as a "white paper," is now being published by the League as a 40-page pamphlet.

You should discreetly obtain two copies of the above pamphlet and forward them to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Central Research Unit, Research-Satellite Section.

NOTE: SA [redacted] Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, has requested report. One copy of the report will be retained in Internal Security Section; the other copy will be filed in Publications Files, Identification Building.

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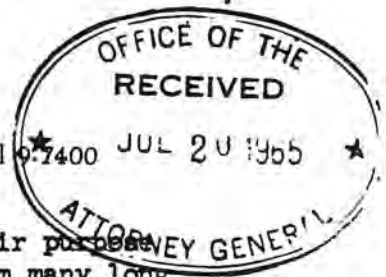
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"They struck by night, as they generally do, for their purpose cannot stand the light of day. My father fought them many long years ago in Texas, and I have fought them all my life because I believe them to threaten the peace of every community where they exist...."

"I shall continue to fight them because I know their loyalty is not to the United States of America but instead to a hooded society of bigots...."

"So if Klansmen hear my voice today, let it be both an appeal and a warning to get out of the Ku Klux Klan now and return to a decent society before it is too late."

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DATE 9/8/81 BY [REDACTED]

- President Lyndon B. Johnson,
March 27, 1965*

Dear Friend:

In support of President Johnson's campaign against the Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is proud to announce the publication of a definitive, up-to-the-minute pamphlet REPORT ON THE KU KLUX KLAN, written by Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, and Arnold Forster, the League's General Counsel and Director of its Civil Rights Division.

REPORT ON THE KU KLUX KLAN is an in-depth study and evaluation of the Klan distilled from years of close observations and careful study of its activities. It contains a brief history and a prognosis for the future. The pamphlet concludes with a chronology of KKK violence in the South covering the last three years. Many of these incidents are shocking in their brutality. Most of them never reach the public.

REPORT ON THE KU KLUX KLAN should be read by all citizens who value their freedom.

To order your copies of REPORT ON THE KU KLUX KLAN, just enclose the coupon from the flyer with your remittance in the postage-paid envelope.

I am sure you will find this report an eye-opener.

Sincerely,

Helen L. Adelman

Helen L. Adelman
Promotion Director
National Program Division

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55 AUG 2 1965 day "they" killed Viola Liuzzo.

...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in America.

REPORT



ON THE KU KLUX KLAN

BY ARNOLD FORSTER AND BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

Just Published:

Report on the Ku Klux Klan
by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

It doesn't take many men to bomb a church, to flog a Negro or a white, or to commit other acts of violence in the dark of night. Two, three, four or six men, operating in secrecy and with stealth, can bring a reign of terror to any small Southern town and can bring violence and intimidation to cities and suburbs as well. The fact is that this has been happening in the South for years, and much of it has been perpetrated by hooded Klansmen and their henchmen.

The Klan was born in hatred; it feeds on fear; it grows in violence:

Item: Since 1959, a total of 43 individuals concerned with civil rights movement in the South have been killed.

Item: Since 1955, approximately 1,000 instances of racial violence, reprisal and intimidation have been reported.

Item: From 1954 to early 1965, 227 bombings were reported and 56 suspects arrested; 33 were acquitted, 10 have been convicted and sentenced, another 10 received suspended sentences, and 3 await trial.

Who are the Klansmen? What is the origin and history of the Klans? How strong are they today? What effect have they had on civil rights in the South and elsewhere?

The stark story is told in Report on the Ku Klux Klan by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. Fact follows fact in this stranger than fiction report of the ludicrous-looking but dangerous-hooded men of the Klans.

Dore Schary, in his introduction to Report states: "As the South changes and the equality of Negroes under law becomes the settled fact, it is likely that the Klans will wither and disappear. But that day is still far off."

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1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

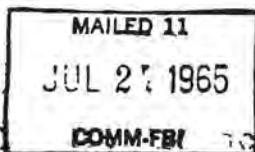
Dear Mr. Edelsberg:

Assistant Director DeLoach has informed me that you are leaving B'nai B'rith to become Staff Director of the Roosevelt Commission.

Your friends in the FBI join me in expressing appreciation for the fine cooperation you have given us in the past and in extending very best wishes for success in your new endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/8/81 BY [REDACTED]
#257,351

NOTE: See memorandum dated 7-26-65, Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr, CDD. Address per telephone directory.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

- (4)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont (sent with cover memo)
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent with cover memo)
 - 1 - Mr. Jones (sent with cover memo)
 - 1 - Mr. Morrell (sent with cover memo)

JUL 28 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SUBJECT Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

FILE NUMBER 100-530 Sec. 15
(1965-1966)

-452 ^{ADL} Report on the KKK (Forster + Epstein)

Qv 8/9/66 NY Field memo re: subs. to various
pubs + their file #'s

July 21, 1965

D.C.
Mr. Herman Edelsberg
Anti-Defamation League
of B'Nai B'Rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Edelsberg:

I have seen the "Report on the Ku Klux Klan"
which you sent to Mr. DeLoach. Your thoughtfulness in furnish-
ing this publication to us is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

NOTE: This booklet was sent to Mr. DeLoach by Mr. Herman Edelsberg who is quite active in the Washington Chapter of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith. We enjoy friendly relations with Mr. Edelsberg who has sent us information of interest to the FBI in the past. He was sent an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit" in 1964. This publication should be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division for their information.

b7c
"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

REC 8

100-530-45

JUL 29 1965

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

*Page torn
in file and
enclosure was
missing when
document presented*

ENCLOSURE

1165



WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

NTI-DEFAMATION LI

Of B'nai B'rith

1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C., EXECUTIVE 3-5288

WASHINGTON, D. C.

HERMAN EDELSBERG

Director

DAVID A. BRODY

Counsel

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ARNOLD FORSTER

General Counsel

July 29, 1965

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your good wishes on my new appointment and
your kind words about our cooperation in the past
are deeply appreciated.

It has been a privilege to work with your
staff and to enjoy the cooperation of an agency
which has become the standard of effectiveness
and integrity. And you have achieved this
standard, as Attorney General Rogers once said
to me admiringly, with a sensitive regard for
individual rights and liberties "that would
astonish people if they could only know."

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Herman Edelsberg

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/10/81 BY [REDACTED]

HE: bds

REC-56

EX 105

18 JUL 30 1965

CORRE [REDACTED]

Working to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our tin